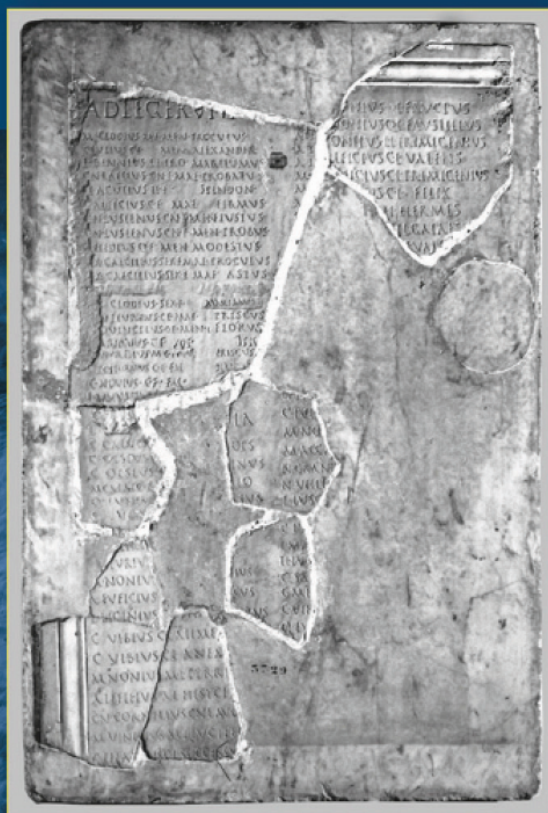


STUDIES IN GLOBAL SOCIAL HISTORY
STUDIES IN GLOBAL MIGRATION HISTORY

MIGRATION AND MOBILITY IN THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE

EDITED BY
LUUK DE LIGT AND LAURENS E. TACOMA



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Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire

Studies in Global Social History

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Edited by

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List of Abbreviations

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
<i>Atlas</i>	Nehmé, L., <i>Atlas archéologique et épigraphique de Pétra</i> , fascicule 1 : <i>De Bab as-Siq au Wadi al-Farasah</i> . Paris 2012.
<i>AvP</i> 8.3:	Habicht, C., <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> . VIII.3. <i>Die Inschriften des Aklepieions</i> . Berlin 1969.
<i>BAGRW</i>	Talbert, R.J.A. (ed.), <i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> . Princeton 2010.
<i>BE</i>	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i> , in <i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (bzw. Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden</i> . Berlin 1895–
<i>BL</i>	<i>Berichtigungsliste der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten</i>
Bresson, <i>Receuil Pérée</i>	Bresson, A., <i>Receuil des inscriptions de la Perée Rhodienne (Pérée Intégrée)</i> . Paris 1991.
<i>C.Pap.Jud.</i>	<i>Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum</i> . Cambridge, Mass. 1957–1964.
<i>CIIP</i> 1.2	Cotton, H. et al. <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> , vol. I/2. <i>Jerusalem: 705–1120</i> . Berlin 2012.
<i>CIIP</i> 2	Ameling, W. et al., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae. Volume II. Caesarea and the Middle Coast: 1121–2160</i> . Berlin 2011.
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin 1862–
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Codex Justinianus</i>
<i>CLE</i>	Bücheler, F. and E. Lommatzsch, <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> . Leipzig 1930 [1895–1897].
Dunand, <i>Musée</i>	Dunand, M., <i>Le musée de Soueida. Inscriptions et monuments figurés</i> . Paris 1934.
<i>FIRA</i>	Arangio Ruiz, V. (ed.), <i>Fontes Iuris Romani Anteiustiniani</i> . Florence 1968–1972.
<i>GV</i>	Peek, W., <i>Griechische Versinschriften</i> . Vienna 1980.
<i>HE</i>	<i>Hispania Epigraphica Online Database</i> (http://eda-bea.es/).
<i>I.Ancyra</i>	Mitchell, S. and D. French, <i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)</i> , vol. 1. Munich 2012.
<i>I.Eph.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> . Bonn 1979–1984.
<i>I. Gerasa</i>	Wells, C.B., ‘The inscriptions’, in: Kraeling, C.H. (ed.), <i>Gerasa. City of the Decapolis</i> , 335–616. New Haven 1938.

<i>I.Ko.Ko.</i>	Bernand, A., <i>De Koptos à Kosseir</i> . Leiden 1972.
<i>I.Pan du desert</i>	Berard, A., <i>Pan du desert</i> . Leiden 1977.
<i>I.Porto</i>	Sacco, G., <i>Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Porto</i> , Rome 1984.
<i>I.Rhod.Per.</i>	Blümel, W., <i>Die Inschriften der rhodischen Peraia</i> , <i>IGSK Band 38</i> . Bonn 1991.
<i>I.Trall.</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis</i> . Bonn 1989.
<i>ICUR</i>	de Rossi, G.B., et al., <i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae</i> . Rome 1857–
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin 1873–
<i>IGBulg</i>	Mihailov, G., <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> . Sofia 1956–1997.
<i>IGLS</i>	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> . Paris-Beirut 1911–
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> . Paris 1911–1927.
<i>IGUR</i>	Moretti, L., <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> . Rome 1968–1990.
<i>IJO</i>	Noy, D. & Bloedhorn, H., <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis III. Syria und Cyprus</i> . Tübingen 2004.
<i>IL Afr</i>	<i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique</i>
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, H., <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . Berlin 1892–1916.
<i>INTyr</i>	Rey-Coquais, J.P., <i>Inscriptions de la nécropole (de Tyr)</i> . <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr I</i> . Paris 1977.
<i>Jenseits des Euphrats</i>	Merkelbach, R. and J. Stauber, <i>Jenseits des Euphrats. Griechische Inschriften. Ein epigraphisches Lesebuch</i> . Leipzig 2005.
<i>LBW</i>	Le Bas, P. and W.H. Waddington, <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure, fait pendant les années 1834 et 1844</i> . Paris 1847–1877, <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines</i> . Paris 1870.
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, H.G., R. Scott and H. Stuart Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edition, with a revised supplement by P.G.W. Glare and A.A. Thompson. Oxford 1966.
<i>O.Berenike 2</i>	Bagnall, R.S., C. Helms and A.M.F.W. Verhoogt (eds.), <i>Documents from Berenike., vol. 2: Texts from the 1999–2001 Seasons</i> . Brussels 2005.
<i>O.Did.</i>	Cuvigny, H., <i>Didymoi. Une garnison romaine dans le desert Oriental d'Égypte</i> , vol. 2. Cairo 2012.
<i>O.Krok.</i>	Cuvigny, H., <i>Ostraca de Krokodilô. La correspondance militaire et sa circulation</i> . Cairo 2005.
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i>

- P.Brem.* *Die Bremer Papyri*. Bremen 1936.
- P. Dura* Welles, C.B., R.O. Fink and J.F. Gilliam (eds.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, Final report v, Part 1. The Parchments and Papyri*. New Haven 1959.
- P.Euphrat.* Feissel, D. and J. Gasciou, 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrates', Parts I–III in *Journal des Savants* 1995: 65–119 (nos. 1–5), 1997: 3–57 and 2000: 157–208 (nos. 11–17).
- P.Giss.* *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Gießen*.
- P.Hev.* Cotton, H.M. and A. Yardeni (eds.), *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites*. Oxford 1997.
- P.Lond.* *Greek Papyri in the British Museum, London*
- P.Mesopotamia* Feissel, D. and J. Gascou, 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrates', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 1989: 535–561.
- P.Mich.* *Michigan Papyri*. Ann Arbor 1931–
- P.Mil. Vogl.* Vogliano, A. et al. (eds.), *Papiri della R. Università di Milano*. Milan 1937–
- P.Mur.* Benoit, P., J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux (eds.), *Les grottes de Murabba'at*. Oxford 1961.
- P.Oslo* *Papyri Osloenses*. Oslo 1872–
- P.Oxf.* Wegener, E.P. (ed.), *Some Oxford Papyri*. Leiden 1942.
- P.Oxy.* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. London 1898–
- P.Princ.* *Papyri in the Princeton University Collections*
- P.Sarap.* *Les Archives de Sarapion et de ses fils*
- P.Thmouis* *Le papyrus Thmouis 1*
- P.Warr.* *The Warren Papyri, Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 1*
- P.Wisc.* *The Wisconsin Papyri*
- P.Yadin 1* Lewis, N. (ed.), *Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters, I. Greek Papyri*. Jerusalem 1989.
- P.Yadin 2* Yadin, Y., J. Greenfeld, A. Yardeni and B.A. Levine (eds.), *Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters, II. Hebrew, Nabataean and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*. Jerusalem 2002.
- P.Yale* *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*
- PAT* Hillers, D.R. & Cussini, E., *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore 1996.

PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto) 1–xv.</i> Florence 1912–1979.
PUAES 3A	Littmann, E., <i>Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909. Division III. Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Section A: Southern Syria.</i> Leiden 1907–1913.
RE	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> Stuttgart 1894–
RES	<i>Recueil d'épigraphie sémitique</i>
RIB	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i>
RIC	<i>Roman Imperial Coinage.</i> London 1923–
RMD	Roxan, M.M. and P.A. Holder, <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> , 5 vols. London 1978–1986.
Robert, OMS	Robert, L., <i>Opera Minora Selecta</i> 1–VII. Amsterdam 1969–1990.
SB	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten.</i> Strassburg, Berlin etc. 1913–
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</i> Leiden etc. 1923–.
Sel. Pap.	Hunt, A.S., C.C. Edgar and D.L. Page, <i>Select Papyri</i> , 3 vols. London 1932–1950, reprinted 1970–1977.
SHA	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
SIJ	Winnett, F., <i>Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan.</i> Toronto 1957.
Suppl.It.	<i>Supplementa Italica</i>
TAM	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris.</i> Vienna 1901–
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
W. Chr.	Mitteis, L. and U. Wilcken, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i>
Wad	Waddington, W.H., <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.</i> Paris 1870.

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Approaching Migration in the Early Roman Empire

Luuk de Ligt and Laurens E. Tacoma

Introduction

The past twenty-five years have witnessed a dramatic upsurge of scholarly interest in the history of migration. Of course, the study of immigration, emigration and migrant communities has a long history. The formation of nation states gave rise to more stringently demarcated national identities and demarcations of the borders of communities. In consequence, migration became an object that merited separate study. Formal analysis of migration patterns goes back at least to Ravenstein's 'Laws of Migration' based on the later nineteenth-century census data of the United Kingdom.¹ During the twentieth century trans-Atlantic migration and the experiences of migrant communities in the United States received a lot of attention, particularly, but not exclusively, from American historians. For a long time students of European social history showed little enthusiasm for migration history. It is telling that the demographic observations made by Tony Wrigley that gave rise to the formulation of Urban Graveyard Theory were hotly debated by urban demographers, but did not directly generate further analysis of the nature of early-modern migration streams.² Charles Tilly's 1978 article on 'Migration in modern European history' in which he developed a migration typology continues to be cited in countless publications, but did not prompt a new wave of research, at least not in the short run.³ In fact, although some important work was done in the 1980s, it was only in the early 1990s that migration history really took off in many European countries.⁴

In part because Tilly's article served as a source of inspiration for many researchers, the field was initially dominated by specialists in early-modern and contemporary history, and most of the publications produced during this phase dealt with migration within or from Europe. One of the best known studies of this type is Leslie Page Moch's *Moving Europeans*, the first edition

1 Ravenstein 1885 and 1889.

2 Wrigley 1967; Sharlin 1978.

3 Tilly 1978.

4 For a good survey of the historiography see Lucassen, Lucassen and Manning 2010.

of which appeared in 1992.⁵ Drawing on insights from labour history and family history, Moch offered a path-breaking overview of internal and international migration in western Europe between 1650 and the early 1980s. In particular, she showed that the notion that Europe before the Industrial Revolution was a static society was untenable. Also in 1992, Emmer and Mörner published an important volume on intercontinental emigration from Europe and on the role of Europeans in the migration of large numbers of African slaves and indentured Asians to various parts of South America and the Caribbean.⁶ During the past fifteen years the geographical scope of migration studies has been widened first to Russia and China and subsequently to almost the entire globe. The field has also extended its chronological scope, occasionally even venturing back into pre-history.⁷ Migration history has become global history.

However, until quite recently migration did not occupy a prominent place on the agenda of students of Roman society, especially not in ancient history (archaeology has followed a different trajectory). To be sure, the presence of 'foreigners' or 'immigrants' (no matter how defined) in Roman communities has hardly been a secret. There is in fact a number of fairly extensive studies based on documentary texts dealing with patterns of voluntary migration within, or from, particular areas. More than fifty years ago Horst Braunert studied large amounts of papyrological evidence relating to internal mobility in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. In a monograph which appeared in 1966 Alan Wilson collected the literary and epigraphic evidence for voluntary migration from Italy to the provinces during the first century BCE. More recently, Farland Stanley has devoted an article to geographical mobility in Roman Lusitania and Evan Haley a monograph to migration in Roman Spain. David Noy wrote a book on non-Italian foreigners in imperial Rome as well as an article on immigrants in the city of Rome and in Roman Britain. Lothar Wierschowki has produced two volumes in which he discusses the epigraphic evidence for various kinds of mobility in early-imperial Gaul. Jean-Marie Lassère, Edmond Frézouls, René Rebuffat and Christine Hamdoune have studied the rich epigraphic record from Roman North Africa with the aim of shedding some light on patterns of migration and temporary movement. Various other studies deal with migration to various cities which originated as veteran colonies and with

5 Moch 1992; a second revised edition appeared in 2003.

6 Emmer and Mörner 1992.

7 Visible in the scope of Hoerder 2002, covering migration in world history from 1000 CE onwards. For ventures further back in time, see Manning 2013.

'foreigners' recorded in the inscriptions of Germania Superior, Germania Inferior and Raetia.⁸

Despite the existence of a substantial amount of literature dealing with migration in the Roman world, it is fair to say that there is no continuous research tradition of Roman migration as an independent subject in its own right. None of the works just referred to has had a great impact on general discussions of the nature of Roman society. Braunert's massive monograph, for example, seems to have placed a lid on the discussion rather than to have opened a debate on Egyptian mobility.

Yet there is a paradox, as Roman historians have long been interested in various types of movements. Countless publications dealing with the Roman conquest of Italy, or with Roman demography, discuss the foundation of citizen colonies or Latin colonies, which absorbed more than 100,000 adult men of citizen or non-citizen status during the fourth to early second centuries BCE.⁹ The veteran colonies of the late-republican and early-imperial periods have also attracted a considerable amount of attention.¹⁰ Students of Roman slavery are keenly aware of the fact that large numbers of slaves were shipped to Italy during the last two centuries BCE, to work in the households of the rich, in urban workshops or on the estates or farms of elite landowners or moderately well-off peasants. Many publications cite Sallust's claim that large numbers of poor country-dwellers moved to Rome because they preferred an easy life in the city, supported by private and public grain doles, to hard toil in the country,¹¹ and researchers of Roman demography have identified movement to cities as an important topic, mostly in the context of admittedly fairly general discussions of the 'urban graveyard' theory.¹²

Precisely because various types of movement in the Roman world have been studied separately, few attempts have been made to achieve a general understanding of migration in any part of the Roman empire, let alone of

8 Braunert 1964; Wilson 1966; Haley 1991; Noy 2000 and 2010; Wierschowski 1995 and Wierschowski 2001; Lassère 1977: 597–644; Frézouls 1989; Rebuffat 2004; Hamdoune 2006 (on the basis of funerary epigrams). For Rome, see in addition to Noy 2000 also Ricci 2005 summarising a host of her previous studies and Dresken-Weiland 2003. For a study of four specific centres in the West (mod. Chester, Mainz, Köln and Lyon), see Carroll 2006: 209–232; for Germania, see Kakoschke 2002 (with 28–30 for previous literature); for Raetia, see Dietz and Weber 1982.

9 Hopkins 1978a: 57; Cornell 1989: 405; Pelgrom 2012.

10 Keppie 1983; Galsterer 1991; Todisco 1999.

11 Sall. *Cat.* 37.7.

12 Hin 2013: 221–228 for an overview and critical reevaluation.

migration in the empire as a whole. Given the fact that Roman scholars normally have been quick to pick up research interests developing in other fields, the delay calls for explanation.

One explanation may be sought in definitional and organisational issues. It seems likely that ancient historians have for a long time equated migration implicitly with voluntary movement. The extent of such voluntary movement was believed to have been relatively limited and to have been confined mainly to particular groups, most notably to the elite and traders.¹³ The state-organised or enforced movements of soldiers, colonists, and slaves were not studied under the heading of migration. As the study of these latter groups formed well-established research topics in their own right, the need for a different organisational concept was not felt.

In the meantime migration historians working on other periods have not only stressed that pre-modern levels of mobility could be high, but also that forced, state-organised and voluntary migration should be studied together. They have argued that the differences between these forms of movement are less clear than they may seem. In many cases migrants that appear to move voluntarily are in fact enmeshed in a web of social and economic obligations. The freedom of free movers is relative: it may only concern the decision to move itself, but they can still be forced to move by the conditions they live in.¹⁴ Furthermore, studies of labour relations have increasingly emphasised that many people find themselves somewhere in between a spectrum that runs from complete dependency to complete independency.¹⁵

The trend to study various forms of migration together is reflected in the definitions currently in use.¹⁶ Migration is now usually defined as the movement of humans by which they change their residence from one place to another on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. Migration is thus studied independent of agency or legal status.

It is this inclusive approach which we also advocate in this volume. While we do not claim to have remedied the deficiencies and oversights of the lack of a coherent research tradition in a single volume, we do hope that this collection of papers demonstrates that various forms of migration were intertwined. For analytical purposes it certainly makes sense to keep state-organised, forced

13 Wierschowski 1995: 271 concludes that traders account for a high proportion of mobile individuals in Roman Gaul and that freeborn people of higher status tended to stay in or near their places of birth.

14 Hoerder, Lucassen and Lucassen 2007: 31.

15 Lucassen and Lucassen 2007b: 11–12; and the essays in Eltis 2002.

16 Moch 2003: 18; Hoerder, Lucassen and Lucassen 2007: 36.

and voluntary migration separate. But progress can be achieved by juxtaposing them, and sometimes they directly impinge on each other. One example of the latter is the relationship between the forced migration of slaves and job opportunities available to voluntary migrants.¹⁷ Well-off Romans were in the habit of entrusting a wide range of domestic duties to unfree labourers.¹⁸ This meant that in the cities of Roman Italy an important niche in the urban labour market was unavailable to freeborn female migrants moving to these cities on a voluntary basis. Another illustration concerns the secondary movements caused by the state-organised migration of soldiers. As Saskia Roselaar demonstrates in her contribution to this volume, a considerable number of veterans moved back to their places of origin after completing their years of service. Some other veterans stayed in the areas where they had served or moved to other regions. In most cases the considerations lying behind these movements cannot be recovered, but it is clear that Roman recruitment policies and state-organised movements of army units gave rise to a complicated pattern of voluntary return migration among ex-soldiers.

Definitional Issues and Typologies

While explicit interest in migration as a topic for research in its own right has increased exponentially in recent years, there has also been an increase in the number of publications dealing with the more general phenomenon of ‘mobility’. Much of this recent scholarly output draws its inspiration from Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell’s *The Corrupting Sea*, which appeared in 2000. Using the concept of ‘connectivity’ as their starting point, Horden and Purcell sought, among other objectives, to bring out the distinctiveness of the Mediterranean world by calling attention to “the region’s fluid communications and the concomitant mobility of its peoples” as a structural feature in its long history.¹⁹

The idea that topics such as economic exchange, social interactions, and cultural change can profitably be studied from the angles of connectivity, fluidity and mobility has an obvious appeal in the case of the Roman period. Especially during the Principate levels of mobility are likely to have been relatively high. Migration and mobility occurred in peaceful conditions across a vast space. The Mediterranean and a network of Roman roads connected the regions of the empire to each other. Wars were normally fought at far-away

¹⁷ One of the themes of Holleran 2013.

¹⁸ Hawkins 2013: 338–339.

¹⁹ Horden and Purcell 2002; quote from Horden 2005: 79. Cf. Woolf, in this volume.

frontiers. Although not all subjects might have swallowed the ideological construct of the *pax Romana* whole, the number of internal wars and revolts was slight. The extent of the empire, the volume of internal trade, the well-developed possibilities for transport, the relative absence of legal obstacles impeding movement, all these factors were surely conducive to the rise of a *culture voyageuse*.

This is not to say that Horden and Purcell's approach is not open to criticism. The concept of connectivity calls for greater precision: we should move beyond mere metaphoric use.²⁰ If movement across the Mediterranean is seen as a structural property throughout the millennia, numerous questions are raised about its limitations, and about the structure and nature of the patterns in Roman times. Mobility may have been a phenomenon of all times, but its patterns and peculiarities depended on institutional, economic and social contexts that differed from society to society. As Greg Woolf points out in this volume, the term 'mobility' can be used to refer to all kinds of movement. Therefore, the claim that the inhabitants of the Roman Mediterranean were 'more mobile' or that micro-regions were 'better connected' than previous researchers thought deserves further analysis. In fact, it might be compatible with the view that mobility mostly took the form of frequent movements over shorter distances – one is reminded of one of Ravenstein's Laws according to which migration volume and distance are inversely correlated. A recurrent theme in this volume is that there were clear patterns of zoning: despite the fact that large distances were covered, much mobility took place within regional horizons. Accessibility was obviously important, and not only waterways, but also the urban network seems responsible for much of the migration patterns. Yet while annual voyages of ships carrying Egyptian or African grain to Italy created good opportunities for travel by sea, it is by no means clear how many inhabitants of the Mediterranean provinces used these opportunities to travel to distant destinations. There were not only possibilities, but also limitations to movement – and both merit study.

It is notoriously difficult to draw a clear boundary line between 'migration' and other forms of 'mobility'. In a footnote Christer Bruun insists that we should distinguish between 'travellers' and 'migrants'. While few would disagree with this reminder, it remains the case that throughout history some 'travellers' have become 'migrants' by opting for permanent residence in another city or region. Various types of mobility spill over in each other. With reference to the Roman

20 See the response to Horden and Purcell 2000 by Harris 2005, stressing at 9–10 the need for measurability.

empire, it may be added that the surviving evidence very often does not allow us to distinguish between various types of ‘movers’. In papers dealing with the Roman Near East and with Asia Minor, Andrea Zerbini, Laurens Tacoma and Rolf Tybout discuss the evidence provided by epitaphs of people who died away from their regions or cities of birth. In quite a few cases it cannot be determined whether the individual commemorated in a funerary text was a migrant who had settled in the place where he, or she, died or a traveller who died on his way to another destination. Claire Holleran and Saskia Hin call attention to another problem. As they point out, some of their material might refer to second-generation rather than to first-generation migrants. Clear-cut examples of such second-generation migrants are hard to find, however. One relatively certain case is mentioned by Bruun: a peregrine *faber navalis* whose name appears in an inscription from Ostia (cf. below) bears the name *Ostiensis*, suggesting he was born after his parents, or one of his more distant ancestors, had moved to Ostia.

In his 1978 article Charles Tilly tackled the problem of defining ‘migration’ by proposing a classification of various types of mobility which was based on two variables.²¹ The first of these is the distance moved and the other the severity of the social cleavage created by the movement. According to Tilly, daily moves over short distances with minimal social breakage should be grouped under the heading ‘mobility’, whereas the term ‘migration’ should be reserved for movements over longer distances involving a significant amount of cleavage or disruption. In this scheme at least certain types of mobility, such as long-distance travel for recreational or emotional purposes, have no place, while the distinction between ‘migration’ and other forms of mobility is one of degree rather than of kind. These points are both useful and important. Yet whether disruption is a good definitional criterion may be doubted; it is noteworthy that in current thinking about diaspora communities and transnationalism the emphasis is on the maintenance of the ties rather than on the discontinuities.²² In current definitions, ‘disruption’ is normally replaced by the more neutral term ‘permanency’: a move should be of significant duration in order to be considered a form of migration.

Replacing ‘rupture’ with ‘permanency’ as one of the defining features of migration does certainly not solve all problems. Permanency is a relative concept. What the exact duration of a stay should be in order to be considered permanent remains unstated. The problem is demonstrated by the use of the

²¹ Tilly 1978.

²² Hoerder 2012.

slightly awkward term 'semi-permanent' in the current definitions of migration: migration is defined as a change of residence from one place to another on a permanent or semi-permanent basis. The term 'semi-permanent' is used to refer to two somewhat different phenomena: seasonal migration (the regular patterned movement between two places with stays of some duration), and temporary migration (the movement into a place for a longer period of time, and subsequent return). As the papers of Erdkamp and Tacoma and Tybout in this volume make clear, it is likely that many forms of mobility in the Roman empire fell under that heading.

Tilly also distinguished between four different types of migration: 1. local migration, involving a movement to a geographically contiguous labour market, land market or marriage market, 2. circular migration, in which migrants return to their point of departure after a well-defined interval, 3. chain migration, in which migrating individuals or households receive aid, information or encouragement from people at the destination, and 4. career migration, in which people move because they are offered new positions by the organisations employing them, such as firms, governments or armies.²³ In theory this is an attractive typology, but Roman historians have found little use for it: the nature of the evidence hardly ever allows them to categorise attested cases of migration into any of Tilly's types, and some of his categories, in particular chain migration – which became very prominent in Tilly's later work on migration and remittances – are difficult to detect.²⁴

Perhaps this is not just the result of the inadequacies of the Roman evidence. In an important article Lesger, Lucassen and Schrover have criticised Tilly's typology for being based on heterogeneous criteria, such as spatial aspects, chronological criteria and modal elements. Based on this observation, they propose an alternative typology in which various types of migration are categorised on the basis of three criteria: 1. the distance covered by the migrant or migrants, 2. the duration of the stay at the destination or destinations, and 3. the social and organisational aspects of migratory movements.²⁵ In this volume Andrea Zerbini uses this revised typology to categorise and interpret the complicated patterns of mobility and migration emerging from the papyri and inscriptions of the Roman Near East.

23 For a more detailed exposition of Tilly's typology, see Zerbini's contribution to this volume. Cf. Noy 2000: 53–56 for attempts to apply this typology to the city of Rome.

24 de Ligt 2013: 147–148.

25 Lesger, Lucassen and Schrover 2002.

Migration Motives

There are multiple ways of analysing the reasons why people decided to move, or not to move, from rural areas to the city, from one city to another, or from one rural area to another. In many publications, including some appearing in this volume, the motives of migrants are analysed in terms of 'pull' and 'push' factors.

Historically, large numbers of people have moved to other areas after losing their houses, farms, farm animals, crops or stocks as a result of warfare or natural disasters or because they wanted to escape the threat of violence. During the early Empire military disruption must have persuaded some people to leave their places of birth, at least temporarily. This occurred for instance during the suppression of the Jewish revolts of 66–73 CE and 132–135 CE, but from the perspective of migration history the main effect of these and other revolts was that they resulted in the carrying off of large numbers of involuntary migrants.²⁶ Indirectly, internal wars may also have stimulated the stationing of auxiliary units outside their homelands – one thinks of the Batavians stationed near Hadrian's Wall at Vindolanda.²⁷ During the Principate natural disasters are known to have prompted at least some people to migrate. A passage from Seneca's *Naturales Quaestiones* reports that many people left Campania after the earthquake of 62 or 63 CE.²⁸ Although earthquakes were (and are) frequent occurrences in the Mediterranean, we hear very little about subsequent resettlement. Likewise, although our knowledge of Roman infectious diseases has greatly improved over the past decades, there is little that points in the direction of disease-induced movement.²⁹

In any case, there are good reasons to think that during the early Empire economic considerations, such as adverse economic conditions or lack of economic opportunities in the sending area, and the existence of better opportunities in the area of destination are likely to have been the most important

26 One thinks of the case of Claudia Aster *Hierosolymitana captiva* (CIL 10, 1971), discussed in Bruun's contribution to this volume.

27 Cf. Roselaar, in this volume.

28 Sen. *Nat.* 6.1.10. In a paper dealing with migration in the contemporary world, Delgado Wise and Márquez Covarrubias 2012 group migration due to violence, conflicts and natural disasters under the heading of 'forced migration'. In this volume the latter term is used exclusively to refer to forcible movements of slaves.

29 For a possible case, see Dupras and Schwarcz 2001 who found a migrant with leprosy in the Dakleh Oasis in Roman Egypt and suggested he may have been expelled from the Nile Valley.

push and pull factors behind various types of voluntary migration. Countless studies dealing with the modern world, or with past societies, have shown that economic hardship is a major factor in persuading people to move elsewhere, either temporarily or permanently, and that the growth of new economic opportunities in other areas, particularly in cities, played a crucial part in selecting destinations.³⁰

In this volume Paul Erdkamp argues that many peasants in Roman Italy were structurally underemployed, mainly because they did not have the capital or the opportunity to expand the amount of land they cultivated or to shift to more labour-intensive cropping strategies. Faced with this situation, large numbers of country-dwellers opted for 'seasonal migration' to Rome, where they could earn additional income by hiring themselves out as labourers in the building industry or as carriers in the harbour districts along the Tiber.

In an inscription from Ostia listing about ninety members of a professional association, in all likelihood a *collegium* of the shipwrights (*fabri navales*), Christer Bruun detects the names of seven immigrants of peregrine status. He argues that these men were skilled carpenters from the Greek-speaking provinces who moved to Ostia in search of job opportunities. The themes covered by Adams' discussion of mobility and migration in Roman Egypt also include job opportunities and the professional qualifications of various groups of migrants. He argues that the city of Alexandria must have offered an exceptionally wide array of job opportunities which will have been attractive to both skilled and unskilled workers.

In an article dealing with transnational or transregional connections created by migration during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Hoerder points out that "historically, mining was a macro-regional or global economic sector connected by migrants regardless of states and borders".³¹ In this volume Claire Holleran delves into the relatively rich epigraphic record from Roman Spain and Portugal, arguing that mining engineers and skilled mining workers accounted for a large proportion of migration to various mining areas in the Iberian peninsula, which involved movements over surprisingly long distances. The technical and specialised nature of mining must be part of the explanation, but as Holleran points out, we should also take account of less tangible aspects of labour migration, such as information supplied by labour contractors and links that may have developed through chain migration.

Other economic considerations appear among the pull factors discussed by Andrea Zerbini. He observes that at least some migrants in the Roman Near East appear to have moved to areas offering good opportunities for commercial

30 From an ocean of literature we single out Castles 2012 and Smith 2014.

31 Hoerder 2012: 78.

agriculture, but that people also responded to other economic stimuli, such as the favourable fiscal conditions offered by Herod to people settling in the Trachonitis, a region suffering from banditry.

Focusing on early-imperial Rome and Herculaneum, Garnsey and De Ligt argue that Rome must have offered far better economic opportunities to voluntary migrants than many of the smaller cities of Roman Italy. High levels of imperial expenditure and elite spending created many job opportunities at Rome, and the monthly grain distributions provided hundreds of thousands of citizens living in Rome with part of their livelihood. In the small city of Herculaneum, by contrast, slaves and ex-slaves seem to have been used not only in the domestic service sector but also in commerce and manufacturing, thus reducing job opportunities for voluntary migrants, and of course Herculaneum did not have free hand-outs of grain.

Bernard's and Lo Cascio's papers add some important nuances to these economic approaches. Lo Cascio argues that ancient historians are far too pessimistic about the sanitary conditions prevailing in many large cities of the Roman empire and therefore tend to overestimate the level of excess urban mortality in these cities. If he is right, the urban graveyard effect must have created fewer vacancies in the labour market of the city of Rome than is often assumed, thus reducing job opportunities for immigrants. Adding another interesting twist to the debate about migration to Rome, Seth Bernard argues that *perceptions* of opportunities available in other places, such as ill-founded ideas about the availability of free hand-outs of grain in the city of Rome, are likely to have been at least as important as the realities with which migrants had to cope after reaching their destinations.

During the past couple of decades many specialists in the field of migration studies have expressed some reservations about the explanatory potential of approaches based on a 'push-pull' perspective. As Erdkamp's discussion of seasonal mobility implies, most migration decisions are taken in the context of the family rather than by individuals alone, and the process is therefore likely to have consisted of a complex weighing of various factors. One of the major objections is that push-pull reduces the persons involved to powerless individuals that simply move in response to straightforward external factors, without any agency of their own. As Donald Bogue noted more than 35 years ago, a more realistic understanding of the complex decisions taken by potential or actual migrants can be achieved by adopting a 'cost-benefit' approach. In this approach, decisions are made on the basis of a careful consideration of gains and losses.³² An important advantage of this modification is that it alerts us the operation of all kinds of factors and considerations that *dissuaded* people

32 Bogue 1977.

from migrating. As Greg Woolf observes in this volume, we should think not only about movers but also about stayers.

Perhaps also about returners. Based on an investigation of funerary epigrams, Laurens Tacoma and Rolf Tybout observe that only one of their texts explicitly concerns permanent resettlement, while most cases seem to concern temporary forms of mobility. In his study of the repatriation of the remains of people who had died abroad, Rolf Tybout argues that many inhabitants of the empire felt strongly attached to the cities where they had been born, despite the fact that they were also very mobile. The same epigrams that testify to countless travels over hundreds of kilometres also show that if a person died abroad, relatives often arranged for the remains of their beloved ones to be carried home for burial in the soil of their city of birth. This will obviously only have been an option for those who could afford to pay the costs of transportation and had the time to make the arrangements, but as Tybout demonstrates, the practice is documented in a wide array of sources, from various parts of the empire, and covers a surprisingly wide part of the population.

In her article about the movements of British auxiliary units, Tatiana Ivleva points out that the simple fact that the men serving in these units were identified as originating from particular ethnic groups or from particular cities in Roman Britain shows that belonging to such communities was regarded as an important element in the identities of auxiliary soldiers. She also finds evidence of soldiers sharing a common ethnic background sticking together, for instance in setting up altars for deities worshipped in their places or regions of origin. Such emphasis on a shared ethnic background may imply (though does in itself not prove) substantial return migration.

The other side of the coin is that emotional considerations also stimulated people to visit relatives living in other places. As Lien Foubert shows, people in Roman Egypt travelled not only for economic reasons but for personal and emotional ones, and Christer Bruun refers to a case in which two young women travelled all the way from Gaul to northern Greece in order to visit their uncle.³³

Female Mobility and Family Migration

Specialists on the Roman slave trade agree that the forced migration of slaves involved large numbers of men and women, although the gender balance among slaves acquired in the market remains controversial.³⁴ Other types of

33 *CIL* 3, 14406.

34 Scheidel 1997; Harris 1999.

female migration have received less attention from ancient historians. Mainly due to the limitations imposed by the extant written and archaeological evidence, publications dealing with movements of military units, or with the foundation of veteran colonies, have little to say about those women who accompanied soldiers or ex-soldiers,³⁵ and scholarly discussions of the relationships between migration and job opportunities tend to focus on those sectors of the urban or rural economy that were dominated by men, such as the urban building industry or harvest labour performed by itinerant gangs of male workers.³⁶ Although scattered remarks about travelling women or female migrants can be found in many publications, a systematic study of female mobility in the early Roman empire has never been attempted.³⁷

The one paper in this volume that deals exclusively with mobile women is Foubert's study of female mobility in Roman Oxyrhynchus and along the roads linking the Nile Valley and the Red Sea. She finds evidence for women travelling for private reasons but also some clues pointing to the existence of a prostitution network providing soldiers stationed in the forts along the desert routes with temporary female companions.

Focusing more specifically on various forms of temporary or permanent migration (to the exclusion of travel), many other contributions call attention to evidence of women taking part in such movements. As we have seen, the extensive use of slaves for domestic duties must have reduced employment opportunities for freeborn women looking for jobs in the cities of Roman Italy, and men must have accounted for the vast majority of the construction workers and carriers discussed in Erdkamp's paper on seasonal migrants. However, as Saskia Hin points out in a paper dealing with Hellenistic and Roman Athens, a proper interpretation of funerary inscriptions commemorating immigrants suggests that the sex ratio among migrants living in this particular city was approximately even. It is therefore difficult to avoid the conclusion that women accounted for about half of those non-Athenians who moved to Athens with the aim of permanent residence. Interestingly, some funerary inscriptions refer explicitly to cases of family migration.

A significant female presence would be in line with the findings of a handful of recent studies which use isotope analysis to identify immigrants, a topic discussed in Prowse's, Bruun's and Lo Cascio's papers. The interpretation of

35 For women accompanying soldiers in Roman Egypt, see Foubert 2013b; for Vindolanda see Greene 2013.

36 Suet. *Vesp.* 1.4; *ILS* 7457 (the Mactar harvester).

37 For a partial exception, see Wierschowski 1995: 262–266, discussing female mobility in Gaul. See also Woolf 2013a.

these isotopic data is not free from problems. The most important of these is perhaps that some Mediterranean regions have similar isotope ranges, making it difficult to reconstruct migration patterns involving movements within or between these areas. On the other hand, as Prowse points out in her contribution, this 'lack of resolution' should not be allowed to obscure the fundamental fact that isotope analysis is an excellent tool for identifying immigrants among those individuals whose lives are not illuminated by any kind of literary or epigraphic evidence but solely by the chemical signatures of their skeletons. Viewed in this light, it remains highly significant that osteological and dental research on skeletons from Portus and other places within as well as outside Italy has demonstrated that a considerable number of women were buried in places different from their places of origin.³⁸

As far as sex-specific and age-related patterns of mobility are concerned, marital mobility certainly deserves further study. Marriage was at least in principle *virilocal*: upon marriage a wife moved into the husband's or his father's household. It seems likely that normally such marital mobility did not cover large geographical distances. But if we assume that young men accounted for a significant proportion of migrants, and take the relatively late age of male marriage into account, it follows almost automatically that marriage considerations will have structured at least certain Roman migration patterns. Men might have returned home in order to marry, they may have found brides in their new place, or they may have brought wives from home (or have sent for them after being settled). The termination of a marriage through divorce or death might have prompted further movements. One of the conclusions which emerge from Zerbinì's paper is that in the Roman Near East there was a surprising amount of mobility in rural areas, often involving the permanent migration of men or women to the village or town where their marriage partners lived or owned property. In a similar vein Tacoma and Tybout argue that many of the cases of female migration referred to in epigrams from Asia Minor might be interpreted as the result of marital mobility. At the same time they warn that it would be too easy to interpret all female mobility as marital mobility simply because it concerns women. As Foubert's examples show, other motives also played a part.

Some migrant wives turn up in unexpected locations. Both Bruun and Ivleva discuss epigraphic and archaeological evidence for unofficial 'wives' of legionaries and auxiliaries accompanying their partners when their units were moved to other parts of the empire. The itinerant miners of Roman Portugal and Spain discussed by Holleran are another interesting case. While men

38 Prowse et al. 2007; Killgrove 2010a; Prowse, in this volume.

dominate the epigraphic record, women account for about one fifth of immigrants in the mining districts. Interestingly, a small number of children and adolescents are also recorded. In some cases we might be dealing with second-generation migrants and their offspring, but it seems likely that at least some miners were accompanied by their spouses.

Membership Regimes and Transregional Connections

In the contemporary world some countries treat legal migrants as ‘citizens on arrival’, expecting them to integrate in the host society, while other countries assign various groups of migrants lesser political rights and limited access to social benefits. Students of migration history have coined the term ‘membership regimes’ to refer to such differences in policies towards immigrants.³⁹ During the Principate certain categories of immigrants were more easily integrated into local societies than other groups, and the picture is further complicated by differences between the juridical ‘membership regimes’ of communities in different parts of the empire.

In those communities which used Roman law a manumitted slave obtained the same juridical status as his or her former owner. In practical terms this meant that the ex-slave of a Roman citizen was given full citizenship rights, at least if he or she had been manumitted formally and after reaching the age of thirty.⁴⁰ The same rule also applied at the level of local citizenship rights, so that a slave who was freed by a citizen of Herculaneum obtained the local citizenship of that city. In the *Album of Herculaneum*, which is discussed in Garnsey’s and De Ligt’s contribution, ex-slaves are listed in separate voting groups, demonstrating that their social status was inferior to that of freeborn citizens, but with a handful of exceptions (mainly in the law of succession) Roman civil law did not distinguish between Roman citizens of various backgrounds.

Some of the papers contained in this volume also shed light on the degree to which migrants of citizen status who moved to other cities in Roman Italy were integrated into the receiving communities. In principle, a citizen of Pompeii or Puteoli who moved to Herculaneum became a ‘resident foreigner’ (*incola*) in the latter city. However, one of the fragments of the *Album of Herculaneum* is a list of Roman citizens originating from other Italian cities

39 Lucassen 2013 and the essays in Bosma, Kessler and Lucassen 2013.

40 Those slaves who had been freed informally or before reaching the age of thirty were given the inferior status of Junian Latin.

who had moved to Herculaneum and been co-opted (*adlecti*) as local citizens. Since these new Herculaneans retained the local citizenship of their cities of origin, their *adlectio* had the effect of creating a dual local citizenship. From Christer Bruun's discussion of an inscription from the North-Italian city of Vardagate it appears that co-optation of immigrants as local citizens also took place in other parts of early-imperial Italy. Interestingly, the text from Vardagate explains that those slaves who have obtained their freedom before their master's co-optation as a local citizen will only obtain the local citizenship if they themselves want to be co-opted. Regardless of such legal technicalities, these texts point to the existence of a relatively open 'membership regime' in the cities of early-imperial Italy.

In many contemporary countries 'membership' of a national community entails entitlement to various material benefits. In early-imperial Rome only Roman citizens were entitled to free hand-outs of grain. The rules governing these grain distributions are the main topic of Seth Bernard's paper. One of his main points is that the system of *frumentationes* became exclusive after Augustus' introduction of a *numerus clausus*. As a result of this, migrants to Rome could no longer realistically hope to be inscribed on the list of recipients of free hand-outs. However, as Garnsey and De Ligt point out, the chance of obtaining access to the *frumentationes* must have been largely determined by levels of mortality among the beneficiaries. In other words, if the population of Rome experienced a significant degree of excess mortality, it would not have taken many years for immigrants of citizen status to become eligible for free hand-outs of grain.

Compared to the urban communities of Roman Italy, the Greek cities of the eastern provinces were less generous in bestowing local citizenship. Here manumitted slaves became 'resident foreigners' rather than local citizens. In addition to this, relatively few freeborn immigrants were given local citizenship. Saskia Hin examines the juridical aspects of the 'membership regime' of Hellenistic and Roman Athens. One of her findings is that the old rule that freeborn immigrants originating from other Greek cities, or from non-Greek cities, became 'resident foreigners' remained in operation. Interestingly, however, the epigraphic record of the late-Hellenistic and Roman periods not only contains quite a few references to Athenian men of citizens status marrying non-Athenian women, but also shows that the descendants of such couples were regarded as Athenian citizens. This points to a relaxation of the Periclean law according to which only those children born from a marriage between an Athenian husband and an Athenian wife became Athenian citizens.

Another topic which has attracted a considerable amount of attention from migration researchers is the existence and maintenance of trans-national,

trans-regional or trans-local links between migrant communities and their countries or regions of origin.⁴¹ During the first century CE the Jews had the right to collect the temple tax and to send it to Jerusalem (until Vespasian diverted this tax for the benefit of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus), and the apostle Paul made extensive use of the network of Jewish communities which existed in Asia Minor and in Greece.⁴² We also happen to know that the Tyrian merchants of Puteoli maintained close links with their mother city.⁴³ In the eastern provinces the Palmyrenes of Dura Europos can be shown to have maintained both practical and ideal connections with their native land.⁴⁴ These examples show that during the Principate at least some groups of migrants maintained close ties not only with each other but also with their city or region of origin.

Another valuable clue is the widespread use of ethnic designations in funerary inscriptions. As we have already seen, it is not always easy to establish whether the person commemorated in these inscriptions should be regarded as a migrant or as a traveller. In their discussion of funerary epigrams from the Greek-speaking East Tacoma and Tybout call attention to another difficulty. Does the inclusion of a reference to the ethnic or geographical origin of a deceased traveller or migrant reflect the ideas of the latter or those of the commemorator who wrote or commissioned the inscription? At the very least it seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the commemorator regarded the fact that the deceased came from a particular city or region as an important aspect of his or her identity. In the vast majority of cases the deceased traveller or migrant is likely to have shared this view.

In a few cases a group of funerary texts commemorating deceased migrants originating from a particular city or region has been found in the same cemetery.⁴⁵ In these cases we may postulate the existence of a coherent ethnic community. However, it is noteworthy that almost all such evidence for group coherence comes from the Jewish diaspora communities that dotted the Roman Empire; a group with strongly demarcated boundaries for whom ethnic and religious identity overlapped. In the case of the city of Rome, no ethnic graveyards of early-imperial date have been identified apart from the (somewhat later) Jewish catacombs. In those cases where people who are

41 See, for instance, Hoerder 2012.

42 For the temple tax see Philo *Leg.* 156–157, 291 and 312–316; Jos. *Ant.* 16.163–164.

43 See Bruun's contribution to this volume.

44 Zerbini, in this volume.

45 One thinks of the Jewish Palmyrenes buried at Beth She'arim, whose epitaphs are discussed in Zerbini's contribution.

explicitly identified as migrants received epitaphs amidst those of locals, we cannot go beyond the conclusion that a particular individual remained emotionally attached to his or her city or region of origin.

One of the questions which have occupied contributors to the debate about the trans-national or trans-regional connections of migrant communities in the contemporary world concerns the maintenance of such links by the descendants of migrants. In the modern world first-generation migrants invest most energy in maintaining transcultural ties with their countries or regions of origin. With the passage of time, however, many groups of migrants or their descendants begin to set up permanent institutions in the receiving communities, thereby creating settings in which direct connections can be replaced by symbolic celebrations of roots.⁴⁶ The fragmentary evidence from the early Roman empire is not good enough to address these topics, but it remains striking that Jewish communities across the Mediterranean world kept sending money to the temple of Jerusalem from the time of Augustus till the early 70s; and as we have seen, it is possible that some of those funerary texts which contain a reference to the deceased's ethnic or geographical origin commemorate descendants of immigrants rather than first-generation migrants.

Sources and Models

Although any attempt to trace migration and mobility runs up against the limitations imposed by the surviving evidence and also against various methodological difficulties, the amount of textual evidence surviving from the first two centuries CE that can be used for this purpose is surprisingly abundant. Over the past decades, epigraphers and papyrologists have produced some valuable studies of regional mobility on the basis of documentary texts. As we have seen, however, the geographical coverage has been rather uneven, with a heavy emphasis on Rome and the Latin West.⁴⁷

Several papers in this volume tap into the large reservoir of sources from the Roman world. There are many types of documents that allow the reconstruction of individual moves, running from military *diplomata* to epigrams to personal letters. It is of real importance that these groups of material are brought into the discussion, and many authors have added maps, graphs, tables and appendices to make their sources accessible to non-specialists. The micro-histories underlying such collections of data are almost never straightforward,

⁴⁶ Hoerder 2012: 74.

⁴⁷ Above, at note 8.

and in many cases multiple interpretations of the nature of the moves are possible. The effort is nevertheless important. The individual findings can both be placed in series in order to allow analysis of broader patterns and at the same time they present a wealth of individual detail. In two cases, the Album of Herculaneum and the Athenian *kioniskoi*, it is even possible to use them for statistical analysis.

These sources normally concern specific regions of the empire. Although we strongly believe that such regional studies are an important way to advance the subject, our book is not intended as a regional survey. It is certainly possible that specific regions had specific patterns of mobility – if only because regional urban networks could be different in character. We do not believe that such patterns are likely to emerge from our sources, however. It is rather that specific regions have left us with specific types of sources which can be used to elucidate particular problems. Given the fact that many previous studies have concerned the western part of the empire, we have tried to redress the balance by including a number of papers on the East.

At the same time regional studies raise the problem of typicality. Does Hin's model of balanced sex ratios of male and female migrants in Athens supersede the model of predominantly male migration advocated for Rome? Or do they represent distinct migration regimes? How typical is the very large presence of urban slaves in Herculaneum which forms the basis of the model of Garnsey and De Ligt?

In recent years, isotopic studies of skeletal and dental material from graveyards in Italy and other parts of the empire have added important new insights; in addition, craniometry has had a modest revival, while some studies of aDNA are also appearing.⁴⁸ Various other types of material evidence have also contributed to our understanding. As pointed out by Prowse in this volume, there is little reason to privilege one source type over another on *a priori* grounds.⁴⁹ Each type of source presents challenges of its own; none can be considered to provide 'hard data' that speak for themselves. Since the systematic study of ancient migration is still in its infancy, it is hardly surprising that problems of identification and definition still loom large in the discussion – be it of onomastic

48 Much work has focused on Britain. Examples include Budd et al. 2004, a pioneering overview of the possibilities of isotopic research in Britain, including some Roman material, and Leach et al. 2009, combining craniometry with isotopic study, and some of the studies collected in Eckardt 2010. Outside Britain, see Dupras and Schwarcz 2001 on the Dakleh Oasis in Egypt, and Perry et. al. 2009 on the mining area of Phaeno in Jordan. For a study of DNA from an imperial estate in Southern Italy, see Prowse et al. 2010.

49 Cf. the debate between Bruun 2010 and Killgrove 2010c.

criteria in epigraphy, the meaning of ethnic grave goods, or the establishment of what constitutes a 'local range' in isotopic studies. Perhaps the greatest challenge is to bring discrete clusters of sources into contact with each other.⁵⁰

Although the amount of usable evidence is quite impressive, anyone working on the subject has to face the possibility, or rather the certainty, that some forms of mobility have escaped documentation. Most of the Roman sources available are more helpful when it comes to identifying the presence of foreigners (non-locals) than when it comes to tracing migration as a process. We find foreigners in all sorts of locations, but often do not know for how long they intended to stay. Reconstructing their motives for coming is even more difficult. It is also bears emphasising that we often look at migration through the lens of funerary practices. Most of our attestations of migration come from burial sites: say 80% of the epigraphic material and 100% of the isotopic evidence. The papyri form a notable exception and therefore deserve full study. Under these circumstances it is very difficult to establish the levels or modalities of temporary mobility, and the countryside often remains completely out of reach.

Where the surviving sources desert us, at least some further progress can be achieved by drawing on comparative data (bearing in mind the possibility that the Roman world might have been unique in some respects) or by using quantitative models to explore the connections between variables. In this context, the ongoing debate about urban excess mortality in the city of Rome, which draws much of its inspiration from Wrigley's and Sharlin's work on early-modern Europe, springs immediately to mind.⁵¹ Quantification of human mobility in Roman republican Italy has pointed to the importance of various forms of state-organised and forced mobility.⁵² Small-scale modelling of the composition of urban populations suggests that at least in the cities of Central-Western Italy slavery remained important.⁵³ Another tactic is to use some of the non-quantitative theories developed by historians, archaeologists or anthropologists working on different periods or regions. One obvious example is theories about the functioning of urban or rural labour markets, which have major implications for our views on the scope for labour migration. Another, related option is to study migration from the perspective of rural household economics.

50 See the valuable attempts collected in Eckardt 2010.

51 Morley 1996; Lo Cascio 2006; Hin 2013.

52 Scheidel 2004.

53 de Ligt and Garnsey 2012.

In applying these models, theories and approaches, we have to accept that certain important questions cannot be answered. Still, considering how little systematic work has been done, there is every reason to be optimistic about the possibilities for further research.

The Scope of This Volume

The most important themes of this volume are rural–urban migration, labour mobility, relationships between forced and voluntary mobility, military recruitment and state-organised movements of military units, and familial and female mobility. We have preferred the coherence offered by a limited set of themes over an all-inclusive approach. In consequence, some important topics which might be profitably examined from a migration studies point of view, such as the settlement of veterans in colonial cities, the role of migration in the development of *canabae* or the voluntary migration of civilians to newly conquered areas such as Dacia, are dealt with either very briefly or not at all. Moreover, we have deliberately left out of account processes of acculturation triggered or stimulated by migratory moves. Not only is there an abundant literature on the topic, but discussions of acculturation usually simply take migration and mobility for granted rather than studying it.

The chronological scope of most of the contributions is confined to the first two or three centuries of the empire. Some papers include late antique sources as well, and three papers dealing with Greece and Asia Minor incorporate considerable amounts of Hellenistic material for comparative purposes. Geographically a substantial part of the empire is covered, but many regions are passed over in silence.

Chronological issues and temporary changes which took place during the Principate have deliberately been left aside. As noted, some mobility was the result of natural disasters, of wars, or of epidemics. But focusing on the relatively stable and peaceful world of the early Roman empire allows concentrating on the structural features.

Obviously, our volume is not the first word on Roman migration. Neither is it intended as the last. There is room for debate on many issues, and we have deliberately not attempted to iron out the divergences between the various contributions in this volume. Our principal aims in publishing this volume are to alert ancient historians to some recent developments in the field of migration studies, and to identify some important categories of evidence that can be used to study mobility and migration in the Roman world. Its main purpose will be fulfilled if the papers contained in it will stimulate other researchers to

supplement our preliminary findings, or to improve on them, by developing alternative models, by bringing new types of evidence into play, or by widening the geographical and chronological scope of research into migration or other forms of mobility in Roman Italy and in the Roman empire as a whole. There is not only a gap in the literature, but also one that can and needs to be filled.

The Impact of Migration on the Demographic Profile of the City of Rome: A Reassessment*

Elio Lo Cascio

The so-called ‘urban graveyard effect’, that is the excess mortality in the urban centres of the pre-industrial world due to the ‘appalling’ living conditions in an exceedingly crowded environment, has been considered by many historians, and in particular by quite a few historians of ancient Rome, as a sort of natural law. As a result of this phenomenon the population of these urban centres could be maintained only at the levels which had been reached by means of a continuous inflow of immigrants. Jongman, Morley and, to a certain extent, Scheidel, have gone so far as to regard it as the main, or even as the only cause of the alleged stagnation or even decrease of the population of Italy in the last two centuries of the Republic: the monster city of Rome would have acted as a demographic sink.¹

I objected to the main tenets of this theory in some contributions which were published a few years ago.² First of all, I pointed out that the continuous inflow of migrants to Rome cannot be deemed to be the cause of the alleged stagnation of the population of Italy. This can be argued by means of simple statistical calculations: unless one is prepared to assume that the rate of mortality not only among the migrants but also among the core population of citizens residing in the city on a permanent basis was dramatically higher than the rate of mortality prevailing among the rural non-metropolitan inhabitants of Italy, migration to Rome cannot have absorbed, and offset, the possible growth of the Italian population at large. The weight of Rome’s population in the whole population of Italy was certainly increasing over time, but not by so much as to neutralise the supposedly modest natural increase of the Italian population outside Rome. A comparison with London between the sixteenth and the early nineteenth century is, in this regard, instructive: between 1550 and 1800 the population of London, notwithstanding the steady imbalance

* I should like to thank Saskia Hin, Christa Matthys and Rens Tacoma for allowing me to read their contributions in advance of publication.

1 Jongman 1990 and 2003; Morley 1996; Scheidel 1994 and 2003; see also Hopkins 1995–96: 60; Pleket 1993: 17.

2 Lo Cascio 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c and 2006.

between birth rate and death rate, increased eightfold, from 120,000 to 950,000, whereas the total population of England in the same period almost tripled from 3,010,000 to 8,666,000.³

Secondly, and on a more general level, I questioned the applicability of the urban graveyard model to the case of ancient Rome by calling attention to the quality and quantity of services provided to its inhabitants whatever their status and their economic conditions (sewers; water supply; a grain dole for a substantial part of the population). As a result of these exceptionally favourable conditions the quality of life in Rome is likely to have been superior to that existing in other preindustrial urban centres and certainly to those prevailing in early modern London, the obvious benchmark.⁴

Finally, I observed that the explanatory power of the model of the urban graveyard effect can be questioned, and has been questioned, on a theoretical level. An alternative explanation of the surplus of deaths over births in pre-industrial urban centres has been proposed by Sharlin, the so-called migration model, which reverses the causal relationship between excess mortality and migration. According to this model it was the migrants themselves who experienced a surplus of deaths, in part because they were living in more precarious and more unhealthy housing conditions and therefore were more susceptible to infectious diseases, but also because they were less fertile than the permanently resident population, mainly (but not exclusively) as a result of the skewed sex ratio prevailing among immigrants.⁵

I also pointed out that the surplus of deaths over births, as revealed in modern European towns by the imbalance between baptisms and burials, can be simply the result of migration itself, since obviously migrants who were born elsewhere die in the urban centre to which they migrate. In other words, an increase in the death rate and a decrease in the birth rate may have been caused simply by a strong influx of immigrants, which would have changed the age structure of the urban population.⁶ Figures relating to a city experiencing strong immigration could give us a misleading idea of the difference in birth

3 Finlay and Shearer 1986: 39, Tab. 1.

4 For a more pessimistic assessment of living conditions in early-imperial Rome see Garnsey and De Ligt, in this volume.

5 Sharlin 1978 and 1981. See now also Tacoma (forthcoming), Ch. 5.3, who observes that ancient historians generally have not paid much attention to this alternative model and in any case have not underlined the importance of a differential in fertility between the migrants and the permanently resident population.

6 Lo Cascio 1999: 226–227 and 2006: 54; see now Hin 2013: 227–228, and Tacoma (forthcoming), Ch. 5.6 ‘Mortality’. Enlightening is the example of St. Petersburg, a retirement community in Florida, put forward by De Vries (1984) 181: in St. Petersburg “it is the migrants to the city – in

rate and death rate between the area from which the migratory flux comes and the receiving city: we tend to underestimate the death rate and therefore to overestimate the natural increase in the former, and to do the opposite for the latter. That the 'urban graveyard effect' is in any case not a natural law is demonstrated by the well documented cases of urban centres of early modern Europe (among them Rome itself in the 17th century) for which the theory is not supported by the evidence, since a birth rate higher than death rate is recorded for long periods of time.⁷

A variant of the urban graveyard theory, specifically attributable to Rome, was proposed by Walter Scheidel, following Sallares.⁸ It has been argued that what produced a much higher mortality and therefore an imbalance between births and deaths was the incidence of malaria, which either by itself, or in interaction with other diseases, would have been responsible for a very high percentage of deaths in Rome. This incidence would be demonstrated by the epigraphic evidence of the Christian epitaphs, which record the day and/or the month of the death of the person commemorated and from which it is therefore possible to quantify mortality in the different periods of the year, thus showing a specific seasonality of death. To judge from this data, mortality in fourth-century and fifth-century Rome peaked between August and October.⁹ A much smaller and much earlier body of inscribed cinerary urns from a site on the Via Appia reveals an apparently similar seasonality, but with a shift of a month, so that the peak mortality is in October, and not in September. Two different explanations of this shift were given by Brent Shaw and Saskia Hin.¹⁰ What I would stress is that this specific seasonality has nothing to do with the 'urban graveyard effect', since it is possible to document the same seasonality in the Christian epitaphs of Southern Italy in general, whereas the peak of mortality in Northern Europe, and for instance in London, is in the winter months. In other words, the seasonality of deaths is a characteristic feature of the pre-transitional populations, urban and rural, in northern countries as well as in Mediterranean countries.

It is certainly possible that the peak of mortality in Rome was due to the endemic or even hyper-endemic character of malaria. But this cannot be proven by death seasonality alone. Nor is it supported by the evidence relating

this case the old age pensioners – who create the statistical illusion of a city unable to reproduce itself”.

7 See Lo Cascio 2006: 54–55 and references there.

8 Scheidel 2003, Sallares 1999 and 2002.

9 Shaw 1996 and 2006.

10 Shaw 2006: 93–101, Hin 2013: 103 with n. 10.

to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Rome, which does not show an incidence of malaria higher than that of typhus, influenza or enteric diseases and moreover suggests what can be expected *a priori*: that malaria was a serious problem in the countryside around Rome rather than in the city itself, and that it was a problem in the city because people came from the *agro romano* to be treated in the hospitals of Rome.¹¹ Now in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the *agro romano* was very thinly populated, if not deserted. In complete contrast to this, in ancient times the *suburbium* was very densely occupied and intensively cultivated. It is hardly credible that the *suburbium* could have appeared as a continuation of the city to Dionysius of Halicarnassus had there been hyper-endemic malaria.¹² The comparison with Grosseto and the Maremma in the mid-nineteenth century, made by Scheidel, is therefore irrelevant. Moreover, apart from two allusions to recurring fevers by Caelius Aurelianus quoting Asclepiades of Bithynia in the late second or first century BCE, and by Galen in the second century CE,¹³ which can be interpreted as caused by *plasmodium falciparum*, none of the sparse and generic hints in several literary sources, from Cicero to Livy, from Horace to Juvenal to Pliny, which have been thought to be either alluding to, or at least to be consistent with a scenario of hyper-endemicity of malaria at Rome,¹⁴ allows such a conclusion, either because the references are generic or because they do not refer to the city of Rome.

Although still supported by some ancient historians among whom notably Walter Scheidel (now also in the chapter he wrote for the *Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome*),¹⁵ the applicability of the urban graveyard model to Rome has recently been questioned on different grounds by other scholars: by Cyril Courrier in his monumental *La plèbe de Rome et sa culture*, stressing the generational continuity of the core population of Rome, to be identified with the *plebs frumentaria*,¹⁶ and above all by Saskia Hin in her recent book, on the basis of various arguments relating to the impact of migration on mortality and fertility and to the overall effect of migration to Rome on the general development of

11 Lo Cascio 2001b: 55–56 and 2006: 63.

12 Dion. Hal. *AR* 4.13.3–4. The argument given in the main text seems to me decisive, in spite of what Hin and Matthys (forthcoming) observe.

13 Caelius Aurelianus 2.63–4 Drabkin, on which see Sallares 2002: 220–223 who dates Asclepiades in the late second century BCE; Gal. 7.435 Kühn, 467–68 Kühn; 17. A. 12–2 Kühn; 17. B.642 Kühn; 11.23 Kühn.

14 Cic. *Rep.* 2.11; Liv. 5.54.4; Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.1–13; *Sat.* 2.6.16–19; Iuv. *Sat.* 4.37–59; Plin. *Ep.* 5.6.1–3; see Sallares 2002: 220–223; Scheidel 2003: 165–167.

15 Scheidel 2013: 45–49; see also Scheidel 2014.

16 Courrier 2014: Ch. 1, esp. 121–25, and *passim*.

the Italian population in the Late Republic. Hin puts particular stress on the unsuitability and the inadequateness of the data from early-modern London “as an inferential model for ancient Rome”. She underlines the necessity of looking at migration in a more articulated way, by taking into account the different types of migration (voluntary and involuntary, permanent, temporary and seasonal, economic and political and so on), as well as the push- and pull-factors involved. Her conclusion is that “urban–rural mortality differentials were perhaps less pronounced than hitherto assumed”.¹⁷ More recently, Hin and Matthys have also investigated the 19th century records of the Roman hospital of S. Gallicano in Trastevere, which seem to offer important and pertinent comparative material on the incidence of malaria and on the morbidity regime of the migrants in comparison with the native population. These data seem to suggest that in crowded nineteenth century Rome traces of the so-called ‘healthy migrant effect’ can be identified: “the vast majority of immigrants do not display worse health than Roman natives”, thanks to the degree of immunity against infectious diseases developed by them.¹⁸

On the other hand, a reliable and significant indication of the size and of the age and sex composition of the migrants in Rome seems to be an important outcome of the recent bio-archaeological analyses on the skeletal remains in necropoleis near Rome (Casal Bertone, Castellaccio Autoparco, and Isola Sacra, close to Portus and Ostia).¹⁹ As has been underlined by Hin, these analyses show not only that a substantial proportion, around 30 or 35%, of the dead were migrants, and not born in Rome or in Ostia/Portus, but that among them there were women and children, in numbers showing that the allegedly skewed sex ratio and age distribution in favour of young adult males which characterised migrants to Rome, was not, after all, as skewed as the inscriptional evidence would seem to suggest.²⁰ That means we ought to assess the fertility of the migrants in a more optimistic way.

Adopting a different view, Rens Tacoma, in his forthcoming monograph on migration and in a previous working paper, stresses the importance of the difference in fertility between the migrants and the resident population.²¹ He maintains that both the urban graveyard model and Sharlin’s migration model

¹⁷ Hin 2013: 211.

¹⁸ Hin and Matthys (forthcoming).

¹⁹ For a critical discussion of earlier studies of this material see Bruun 2010 and in this volume.

²⁰ Hin 2013: 219 and 234–237.

²¹ Tacoma (forthcoming), chs. 5.1–3; Tacoma working paper *a*, at <http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/tacoma-working-paper.pdf> (accessed 21 Dec. 2014).

can be applied to Rome. In another contribution he has also tried to give a quantitative estimate of the percentage of migrants in the population of early-imperial Rome.²² Starting from the assumption that the population of Rome at its peak would have been of 800,000/1,000,000 (and assuming tacitly that the proportion of migrants did not change over time), he takes into account five different parameters or criteria for constructing his estimate of the proportion of migrants.

The first of his parameters is the number of beneficiaries of the grain-dole, taken to represent, with some adjustment, more or less the permanently resident population of Rome, an equation certainly wholly justified, as we will see, and widely accepted. The number of beneficiaries during various phases of the Late Republic and the Early Empire has been hotly debated on the basis of some snippets of information provided by Suetonius, the *Res Gestae* and Cassius Dio, referring mostly to the Caesarian and Augustan age.²³ Tacoma does not enter into the debate, but singles out two numerical values, a minimum and a maximum, for the 'wider *plebs frumentaria*', his lowest figure being 150,000, the number of recipients of the dole after their drastic reduction by Caesar, and his maximum figure being 320,000, the number of recipients of the dole before the Caesarian *recensus*, and also the number of beneficiaries of the *congiarium* distributed by Augustus in 5 B.C. In my view, as I argued elsewhere,²⁴ it is possible to get a less hypothetical and more precise figure for the Augustan age by combining the information provided by Chapter 15 of the *Res Gestae*, in which Augustus lists the *congiaria* he distributed to the urban *plebs*, with a passage from Suetonius' biography of Augustus, in which we read that in giving his *congiaria* the emperor "did not even exclude young boys, though it had been usual for them to receive a share only after the age of eleven" (*ne minores quidem pueros praeteriit, quamvis non nisi ab undecimo aetatis anno accipere consuissent*). The seemingly discrepant figures reported by the surviving sources can be accounted for if it is assumed that the distributions of *congiaria* which were made during this period targeted male citizens belonging to different age groups: on one occasion all those aged seventeen or over (this *congiarium* benefitted a bit more than 200,000 recipients), on several occasions those aged ten or over (these *congiaria* would have gone to not less than 250,000 persons), and finally in one case male citizens of every age, including children

22 Tacoma working paper *b*, at <http://media.leidenuniv.nl/legacy/graveyards-for-rome.pdf> (accessed 21 Dec. 2014); Tacoma (forthcoming), Ch. 5.4, 'Size and composition of Rome's population'.

23 *RG* 15; Suet. *Div. Iul.* 41.3; *Aug.* 41.2; Cass. Dio 55.10.1 (Xiph.).

24 Lo Cascio 1997: 25–32.

below ten (in this case the *congariūm* would have gone to 320,000 individuals). It would therefore be possible to estimate the number of people belonging to the *plebs frumentaria* in the Augustan age, including females, by doubling the figure of 320,000. Using this method, we end up with an estimate of 600,000 to 650,000, depending on the assumed sex ratio. In my view this is the most certain indication of the number of citizens permanently residing in Rome at the beginning of the Empire we can get from our evidence; and it also happens to be the maximum estimate of the 'wider *plebs frumentaria*' which Tacoma arrives at, by a different line of reasoning.

The second parameter chosen by Tacoma to calculate the number of migrants is the estimated size of the slave population and the proportion of *vernae* in that population. Here the basis of the exercise is a bottom-up estimate of the average number of slave servants in the houses of the elite and in those of sub-elite slave-owners, estimated at one fifth of all households on the basis of the Egyptian evidence. There is no need to insist on the conjectural character of this estimate. The third parameter is the estimated number of immigrants necessary to counteract the graveyard effect, on the basis of a hypothetical excess mortality rate of 1% a year. The fourth parameter is the new data emerging from the analysis of stable isotopes in the teeth and molars of skeletons from the three cemeteries close to Rome already mentioned, which provides us with apparently incontrovertible indications of the origins of the individuals in question, and if they do not, they at least reveal whether the individuals in the sample had grown up in the vicinity of Rome or elsewhere, in which case they must have been immigrants.²⁵ The last parameter considered by Tacoma is a series of estimates of the sizes of specific groups of immigrants, which are differentiated in various ways, for instance according to their geographic origin or activity, according to the reasons why they came to Rome, and so on.

Each of the parameters adopted suggests a range of possible estimates. However, by comparing these different ranges, which do not diverge dramatically (they "show overlap"), we can proceed beyond simply making an educated guess of the percentage of immigrants in the whole population. The specific figure proposed in the end is 25%, even if Tacoma observes that "it is much safer to work with a range, and we may put this at 20 to 30%".

Both the chapter on migration in the recent book by Saskia Hin and the attempt by Rens Tacoma to answer to the question how many immigrants were living in Rome during the Principate show the great sophistication of approaches

25 For a wide-ranging discussion of the use of isotope analysis to identify migrants see Prowse's contribution to this volume.

and methodologies that has been achieved in dealing with such intractable issues, given the nature and quality of the available evidence. Hin's presentation takes properly and elegantly account of the complexity of the problem and the interaction of the different variables: sex ratio and age structure of migrants, mortality and fertility, the nature of the push and pull factors in the migratory movement. The final estimate of the size of the migratory movement advanced by Tacoma shows how important migration must have been in the life of the city of Rome during the Principate. If the range of values for the percentage of immigrants in Rome in the first or second century CE is really 20–30%, or even over a third, as the figures regarding the three necropoleis of Castellaccio Europarco, Casal Bertone and Isola Sacra seem to suggest, that means that migration in imperial Rome still was at a very high level in comparison with the migratory movement that took place in the two final centuries of the Republic when, as a result of the continuous influx of migrants, the population of the city perhaps tripled or even quadrupled.²⁶

This conclusion seems incontrovertible, since it derives from the material evidence of the skeletal remains. Obviously one can dispute its validity or its applicability to the city of Rome by insisting on the smallness of the samples, one of which does not come from a Roman necropolis or from a necropolis of the *suburbium*, but from a necropolis of Ostia and Portus, where the proportion of immigrants might have been higher than in Rome.²⁷ Christer Bruun was certainly right, moreover, in pointing out the dangers involved, for ancient historians, in the uncritical acceptance of allegedly 'hard' data provided by the natural sciences on the basis of analyses that cannot be repeated experimentally for many reasons.²⁸ Bruun also underlined the necessity of discussing the new scientific data in the light of the abundant written evidence, literary and epigraphic, relating to migration to Rome. It is worth noticing that the corpus of inscriptions referring to the foreigners at Rome led David Noy to estimate the number of immigrants coming to Rome from outside Italy conservatively at only 5% of the urban population (although this estimate was conceived of as an absolute minimum figure).²⁹ But even if caution is required until more data is available, one cannot refrain from underlining the importance of the finding that migrants still constituted a very high proportion, perhaps even one third, of Rome's population during the Principate.

²⁶ See now Morley 2013.

²⁷ Cf. Bruun, in this volume.

²⁸ Bruun 2010 and id., in this volume, to be read with Prowse's contribution.

²⁹ Noy 2000: 15–29.

This conclusion raises fundamental questions. How are we to interpret it? Is this evidence of a turnover or of a continuing increase of the population of Rome due to migration? And if it were evidence of a turnover, that is, of the replacement of a high proportion of permanent residents and/or recent migrants by new migrants, did the replaced people die or did they move elsewhere?

The answers to these questions are not straightforward, nor are the solutions adopted mutually exclusive. It seems obvious that at the end of the Republican age, when the population doubled or tripled in a few decades, the pace of migration must have been very fast: during these decades the share of migrants in the total population must have been higher, much higher, than a third. With the advent of the new regime and of the *pax Augusta* migration from the Italian peninsula must have slowed down. But migration from the provinces must have begun to increase, as a consequence of the enhanced connectivity and of the pull exerted by Rome. Therefore, leaving aside the possibility of a small natural increase, which is by no means to be excluded, in my view, the population of Rome may have continued to expand after Augustus, even if the pace of expansion must obviously have been much slower than in the last decades of the Republic. Our sources do not give any figures for the period before the outbreak of the Antonine plague, figures from which to draw quantitative estimates of the size of Rome's population, but some hints in the literary evidence and in the inscriptions do suggest the presence in Rome of people coming from all over the Mediterranean.³⁰ That the population of Rome went on to grow moderately from Augustus to Marcus is therefore quite plausible.

But the skeletal evidence also points to a turnover during the Principate, and we have seen that the urban graveyard effect, at the very least, must have been much less important than commonly believed. It must be inferred from this that the turnover affected people who did not die in Rome, but people who moved elsewhere, people who did not come to Rome to stay permanently, but temporarily: seasonal workers, traders, soldiers, students, and involuntary migrants like imported slaves. Nicholas Purcell has advanced the thesis that most of the population of Rome, throughout the history of the city and up until the Late Empire, was mobile³¹: I think that strong reasons militate against this thesis.³² In any case, the logic behind the corn-dole and the way in which it was organised strongly suggest that at least the beneficiaries and their families were permanent residents. At the end of the Republic and the beginning of

30 Starting with the famous dictum of Juvenal 3.62: *Iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes* ("The Orontes has begun to pour into the Tiber").

31 Purcell 1994 and 1999.

32 Lo Cascio 2013 and forthcoming.

the Principate they must have been the majority of the free population of Rome, perhaps the majority of the total population. If the *numerus clausus* for the beneficiaries of the corn-dole established by Augustus in 2 BCE³³ was maintained afterwards, it is possible that the weight of the *plebs frumentaria* in the whole population declined as a result of the combined effects of the growth of the population and an increase in the number of temporary residents. Such a scenario helps us to explain how and why the skeletal evidence of the Roman cemeteries shows such a high proportion of people who had grown up outside Rome.

33 Cass. Dio 55.10.1 (Xiph.).

Seasonal Labour and Rural–Urban Migration in Roman Italy

Paul Erdkamp

The Debate

In 2007 a conference was held in Leiden under the heading ‘Labour, Land, and Politics’, at which I presented a paper on mobility and migration in Italy in the second century BCE. Because of the conference’s emphasis on the social, economic and demographic background to the Gracchan land reforms, my paper focused on the situation in Italy in the Late Republic.¹ Hence, it dealt, among other things, with Scheidel’s quantitative models of mobility and migration in Italy.² Many of the issues addressed in my paper, however, were not limited to the Late Republic nor to the particular debate of the low versus the high count. Some of my ideas have met with criticism, or at least scepticism, and therefore the present article revisits some of the issues discussed in 2007, in particular those related to seasonal and temporary labour migration.

It might be useful to briefly summarise my main points in that paper. Most generally, I wanted to correct the emphasis on permanent migration that up to then was prevalent in the discussion of mobility and migration, and that could, for instance, be seen in Scheidel’s article on the movement of the free population in Italy during the Republic. He focused on what he calls ‘state sponsored’ mobility – mobility in the context of colonisation schemes or the virginal distribution of land by the Roman authorities. He concluded that these schemes caused high levels of mobility, but that there was little movement of people in Italy beyond the state-sponsored schemes, except for the movement of people towards the city of Rome.

Most relevant for the present discussion are the following points:³

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- 1 Erdkamp 2008. In order to avoid overlap, I will refer to this article and to the modern publications mentioned in it as little as possible.
 - 2 Scheidel 2004 and 2005.
 - 3 I also criticised Scheidel’s quantitative model of the demography of Rome, which assumed high fertility of migrants towards Rome and hence reduced estimates of the numbers of migrants involved, but I will not deal with this issue in the present article.

1. I referred to the case of eighteenth-century Italy, where we find an annual flow of about 100,000 seasonal labourers from central Italy towards the cities and plains of Tuscany, Latium and Campania, where they either worked on the estates of large landowners or in the cities. A similar flow existed in northern Italy, stemming from the Apennines and Alps and moving towards the commercial farms and cities in the Po-plain. Although hardly visible in the ancient sources, I suggested there was much seasonal and temporary migration in Roman Italy too.
2. The factors that caused seasonal and temporary labour migration operated in the ancient world too: seasonal labour is explained by the shifting balance between the income on rural farms and the wages offered elsewhere. Because of the typical imbalance among smallholders between available land and workers within the household, labour productivity on the land was low. Hence, employment opportunities away from their farm brought about the migration of seasonal workers and temporary migrants. Temporary migration, during which people left their homes at the beginning of young adulthood to work in towns and cities, was related to the family cycle, as a result of which some households had too many workers.
3. Finally, and for the present debate most importantly, I argued that the economy of the cities of antiquity was subjected to an annual cycle of expansion and contraction – expansion in the summer-half of the year, contraction during winter. As a result of this cycle of expansion and contraction, there was more employment in the cities during summer than during winter. Moreover, I argued that this additional work could not have been performed by slaves or by the urban masses: not slaves, because it would have been inefficient to sustain slaves that would be unemployed during much of the year; not the urban free masses, because they would not have been able to sustain themselves during the slack period of the year. Their income during the peak season would have been inadequate to build up sufficient reserves to sustain themselves during the slack period.

I am aware of the following main arguments against my ideas, presented on several occasions:

1. Members of smallholding families could not go out for work during the summer, because their households needed the labour in order to harvest their crops. Underemployment within smallholding households is not denied, but the fact that the peak in their own labour demands coincided

- with the general peak in labour demand limited their ability to profit from employment opportunities beyond their own farm.
2. The corn dole in Rome obviated any need for the urban masses to earn their living. Hence, the urban masses could have earned an extra income during the peak season, but did not need employment during the rest of the year. This rules out any necessity for seasonal workers from the countryside to fulfil the annual temporary increase in labour demand in the city.⁴
 3. In addition, Claire Holleran argued in an article on ‘migration and the urban economy of Rome’ that “given the large pool of unemployed and underemployed labour already present in Rome, wages may not have been high enough in the city to make ‘harvesting’ of the urban market economically rational”.⁵ In other words, wages would have been too low to attract people from the countryside.

Taken together, these arguments would not rule out the existence of seasonal or temporary migration as such, but would certainly diminish its importance for the urban and rural economy.

In the following, I intend to discuss these claims and assess their impact on my earlier findings. This requires us, first, to re-examine briefly the economics of seasonal and temporary labour. Afterwards, we will reconsider the importance of seasonal and temporary labour in Rome by discussing two particular sectors: (1) shipment, portorage and the logistics of ancient Rome; (2) the construction sector of the Roman capital. Both sectors did not only employ much unskilled human labour, but also large numbers of draught animals which provided much needed energy in land and river transport. Finally, we will discuss the impact of the grain dole on employment and the labour market of Rome.

There is little direct evidence concerning seasonal labour or temporary migration in the ancient world, because the authors of literary texts were not interested in such topics and archaeology is not able to shed much light on demographic or economic aspects of migration and labour.⁶ However, in view of the sparse, fragmentary, one-sided and distorted nature of our evidence, we

4 Cf. DeLaine 2001: 240, who assumes that it is the urban poor who profit from the employment.

5 Holleran 2011: 173.

6 Bioarchaeological studies of the skeletal remains of cemeteries in and near Rome seem to confirm the picture of repeated movement back and forth between urban and rural contexts that I drew in my earlier article, although published datasets are too small for firm conclusions. See Prowse et al. 2007 and Killgrove 2010a. However, serious objections have been

cannot limit ourselves to those aspects that are clearly visible in the sources. Comparison with other pre-industrial societies allows us to understand the demographic, social and economic factors involved in mobility and migration, and how this would tally with what we do know about the Roman world on the basis of the primary sources.

The Economics of Seasonal Labour

The first criticism was that the external peak in the demand for labour coincided with the internal (on-farm) requirement for labour, limiting the opportunity for rural smallholders to profit from seasonal labour. This argument is based on a misunderstanding of seasonal labour that puts too much emphasis on the element of seasonal underemployment, the idea being that smallholder would perform wage labour when their labour was not needed on their own farm. Studies of seasonal labour in later times show that this is a misconception. Quite typically, adult men and grown-up boys would leave their farms to work for wages elsewhere, while leaving the harvesting and processing of their own crops to the adult women, children, and the elderly. Even at peak season the labour available in many households exceeded labour requirements, leaving scope for wage labour by male members of the household. Obviously, the composition of individual households could vary widely, and showed development over time, so not all households would be able to send out seasonal workers at all times. However, the main point is that their own on-farm labour requirements were not an obstacle for a significant proportion of rural households to send out at least one member who performed wage labour away from the farm.

The main element that gives rise to seasonal labour of smallholders is not temporary underemployment due to the agricultural cycle, and not even their poverty, but the annual cycle in wage-earning opportunities. It was – and in many parts of the world still is – a question of putting the income that could be gathered outside the farm against the income-earning opportunities on the farm. The annual shift in this balance mostly occurred on the side of demand for outside labour, leading to more work and higher wages. Nevertheless, even though seasonal migration is largely a function of the cyclical shift in outside-labour demand, it remains true that, the lower the income of the labour on the farm, the sooner outside wage-earning opportunities became sufficiently

raised concerning the methodology used in these studies. See Bruun 2010, to be read with the response by Killgrove 2010c and with Bruun's and Prowse's contributions to this volume.

attractive. The productivity of the labour of smallholders in terms of income that could be earned depended on the available land and on the prevailing cropping strategies. The well-known law of diminishing returns rules that the higher the input of labour in relation to the size of the landholding, the lower the additional output for each unit of labour will be. The situation is a bit more complex, however, as labour-intensive crops absorbed more labour than labour-extensive crops. In other words, a smallholder who could grow flowers for the urban market made better use of available labour than a smallholder growing wheat on the same plot of land. However, not all smallholders could grow flowers or other labour-intensive cash crops for the market. Hence, the smallholder who did not have the capital or the opportunity to expand the land that he cultivated nor the opportunity to shift to labour-intensive cropping strategies would be confronted with a large share of the labour capacity within his household that would earn little extra if employed on the farm. I.e. the opportunity cost of employing this labour elsewhere was low. Hence, for smallholding farmers with limited land and capital, the wages offered elsewhere did not need to be high in order to constitute an attractive alternative to working on the farm.

However, this emphasis on low wages and rural poverty may strengthen precisely another misconception of seasonal labour that I want to modify, i.e. that it was only poor country-dwellers who engaged in seasonal labour migration. Seasonal labour is often, but wrongly related to poverty. In fact, the very poor may have been less mobile than the moderately prosperous households.⁷ The poor peasant, hardly able to earn his living and scraping by at best of times, is a persistent misconception in much of the literature on the Roman countryside. Even if I do not wholly agree with Geoffrey Kron's over-optimistic image of well-to-do country-dwellers, the evidence supports the presence of a healthy and moderately prosperous smallholding class.⁸

Modern India offers an interesting parallel. There we see that even the sons of well-to-do landowning families engage in wage-labour in the cities for several months each year, simply because they may earn more income in the city than on their own family farm, where sufficient cheap labour is available. In fact, part of the seasonal labour is only available to well-to-do farmers: during

7 In a report on seasonal migration in modern India, it is concluded that "the poorest rarely migrate"; see Deshingkar and Start 2003: 13. However, another study shows that the poorest households are sometimes compelled to engage in labour migration by the debts they run into during the pre-harvest season, when food prices are highest. See Mosse et al. 2002: 69–70.

8 Kron 2008. On demographic and economic trends in the Italian countryside, see De Ligt 2012: 247–283.

the harvest of sugarcane, landowners are in great need of smallholders who not only offer their own labour, but also a wagon and a pair of oxen in order to bring cartloads of sugarcane from the fields to the plants where it is processed. Hence, this very profitable labour is only available to farmers who are sufficiently wealthy to own at least one pair of oxen.⁹ This aspect of seasonal labour we will have to keep in mind when discussing labour needs in urban construction and transportation.

Urban Construction

One of the largest urban sectors undoubtedly was the building and construction industry, as already Peter Brunt pointed out. Figures are unfortunately lacking, so we are left with comparisons with other pre-industrial cities and estimates on the labour requirements of particular building projects that are extrapolated to the whole city of Rome. DeLaine estimates that in and near the city of Rome at least between 25,000 and 30,000 workers were involved directly in the building trade and the supply of materials.¹⁰

Brunt pointed out that construction involved two kinds of workers: those that contributed certain skills and expertise to the building process, and those – the majority – who simply offered muscle and human energy. One may think, for example, of the digging out of the harbour of Ostia or the foundations of the Colosseum, which required the supervision of architects and engineers, but most of all involved thousands of labourers who delivered the energy necessary to move countless cubic metres of soil.¹¹ Besides trained masons and other specialists, construction itself required numerous unskilled workers. In addition, the transportation of tons of bricks, marble, stone, timber, etc. – either coming from Rome's hinterland or arriving in Rome's harbours – involved thousands of workers.¹² Slaves and freedmen may have played a prominent role among the trained specialists and skilled workers, but we may follow Brunt in his argument that most of the unskilled labour would not have been performed by slaves, as the temporary and seasonal nature of the labour would make the investment in slaves, who would be unemployed for much of the time, unprofitable. Brunt refers to the well-known passage in the work of Suetonius, in which the author tells us that Vespasian turned down an engineer's

⁹ Deshingkar and Start 2003: 23.

¹⁰ DeLaine 1997: 199.

¹¹ Brunt 1980: 92–93.

¹² DeLaine 1997: 98–100, 107–109.

proposal to move large columns with less labour and cost, saying that he must be able to feed his people. This passage undoubtedly implies that freeborn people performed this work, and in addition reflects the contemporary realisation that employment opportunities were vital for the free populace's ability to earn a living.¹³

From our perspective, we are mostly interested in the temporary or seasonal nature of the construction sector. Even in the case of modern cities with mild winters, such as New Orleans and Atlanta, it has been observed that the volume of building activity is much lower in December, January and February than during the rest of the year.¹⁴ Brunt and DeLaine pointed out that construction in Roman Italy was subjected to seasonal fluctuations, referring to Frontinus' remark on the avoidance of heat as well as extreme cold during maintenance work on aqueducts.¹⁵ Also the preparation and transportation of building material was subjected to seasonal influences, as "brick-making was restricted to the drier months of the year".¹⁶ In her estimation of the number of workers involved, she assumes working periods of 9 months each year for most aspects of construction, with a total of 220 working days per year (i.e. excluding festive days and days of adverse weather conditions due to excessive heat or torrential downpours within this nine-months period).¹⁷

In addition she emphasises the more long-term fluctuations in labour demand that were created by the enormous imperial building projects. Against a background of continuous construction activity on private and public buildings, which includes maintenance and repairs, the major construction projects, such as the building of the Roman bath complexes, the Colosseum, and the rebuilding of Rome after the great fire of 64 CE, created temporary peaks and slumps in labour demand in the city of Rome. According to DeLaine, the Baths of Trajan were built in five years, the Baths of Caracalla in six years, and the Baths of Diocletian in seven or eight years. On average, she estimates, the construction of the Baths of Caracalla required 6,000 men working on site for

13 Brunt 1980: 81–83.

14 United States Department of Labor, *Handbook of Labor Statistics*. 1936 edition, no. 616, Washington, 227. Interestingly, a report from the same department issued in 1988 reports that between 1970 and 1986 employment in construction was on average one third larger in summer than in winter. U.S. Department of Labor. 1988. *Technological Change and its Labor Impact in Four Industries*. Bulletin no. 2316, Washington, 10.

15 Brunt 1980: 93; DeLaine 1997: 105. DeLaine 2000: 122 quotes *Digest* 45.1.137.3, where it is said that a builder should take "proper account of the weather and the location".

16 DeLaine 1997: 15. Her estimates are based on the assumption that brick-making takes place from mid-April to mid-October (p. 117).

17 DeLaine 1997: 105.

12 hours each day, with up to 10,000 men at peak periods of construction.¹⁸ In other words, the difference between 'average' and 'peak' periods of construction at just this one site consists of 4,000 men, while the completion of the project meant that thousands of men lost employment. The alternation of frugal emperors and enthusiastic builders, the finishing of one huge project and the start of another, caused tremendous fluctuations in the employment of wage-earners in and near the city of Rome.

Concerning the Late Republic, Boren assumed that the variability of employment caused hardship among the urban population, thereby implicitly denying a possible role for rural workers temporarily seeking employment in urban construction. Likewise, Holleran argues that there is no evidence that rural dwellers, who had been attracted by the wage-earning opportunities of imperial building projects, returned home when these were finished. There was no point, she remarks, for them to return to rural poverty.¹⁹ The idea seems to be that poverty is all that rural workers could return to, but, as argued above, that seems a rather extreme assumption. Individual cases of landless poor seeking work in the city need not to be ruled out, but the more typical case may have been the member of a smallholding household, whose farm was adequate to feed all its members, but who could earn more income in urban construction than on the farm. As in later times, individual members sought employment in construction when the opportunity presented itself and returned when the project was finished and no other sufficiently attractive opportunity presented itself.

In short, the expansion and contraction of the urban building sector should be seen against the immense flexibility of smallholding labour strategies and their capacity to re-absorb those who were temporarily employed in the city.

Porterage and the Food Supply of Rome

The supply of food and other necessities to the megalopolis Rome not only required the involvement of large numbers of unskilled workers, but was also subjected to seasonal fluctuations that were caused by the seasonality of overseas transportation. The unloading of ships and the storage of goods in warehouses required large numbers of unskilled labour. Cargo was loaded and unloaded by hand.²⁰ Since freighters could not sail empty, the labour requirement of Rome's

18 DeLaine 1997: 193. Cf. ead. 2000: 131.

19 Holleran 2011: 173.

20 Rickman 1971: 10–11, 86.

harbours also needs to take into account the loading of outgoing ships, either with a cargo or with ballast. The transfer at Puteoli, Ostia or Portus of long-distance supplies from seagoing vessels to boats that carried the goods upriver to the city of Rome hugely increased the manpower requirements compared to a harbour like that of late-antique Constantinople. Aldrete and Mattingly²¹ estimated that 3,000 porters worked in the harbours of Rome, but the comparison with later harbours indicates that this figure might be much too low. The proportion of dock workers to total population in pre-modern harbours like New York, London, and Calcutta seems to indicate at least double that number. The harbour of Shanghai, which is comparable to Rome in the sense that it too was inland and connected to the sea by river, employed up to 20,000 dock workers, with a population of about 500,000, i.e. half the usual estimate of the size of imperial Rome.²²

The case of Shanghai offers another interesting parallel: in winter the activity in the harbour was much reduced, and hence the number of stevedores and other dock workers was reduced to less than half, possibly to no more than 5,000 men. The fact that there was little long-distance shipping in the ancient Mediterranean during winter implies a similar slump in activity. Literary sources indicate a sailing season from April to October, implying a clear cycle in the volume of goods and ships entering and leaving Rome's harbours each year.²³ It might be assumed that the *horrea* in Ostia were filled up during the sailing season, with the goods to be gradually brought to the depots in Rome itself, but that seems to have been the case only partly at best. Even after Claudius had tried to convince ship-owners to continue sailing during winter, the grain reserves in Rome's granaries were regularly precariously low at springtime. On one occasion, only ten days of grain were left. The danger implied by Tacitus on these occasions indicates that there were no grain supplies at hand to which the authorities could have turned.²⁴ Hence, the entire annual consumption of the city of Rome entered its harbours in six months and was moved to Rome in much less than a year. Besides grain for the capital's populace, many other goods entered the harbours of Rome. Apart from food and apart from the building material that we have seen in the previous section, considerable volumes of fuel, textiles and other basic goods entered Rome's harbours as well.

²¹ Aldrete and Mattingly 1999: 197.

²² LaGroue 2008: 14–16. For some interesting parallels, see also MacMullen 1993.

²³ Brunt 1980: 93–94.

²⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 12.43; *Hist.* 4.52.2.

Animal Labour in Transportation

Our analysis of rural labour temporarily employed in the city should not limit itself to human workers. LaGroue estimates that some 225 riverboats were continuously bringing loads from Rome's sea-harbours to the city.²⁵ If we assume that most boats were pulled by oxen or mules rather than teams of men, this involved several hundred oxen and mules, which were employed during part of the year.²⁶ DeLaine estimates that the movement of building material just for the Baths of Caracalla would have required 2,500 to 3,500 ox-carts, each drawn by one or more pairs of oxen. Assuming that all building materials were transported by cart rather than pack-animals, a number of at least 6,000, possibly 9,000 oxen – requiring an enormous effort by human workers who had to lead, feed and water these animals – seems a reasonable estimate, while the total number of oxen utilised in the movement of building material towards Rome may have been double. DeLaine states: “The numbers involved make it unlikely that we are talking here just of ploughing oxen used on an ad hoc basis.”²⁷ Whether DeLaine's assuredness is justified, is a point of discussion. Diodorus Siculus (14.18) offers an interesting parallel to DeLaine's figures, when he says that Dionysius I – building a wall to secure the harbour of Syracuse against Carthaginian attack – employed 6,000 yoke of oxen to carry the stone quarried by “a multitude of workers” to the construction site. Even if we remain sceptical regarding the exact figure, a large number of oxen were apparently gathered quickly and for a short period, since it appears from Diodorus that this building project was finished in 20 days.

The oxen and mules involved in the movement of food and other goods between Rome and its harbours add to the numbers involved in the transportation of building material. Although there undoubtedly was a continuous need for oxen and mules in transportation, the numbers fluctuated with the seasons and with building activity in Rome. The question is, where did these animals come from? Were they all part of permanent, professional transportation services, or were they owned by farmers who employed their labour in transportation services seasonally or temporarily?

25 LaGroue 2008: 31. It is unclear whether his estimate takes the return trip into account. Boats might go with the flow of the Tiber towards the harbour, but the oxen or teams of men pulling the boats upriver had to return nevertheless.

26 However, depictions show that it was not uncommon for such boats to be hauled by teams of haulers. See Casson 1965; McMullen 1993: 58–59.

27 DeLaine 2000: 135.

The case of early modern Spain may shed some light on the considerations that we must take into account. Two systems may be distinguished concerning transportation services in early modern Spain. On the one hand there were professional transport specialists, who offered the use of ox-drawn carts on suitable roads and teams of pack-animals in those parts of the interior that were not served by good roads. By far the largest part of transportation, however, was undertaken by farmers who used their oxen and mules in seasonal transport labour. As Regina Grafe emphasises, the farmers and peasants who offered their oxen and mules constituted a cheap and flexible supply of transportation, as their opportunity cost was low. In other words, while the employment of mules or oxen greatly diminished the farmers' workload and enhanced the productivity of their farm, both oxen and mules could be spared for much of the time. In Spain, ox-carts represented only 2.5 % of all transport, the rest was moved by pack-animals. During winter, the provisioning of the cities was solely undertaken by pack-animals, since almost all roads were impassable for heavy ox-drawn carts and the oxen were taken to winter-grazing away from the cities. The lack of winter-grazing and the lower nutritional value of winter-feeding resulted in significantly weakened oxen during winter, which in spring-time had to be brought up to strength again. In early-modern Spain, the working season of ox-carts lasted from March to November.²⁸

The main question is to what extent the lack of winter-grazing and the difficulties of overland transport during winter enforced a similar regime on Roman Italy. If the situation in Italy resembled that of early modern Spain, DeLaine would be wrong to assume that professional transporters would offer the use of thousands of ox-drawn carts throughout the year. Instead, we should have to assign a much greater role to pack-animals and to farm animals offering transportation services on a non-permanent basis.

Roman Italy is not early modern Spain. Several comments might be made. (1) Roman Italy may have been better served with paved roads than eighteenth-century Spain, in particular around Rome, where most transport was needed. Nevertheless, it would go too far to argue that all overland transportation of timber, stone, fuel, or other raw materials offered by the countryside was served by paved roads, or to deny the influence of the weather on transportation. (2) Lack of grazing during winter was a problem in Roman Italy as well, as shown for instance by problems to feed the horses of armies operating in Italy during winter.²⁹ It requires further study to find out to what extent the thousands of oxen and mules needed in and around the city of Rome could be fed with

28 Grafe 2012: 105–106. March to November: Ringrose 1970: 154.

29 Erdkamp 1998: 153–154.

fodder crops rather than grazing. As far as I know, however, oxen require grazing as well as dry fodder when they have to work hard. Hence, Roman Italy could not completely circumvent the problem of winter-time transportation using oxen. To the extent that overland transportation was seasonal, it increased the number of animals required during the rest of the year and contributed to the seasonality of the construction sector. (3) DeLaine's calculations on the logistics of imperial building projects seem to favour ox-carts over pack-animals. Ox-carts had clear advantages in comparison with pack-animals when transporting building material, but the sheer cost of oxen and the availability of large numbers of mules may still have resulted in a significant role for pack-animals. (4) The great demand for animal labour in transportation around the city of Rome may have induced farmers and smallholders to keep oxen and mules beyond what they would have needed for their farms. It was easier to adjust animal labour to the fluctuations in demand over the years than human labour, as oxen and mules did not live as long as humans and could be slaughtered if need be.

In short, it seems likely that the transportation sector in Roman Italy resembled that of early modern Spain and modern India to at least some extent. This means that it attracted the service of smallholders and prosperous farmers who offered not only their own labour, but also that of their animals. It is not denied, though, that owing to the scale and long-term continuity of demand, professionals whose main source of income consisted of transportation services played a larger role in the hinterland of imperial Rome than in early modern Spain.

Labour Migration and the Grain Dole

Regarding the logistics of the Roman capital, Aldrete and Mattingly observed: "The Roman supply system would have demanded thousands of unskilled labourers in Ostia, Portus, and Rome, especially at the peak periods of activity during the summer. The sporadic nature of this demand required a large number of unemployed, or at least underemployed, people to be available whenever demand surged. The only group of potential labourers that appears to have met these two requirements of size and constant availability is the urban plebs."³⁰ The short-term and longer-term fluctuation of labour demand in

30 Aldrete and Mattingly 1999: 201. Likewise DeLaine 1997: 197 observed: "The high demand for unskilled labour right at the very start of the project, without which the construction schedule would unquestionably have been delayed, presupposes a large pool of men whose time was not already committed to some other occupation".

Rome and other large cities is an important aspect of the urban labour market. I argued that neither slaves nor the urban free population provided the extra labour required in peak times, as the employment of slaves for part of the year would not be profitable and the urban free would not be able to support themselves for the rest of the year.³¹ Hence, the urban economy involved large numbers of rural migrants who offered their labour in the city.

It has been argued, however, that it is possible instead to construct a model of urban employment that has no need of seasonal or temporary migrants from the countryside. Since the urban poor had recourse to the grain dole, they may not have needed employment during the rest of the year, the more so if wages were sufficiently high to build up reserves for the rest of the year. Before addressing the issue of the grain dole, I want to point out that it is misguided to approach the role of seasonal labour in the city from the perspective of whether the city needed it. In my view, we should not approach this issue from the perspective of whether we can construct a model of urban employment that does not include seasonal workers. Our question should be based on the hypothesis that members of rural households would seek wage-earning employment in the city when the opportunity arose. To deny this would imply assumptions about the economy of the Roman countryside that are extremely unlikely. We would either have to assume that there was no class of smallholders in Roman Italy, or that these were not interested in wage-labour. Both assumptions are very unlikely. If we phrase the question as: "Is it possible to construct a model of urban employment that does not involve seasonal labour?", we are engaging in a purely theoretical exercise. The reality is that rural workers did seek employment in the city, and they had the advantage of not needing to build up reserves, as they returned home in slack periods. In other words, rural workers were cheaper. "From the employer-builder-contractor's point of view, migrant labour has the advantage of low cost", a study of modern India concludes.³² Why would ancient Rome have been any different?

Precisely because of the grain dole, some might want to suggest. My argument is that the grain dole slightly shifted the balance somewhat compared to other cities, but it is still extremely probable that temporary labour migrants did play a significant role in the labour market in Rome.

First of all, the grain dole did not fulfil all basic needs of the urban populace.³³ The general assumption is that Augustus' successors adhered to his reduction of the number of recipients of the grain dole to 200,000. The monthly

31 Cf. MacMullen 1993: 58–62 who assumes that the unskilled workers involved in the logistics of Rome lived in Rome, but he disregards the seasonal aspect of much of the work.

32 Mosse et al. 2002: 67.

33 Cf. Brunt 1980: 94.

ration of five *modii* (approx. 33 kg.) of grain that each recipient received (from Severan times replaced by a more frequent distribution of bread) exceeded the requirement of one person. By how much it exceeded the nutritional needs of one individual depends on how much else, such as wine, legumes, or meat, we think this individual ate.³⁴ However, even on an optimistic view, the five *modii* of grain per month will not have exceeded the grain consumption of two adults. In other words, the grain dole fulfilled the grain requirement of at best 400,000 people, while we should not forget that the *plebs frumentaria* needed other foodstuffs and had other basic needs as well. If we assume that the *plebs frumentaria* was limited to those living in the city of Rome itself, the grain dole fulfilled a large part of the food requirements of some 40 % of the about one million inhabitants that are commonly assumed to have lived in Rome. If we assume that the *plebs frumentaria* also included individuals who lived in Rome's immediate hinterland, that percentage was lower.³⁵ We may think of the construction workers on Cicero's estate who went to the city to pick up the grain to which they were entitled.³⁶ But even if we adhere to the 40 %, this still leaves much of the basic necessities and a large part of the city's populace not covered by the grain dole.

Also several remarks by contemporary writers living in Rome would make no sense if the grain dole removed the need for the city's populace to earn a living. The objection to the engineer's scheme ascribed to Vespasian is based on the idea that the urban populace had to work to buy its food. Tacitus writes that the main concern of the city's populace was their food supply, which they needed to buy day-by-day. On one occasion the flooding of Rome is said to have caused food shortages, not only because stocks were lost to the rising Tiber, but also because the people lost employment as a result of the inundation of part of the city.³⁷

The grain dole would have made a big difference regarding the cyclical expansion and contraction of employment in the city, if the grain dole had targeted precisely those who mostly needed support – in other words, if those whose employment was most unstable and volatile were among the *plebs frumentaria*. However, that does not seem likely. Being on the list of recipients is treated by the people of imperial Rome as an honour. People included it on

34 See Erdkamp 2013: 262–264, with references.

35 Unless the city of Rome was much smaller than the about one million inhabitants usually assumed, as argued by Storey 1997.

36 Cic. *Att.* 14.3.1. There is nothing in the passage to indicate these recipients lived in the city, but there is nothing to exclude this possibility either.

37 Tac. *Hist.* 1.86; 4.38.

their gravestones. As a special privilege, Nero included the members of the praetorian guard among the recipients. The ones who died were replaced by others, but one had to be on a waiting list in order to become a recipient.³⁸ So it does not seem that the most marginal of Rome's inhabitants would have been particularly represented on the lists of recipients of the grain dole. On the contrary: the lists were probably dominated by those who were settled and well integrated in the city, who had a permanent job or profession, a skill or stable employment.³⁹ It is not to be excluded that a young man from a rural household, who, while working on a building project in Rome, learned a skill and became a professional carpenter or mason, eventually settled in Rome permanently and finally succeeded in becoming a member of the *plebs frumentaria*.⁴⁰ However, it seems very unlikely that the thousands who were attracted by the opportunity to earn a wage in portage or construction, whether that was for several months or several years, subsisted on the grain dole until the next employment opportunity arose.

The grain dole made a difference to the extent that it reduced the subsistence costs of those urban workers who were temporarily out of work. However, as argued before, this would probably have been a relatively small group among the *plebs frumentaria*, while the grain dole would not have taken care of other basic needs they had, such as other items of their diet, fuel, housing, clothing, etc. This also means that the situation was even more disadvantageous in those cities that did not have a grain dole – in other words, in most cities of the Roman world.

There were no other sectors of the urban economy that could have absorbed the excess labour in the periods of low labour demand. It has been suggested by Holleran that marginal people found work in the retail trade, and it is beyond doubt that many inhabitants of Rome and other cities earned a living in petty trade, in the *tabernae*, and as street vendors.⁴¹ However, the point is that, while this line of work already offered an income to a large segment of the urban populace, I do not see how this sector could have absorbed the many

38 Rickman 1980: 177–197; Bernard, in this volume.

39 Lo Cascio 2006: 67: "The immigrants were excluded, and the *liberti* were excluded as well".

40 The comparison with more recent societies shows that temporary migration often led to permanent migration, as casual turned into permanent employment. Rural migrants who learned particular skills while working as casual workers turned into permanent wage-earning specialists. It is difficult to say to what extent this applied in a society where much skilled labor was performed by slaves. For a modern Indian parallel, see Deshingkar and Start 2003: 14. However, another case study shows that less than 3 to 5% achieve upward mobility to skilled labour. Mosse et al. 2002: 66.

41 Holleran 2011: 174. Cf. ead. 2012: 194–231.

thousands who became without a job in wintertime and when there was no grand imperial building project going on, in other words, precisely at a time when economic conditions in the city were at their worst.

Conclusions

The low opportunity cost of many members of rural households meant that they would have been prepared to work for low wages at least for short periods, which must have lowered the urban wage-levels for unskilled labour. Members of farming households had an advantage in those lines of seasonal work that required animal labour. Here as well, the argument of low opportunity cost worked in their favour. Concerning longer-term fluctuations in urban labour-demand, labour migrants from smallholding rural households had the opportunity to return home if employment opportunities were temporarily lacking or were insufficiently attractive. Peasant agriculture was able to absorb much labour that could not find meaningful employment elsewhere, although it did so at the cost of labour productivity.

In short, in my view we should envisage a city that offered work to many thousands of people in all kinds of sectors. Most of that work was more or less permanent, and much of it required skill and expertise. Our model of labour in the Roman capital certainly has no need for a sizeable group of temporarily unemployed inhabitants.⁴² The urban economy was subjected to periods of expansion and contraction, which were partly cyclical and seasonal, partly due to such external factors as imperial policy. As a result, the labour demand of the urban economy fluctuated, in part following a pattern of predictable and regular, seasonal cycles, in part as a result of less predictable and less short-term trends that were primarily caused by imperial spending. Governed by their short-term and more long-term labour strategies, members of rural households sought wage-earning labour in the cities. If they had mules or oxen, or had the capital to buy mules or oxen in response to urban needs, they utilised animal labour besides their own. Leaving servile labour aside, employment in general was easier to find for men than for women, and hence not only temporary, but also permanent migrants were predominantly male.⁴³

⁴² Cf. Aldrete and Mattingly 1999.

⁴³ Hin 2013: 240–245 shows that the predominance of male individuals in the epigraphic record of Rome in comparison to other regions is difficult to explain solely by epigraphic habits. Up to a point, it must reflect the actual sex-ratio in the city.

At peak times, the urban populace offered only a limited supply of additional labour, because the city could only support a limited number of people who did not already have a way of earning their income. This is not to deny that there was a continuous presence of vagabonds or near-starving people who only found employment intermittently, nor that many urban inhabitants improved their standards of living at peak times. While in the city of Rome the grain dole shifted the balance somewhat in comparison to cities without such free hand-outs, it did not support a large group of city-dwellers who were unemployed in slump times. Hence, at peak times many people from the countryside were hired to perform wage-labour in the cities, and if the demand for labour persisted some of these migrants, for example those who learned a particular skill, became permanent residents. However, when labour demand contracted, in winter or when a major building project was finished, many wage-earners returned to the countryside.

Food Distributions and Immigration in Imperial Rome*

Seth G. Bernard

This paper evaluates the commonly stated view that imperial Rome's *annona* system with its monthly distributions of free grain to urban citizens (*frumentationes*) contributed significantly to rural–urban migration and, for that reason, to the city's enormous population.¹ I will argue that migrants were mostly excluded from public grain distributions at Rome, and this, among other problems, make it difficult to posit the existence of a connection between *frumentationes* and centripetal migration. This has been pointed out before, but the topic deserves further consideration: what did potential migrants know about the food distributions in the city?² Let me begin by briefly summarising the argument for a connection between food subsidies and immigration:

- (1) Like all pre-modern cities, Rome suffered an annual deficit of births to deaths. In the absence of statistical data, the shortfall is impossible to calculate with precision, but a baseline intrinsic loss of at least 10,000 people per annum is not implausible.³ In reality, mortality probably varied highly from year to year as disease could push the crude death rate up rapidly, perhaps four- or fivefold, as was the case in late-medieval

* Translations are my own unless noted. Unless indicated otherwise, dates are CE. I thank the editors and Christer Bruun for comments and criticism.

1 E.g. Brunt 1971: 381; Hopkins 1978: 39; Scheidel 2004: 14; Geraghty 2007: 1040; Morley 1996: 36–37, 51 is sensitive to the exclusivity of the *frumentationes*, but elsewhere lists food distributions uncritically as an incentive to migration. In this paper the term *frumentationes* is used to refer to urban grain distributions, while the term *annona* is used to describe the broader system that supplied food to the capital; for this terminological distinction see Pavis d'Escurac 1976: viii.

2 Noy 2000: 47–48 and Holleran 2011: 164–165 both allow that urban food distributions excluded migrants, although see criticism below.

3 Morley 1996: 43–44 and Jongman 2003: 107 suggest a loss of 10 per 1,000 p.a. (40 deaths over 30 births) based on Wrigley's work on early-modern London. Hin 2013: 223–254 argues that the comparison with early-modern evidence is invalid, but accepts that permanent immigration was needed to sustain Rome's population. Scheidel 2003: 174–175 suggests a much higher crude death rate of c. 60 per thousand because of falciparian malaria.

Florence.⁴ The continuous arrival of immigrants is the only demographic factor to account for the city's sustained population of around a million people for over two centuries. Scholarship increasingly favours the idea that a large proportion of this flow of people consisted of free peasants from Italy and the provinces.⁵

- (2) Pull factors likely outweighed push factors in prompting people to move to the imperial capital.⁶ In the Republic, the consolidation of landholding patterns in peninsular Italy after the Second Punic War pushed smallholders off their land and drove them to Rome in large numbers.⁷ However, scholarship is less charitable towards interpretations of widespread – as opposed to temporally or spatially limited – crisis in imperial Italy.⁸
- (3) The decision to move to Rome meant exchanging agricultural production for the vicissitudes of the urban labour market. While Roman agriculture carried with it any number of risks, urban wage-based employment should also be seen as considerably risk-laden. Comparison with other urban labour markets suggests that wages, like prices, were higher in cities, even if our scant evidence cannot directly support this claim for Rome.⁹ However, underemployment was probably structural in a city that lacked large-scale industry or manufacturing, with the possible exception of the public building industry.¹⁰ A large if indeterminable proportion of the urban population thus depended on intermittent wages, and I suspect that a recent attempt to reckon with 225 working days a

4 Herlihy and Klapisch Zuber 1985: 270 found a highly variable crude death rate soaring to ten times the baseline figure in bad years, and to four or five times that figure during years of lesser contagion.

5 Morley 1996: 44–45; Scheidel 2004: 18; Holleran 2011: 159; Brunt 1971: 382–387 argued for a preponderance of slaves, as does Jongman 2003, but see Garnsey and De Ligt, in this volume, for the view that free inhabitants outnumbered slaves by a very wide margin.

6 Scheidel 2007b: 336.

7 Hopkins 1978. But see De Ligt 2012 for the view that the importance of large slave-run estates during this early period has been exaggerated.

8 Patterson 1987.

9 Temin 2004: 516–517; Scheidel 2007b: 335–336; *contra* Hopkins 1978a: 39, who thought that grain subsidies allowed urban employers to offer lower wages. For what it's worth, the single figure for an urban unskilled wage, 3 HS per day inferred from Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 28, compares unfavourably with real incomes for rural unskilled workers in Egypt, for which see the calculations in Rathbone 2009b: 314–315. Scheidel 2007b: 335 n. 51 considers Cicero's figure totally unusable.

10 Brunt 1980; Bernard (forthcoming) on the building industry as an employer.

year is optimistic and that destitution was common.¹¹ To their detriment, free wage-earners competed with a large quantity of slave labour, especially in skilled trades that might otherwise have provided longer-term employment and higher wages.

- (4) Food subsidies at Rome, it is argued, functioned as wages, providing new residents with some level of subsistence and shielding them from the risks of the city's labour market. Knowledge of these benefits outside the capital encouraged migration to Rome.

The pull of Rome's potentially adverse urban labour market is at first glance counterintuitive, but it correlates the ancient situation with some features observable in the modern developing world, and some theoretical background may therefore be helpful. In particular, Todaro's work has sought to explain internal rural–urban migration to third-world urban centers, where politically determined minimum wages exceed rural income levels, but where unemployment rates are very high. Migration, he argues, is stimulated not merely by the existence of a real income differential between town and countryside, since most immigrants are unlikely to find employment. Instead, rural–urban migration responds to the *expected* income differential (wage $\times$ probability of employment) so long as migrants believe that there is sufficient probability that they will eventually receive a higher urban wage.¹² The Roman equivalent of Todaro's 'politically determined minimum wages' at Rome is obviously the *frumentationes*, and in what follows I ask whether or not steady migration to Rome might be interpreted as a reaction to the high probability of attaining an urban wage in the form of *frumentum publicum*, or to the high relative value of that wage.

A focus on expected rather than real incomes emphasises the role of information flows in shaping perceptions of urban conditions beyond a city because "the difference between the perceived and actual value of migration is determined by the information available to the migrant".¹³ Situations of asymmetrical or incomplete information typified the Roman economy.¹⁴ I want to suggest

11 Scheidel and Friesen 2009: 70; cf. Harris 2011: 44–45; on the under-studied topic of urban poverty at Rome, see Garnsey 1991; Morley 2006.

12 Todaro 1995 conveniently collects his papers on migration; for some discussion of the applicability of the model to the Roman world, see Holleran 2011; Bernard (forthcoming).

13 Byerlee 1974: 555.

14 Information is an underappreciated aspect in the study of the Roman economy, particularly in some recent neo-modernist work. The observations of Duncan-Jones 1990: 7–29 on the slow dissemination of news about an emperor's death have relevance for more

a complex situation where wholly different ways of perceiving the value of imperially-distributed food at Rome may have circulated at the same time. It is important to separate this from a simple assumption of *misinformation*, as some have recently suggested, where migrants decided to move to Rome based upon their misunderstanding of the policies concerning the distribution of *frumentum publicum*.¹⁵ Poor information about urban conditions may explain short-term migration patterns but fails to account for sustained movement in the long term. The imperial capital's durably massive population was hardly a several-centuries long problem of adverse selection. Rome's migrants maintained personal contacts with their places of origin, some returned, and details about urban conditions must have circulated, however slowly.¹⁶ Moreover, the *frumentationes* not only involved the public distribution system at Rome but also depended upon provincial agriculturalists and private contractors across the empire.

Thus, we should not only consider whether or not immigrants had access to Rome's food distribution. We also need a nuanced understanding of how information about the *frumentationes* circulated beyond the city. Section 1 argues that, by the beginning of the empire, food distributions were part of a closed institution that offered little assistance to immigrants; the logistical and structural makeup of Rome's food distributions discussed in Section 2 reinforces this interpretation. However, the grain supply system that supported the distribution of *frumentum publicum* at Rome also played an important role in the emperor's relationship with his subjects. Section 3 expands the scope of enquiry beyond the city to consider the effectiveness of imperial ideology in broadcasting this role. From Augustus onwards, emperors strove to emphasise the abundant benefits of the urban food supply. In all likelihood, one effect of this policy was to raise expectations among people of citizen status living in Rome, but the situation proves more complex. The same imperially-disseminated information that may have raised expectations among those belonging to the *plebs frumentaria* of the capital also underscored the value that the *annona* provided to those living outside the city. This would have lowered the expected income differential between Rome and other parts of the empire, arguing

than simply describing shipping rates, and proponents of large-scale integrated markets in the Roman Mediterranean may exaggerate the speed of market-clearing information.

15 Noy 2000: 48; followed by Holleran 2011: 164–165, 177–178. Noy cites a description of Rome in the Talmud (*Megillah* 6b) in which the king's household distributes food to all those at Rome, even those not born there, but the passage is generally full of bizarre and enigmatic details. See also Morley 2006: 37 somewhat amorphously on “hopes and expectations.”

16 Noy 2000: 164–167.

against a clear-cut connection between the actual system of *frumentationes* and immigration to the capital.

A History of Exclusivity

In measuring a migrant's chances of receiving urban grain subsidies, it must be stressed from the outset that the urban distribution of food was never intended as a means of providing for the city's poor or disenfranchised. Van Berchem dismantled the earlier interpretation of Rome's food distributions as a form of charitable welfare, popular in late nineteenth century scholarship.¹⁷ Under Caesar or Augustus, a *numerus clausus* of recipients was established, and membership of this group remained a marker of privileged status into the fourth century, if not later.¹⁸ The *frumentationes* were not a dole, but rather functioned to define in a symbolic way the section of the community receiving food subsidies, the *plebs frumentaria*. Grain distributions thereby came to function as a symbol of status, similar to food subsidies in other towns of the empire.¹⁹

Viewed in this light, the history of Rome's food distributions can be read as a series of attempts to define a *numerus clausus*; in short, as a history of increasing exclusivity.²⁰ Starting with the Republican background, the *Lex Sempronia frumentaria* of 123 BCE that established the sale of grain at reduced cost seems not to have fixed conditions of eligibility beyond Roman citizenship.²¹ As far as we know, the qualification of *civitas* was never modified in the long history of Roman grain subsidies, and there is no reason to think that public grain ever reached non-citizens living in Rome. By 73 BCE, there were maybe only 40,000 recipients of subsidised public grain at Rome.²² Clearly, one or several of the

17 van Berchem 1939.

18 van Berchem's view (van Berchem 1939: 28) that there was no *numerus clausus* is inadmissible, as is his theory that Augustus introduced the requirement of *origo*; cf. Rickman 1980: 181–185; Viriouvét 1995: 198–202. For the late-antique existence of this *numerus clausus*, see Carrié 1975: 1012–1014.

19 See Woolf 1990 for Italy.

20 The following is cursory; for details consult the considerable literature, including Van Berchem 1939; Rickman 1980; Garnsey 1988: 182–270; Viriouvét 1995.

21 App. *BC* 1.21. The wealthy consular L. Calpurnius Piso's participation in the Gracchan grain sale (Cic. *Tusc.* 3.20.48) implies that status and wealth did not determine eligibility.

22 Garnsey 1988: 212; Rickman 1980: 166. The figure of 40,000 is based on Cicero's claim (*Verr.* 2.5.52, 2.3.163, 2.3.72) that 33,000 *medimnoi* = 198,000 *modii* of Sicilian grain more or less sufficed for the monthly distribution.

leges frumentariae introduced between 123 and 73 BCE had prescribed further restrictions, even if the precise mechanisms are unknown. Only in the next few decades do we see a temporary reversal of this trend, as grain subsidies became powerful tools in the increasingly high-stakes political landscape of the Late Republic, and various magistrates attempted to manipulate eligibility, normally in an inclusive manner, to support their careers.²³ In 62 BCE, Cato engineered a *senatus consultum* to admit the “the poor and undivided masses” to the list of eligible citizens in order to compete with Caesar’s rising popularity.²⁴ Similar competitive political ambitions lay behind the *Lex Clodia frumentaria* of 58 BCE which marked the beginning of free distributions at Rome.²⁵

The results of these attempts to win popular favour by manipulating the number of those entitled to receive subsidised or free grain were considerable. Between 73 and 46 BCE, eligible recipients increased eightfold, so that Caesar found 320,000 people receiving *frumentationes*. Who were the new recipients? Pompey as *curator annonae* in 57 BCE encountered the problem of a mass of newly eligible freedmen, many of whom were freed in anticipation of receiving grain.²⁶ But a large proportion of these recipients are likely to have been newly arrived citizens, as immigration was in this period significant enough to feature in the sources.²⁷ This is one of the first historical moments to which authors attribute the long-running *topos* of comparatively easy living at Rome that offered an enticing alternative to agricultural labour.²⁸ In an often-quoted passage, Sallust claims that in the late 60s BC the availability of subsidised or free grain drew large numbers of young country-dwellers to the city.²⁹ A highly rhetorical passage in Appian describes a similar phenomenon in the context of Caesar’s assassination. Brutus and Cassius overestimated their popular support because the fundamental nature of the *plebs urbana* had changed as a result of the admixture of foreigners and freedmen. Moreover, liberty was less important to the *plebs* as they were now being “purchased” (μισθωτούς) by public subsidies. Appian continues as follows:

23 Von Ungern-Sternberg 1991.

24 Plut. *Cat. Min.* 26.1: τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέμητον ὄχλον.

25 Dio 38.13.1, Clodius was “hoping...quickly to finish off Cicero.”

26 Dio. 39.24.1.

27 van Berchem 1939: 19; Brunt 1971: 379; Purcell 1994: 652; Virlouvet 1995: 179. For the expansion of citizenship from the Social War to Caesar, see Sherwin-White 1973: 150 ff.

28 Le Gall 1971; see also Varr. *RR* 2.pr.3; Suet. *Div. Aug.* 42.3.

29 Sall. *Cat.* 37.7. Note that Sallust dates this phenomenon to the time before the passing of the *senatus consultum* of 62 BCE. Virlouvet 1995: 179 observes that he includes not only *largitiones publicae* but also private benefactions.

The distribution of grain to the poor, which happens only at Rome, draws the lazy, the indolent, and the shiftless from all Italy to Rome.³⁰

Appian places this portrait of the corrupted *plebs* at a particular time: “The plebs were already by then (ἤδη) mixed with foreigners.” The temporal adverb ἤδη, “already”, does not refer to Appian’s own time, but places the transformation of the urban *plebs* in the period before Caesar’s assassination.³¹ This point deserves emphasis, as Appian intends to add specific demographic and, especially, moral colouring to his description of the ultimate failure of the Republican state.

This textual evidence for a connection between food distributions and migration to Rome, while direct, seems rhetorical and historically specific to the Late Republic, when competitive politics and civil wars apparently made it easier for migrants to access the *frumentationes*. Viewed in this context, Caesar’s revision of the distribution-system in 46 BCE can be seen as a specific response to problems presented by recent increases in the number of recipients provoked by lax legislation. Dio confirms this when he attributes the Caesarian revision of the system of *frumentationes* to *stasis*, “since the multitude receiving grain had increased enormously, not by lawful methods but in such ways as are common in times of civil strife (ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν).”³² Suetonius describes Caesar’s reforms in detail:³³

He compiled a list of people (*recensus populi*) neither by usual practice nor in the normal place, but on a neighbourhood by neighbourhood basis, working with the landlords of apartment blocks, and he reduced the number of those receiving public grain from 320,000 to 150,000. And to prevent the possibility of large gatherings arising anew from time to time because of the need to revise the list, he established the rule that each year a lottery (*subsortitio*) was to be held, under the auspices of the praetor, to replace those deceased from those not included in the list.³⁴

30 App. BC 2.120: τό τε σιτηρέσιον τοῖς πένησι χορηγούμενον ἐν μόνῃ Ῥώμῃ τὸν ἀργὸν καὶ πτωχεύοντα καὶ ταχυεργὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας λεῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπάγεται. This explicit mention of grain going to “the poor” may be regarded as a rhetorical simplification.

31 LSJ s.v. ἤδη §1. Purcell 1994: 652 suggests Appian follows a Republican source.

32 43.21.4: καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τὸν σίτον φεροντος ἐπὶ μακρότατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην ἀλλ’ ὥς που ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν εἶωθε γίνεσθαι, ἐπαυξηθέντος.

33 On the reforms of Caesar and Augustus, see the detailed study of Lo Cascio 1997, although, for reasons that will become clear, I cannot agree with his conclusion that the Caesarian *recensus populi* was an urban census rather than a specific list of *accipientes frumentationum*.

34 Suet. Div. Iul. 41.3: *Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito, sed vicatim per dominos insularum egit atque ex viginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum*

Three features stand out:

1. The establishment of a quota was likely supported by a written list (*recensus populi, recensio*) and limited to 150,000 *accipientes*. While the practice of keeping a list of eligible persons existed prior to Caesar, perhaps as an element of the system introduced by the *Lex Clodia*, or even by earlier legislation, the maximum number of recipients was now fixed and at a much lower level.³⁵
2. Partly in order to achieve this reduction, Caesar introduced a new manner of registration. Unlike earlier registrations, the *recensus* was carried out on a neighbourhood by neighbourhood basis (*vicatim*).³⁶ The topographical basis suggests that Caesar introduced, or re-introduced the requirement of *domicilium Romae*, legal residency in Rome, which citizens could only obtain at that time by presenting themselves before an urban magistrate.³⁷ Residency was a fundamental condition for inclusion among beneficiaries of public food distributions in other cities of the Hellenistic and Roman world. In Hellenistic Samos, the *polis* distributed grain to citizens at their homes.³⁸ A recipient of grain at third-century Oxyrhynchus, where grain distributions seem to have been largely modeled on those at Rome, apparently produced documentation verifying his residency status.³⁹ At Rome, the requirement of *domicilium* underlines the role of the *frumentationes* in marking off those *cives* living in a privileged location

quinquaginta retrahit; ac ne qui novi coetus recensiois causa moveri quandoque possent, instituit, quotannis in demortuorum locum ex iis, qui recensi non essent, subsortitio a praetore fieret. I am grateful to Cynthia Damon for assisting with this translation, particularly the meaning of *novi coetus...moveri* and the contrast between *quandoque* and *quotannis*.

35 Viriouvét 1995: 174–175 argues for an early start of the practice of keeping a list of eligible citizens.

36 Pace Lo Cascio 1997: 5–6, it seems to me that Suetonius intends to differentiate Caesar's mode of registering recipients from the *mos solitus* and the *locus solitus* of previous *annona* registrations, not of *census* registration. In this case, we should compare the Caesarian *recensus* to the procedure of making a *professio* at some designated place as outlined in the Tabula Heracleensis, on which see Viriouvét 1995: 28–31.

37 Cic. *Arch.* 7, 9 seems to imply that Archias attained *domicilium* before *civitas*.

38 Viriouvét 1995: 175.

39 *P.Oxy* 40, 2916, lines 9–10: τήν ἀξιῶσιν ταύτην προσάγω ὑποτάξας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ἐφεστίου τό ἀντίγραφον, “I submit this request, at the same time appending the copy (or certificate?) of residence”, and see Rea 1972 on line 5. *P.Mil.Vogl.* 4, 254 may refer to commissioners investigating residency claims by foreigners; for documents of residency at Rome, see Moatti 2006: 122.

as a special status group.⁴⁰ As Moatti has observed, the Late Republic generally saw the emergence of a legal discourse which sought more precisely to define various personal categories of fixity and mobility. Caesar's initiative fits well within this wider context.⁴¹

3. The number of eligible recipients, whose ranks were continually thinned out by death and perhaps also by emigration, was to be replenished by an annual lottery (*subsortitio*). The *novi coetus* that Caesar hoped to avoid may be interpreted as irregular gatherings of citizens trying to get their names on the list when vacancies had to be filled.⁴² Some have interpreted this phrase as referring to the threat of food riots, but the key contrast is between unscheduled (*quandoque*) meetings and a regular annual (*quotannis*) lottery.

Augustus found it necessary to take similar measures. Suetonius records an Augustan *recensus populi*, also carried out on a neighbourhood by neighbourhood basis, which was no doubt facilitated by Augustus' administrative reorganisation of Rome into *regiones* and *vici* in 7 BCE.⁴³ A passage from Cassius Dio attributes the novelty of a *numerus clausus* to Augustus.⁴⁴ For the purposes of the present paper it is unimportant whether Augustus really was the first to devise the notion of a *numerus clausus*, or whether he merely reinforced a procedure devised by his adoptive father, but the fact that Caesar established a *subsortitio* to fill vacancies when carrying out his *recensus* supports the latter interpretation.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ A letter of Cicero to Atticus complains that construction workers on his Tusculan estate have left work and gone off to Rome *ad frumentum* (Cic. Att. 14.3.1). Virlovuet 1995: 176 rightly points out that Cicero may have drawn his labourers from the city. Tusculum is only some 25 km from Rome. This demonstrates the continued need of recipients of *frumentationes* to seek employment, even outside the city.

⁴¹ Moatti 2006: 123.

⁴² It is difficult to discern whether Suetonius intends *coetus* to refer to informal or formal meetings, as the word can be used in both ways, compare *TLL* 3, 1, s.v. *coetus*, defn. 1, 1b and 1, 2. This ambiguity has given rise to considerable disagreement on the interpretation of this sentence. See Virlovuet 1995: 45 n. 55, 171 n. 19 for the more neutral translation preferred here; Lo Cascio (1997: 3–4 n. 2) argues that the use of the verb *movere* in connection with *coetus* points to a less formal and perhaps subversive connotation.

⁴³ Suet. *Div. Aug.* 40.2: *vicatim*; cf. id. *Div. Aug.* 2.5.

⁴⁴ Cass. Dio 55.10.1 = Xiph. 100.31.

⁴⁵ For the period after Caesar's death as a time of renewed illegal registrations see Van Berchem 1939: 28; a more literal reading of Xiphilinus is defended by Lo Cascio 1997: 12.

If we interpret the actions of Caesar and Augustus as reactions against a Late Republican system of public subsidies that was for a short time more open, both legally and illegally, then the imperial food-distribution system emerged from exclusionary pressures. From the point of view of immigrants of citizen status the result was a very significant tightening of the 'membership regime' governing access to the ranks of the *plebs frumentaria*.⁴⁶

It is within the same framework that we may understand subsequent changes to the system. The construction under Claudius of the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria was a further attempt to streamline and tighten the logistics of distribution by creating a structure purpose-made for the institution (see below).⁴⁷ The recipients retained their corporate identity as the *plebs urbana quae frumentum publicum accipit*, "the urban *plebs* that receives public grain," as they appear in two Flavian dedications.⁴⁸ Though we cannot rule out the possibility that the number of recipients increased during the first two centuries of the empire, there is no direct evidence for such a development. The periodic swelling of the list that required the attention of Caesar and Augustus never seems to have recurred.⁴⁹ However, the legal discourse concerning the conditions of eligibility continued to develop. The section of the Justinianic Code on residency status and migration includes a law of Hadrian requiring those seeking *domicilium* status to have maintained fixed residence for ten years.⁵⁰ A decade-long waiting period would have effectively closed *frumentationes* to new immigrants.

46 For the notion of 'membership regime' see De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume.

47 Manacorda 1999 for the debate over the precise location of the Porticus.

48 *CIL* 6, 943 and 40453a = *AE* 1996, 165. Opinion ranges widely on this phrase: Nicolet 1985: 799 n. 2 argues that this was the official title of the *plebs frumentaria*; contra Lo Cascio 1997: 32 n. 91.

49 The fact that only 150,000 citizens benefited from the legacies bestowed on the urban *plebs* by Augustus and Tiberius has been interpreted as pointing to a decrease in the number of recipients; see Rickman 1980: 181; Virlouvet 1991. *SHA Sept. Sev.* 23.2 potentially gives a much larger number of *accipientes*, but Erdkamp 2005: 241–242 argues that this passage is unreliable. Mattingly and Aldrete 2000: 146 suggest the number of recipients never exceeded 250,000. While this seems plausible enough, there is no evidence for an increase in the first place.

50 *CJ* 10.40.2 *pr.*: "Emperor Alexander Severus. Nor should those, who are delayed in any place for reasons of their pursuits, be understood to possess *domicilium* there, unless they have established residences in that place for a period of ten years. In accordance with a letter of Divine Hadrian," *Imperator Alexander Severus. Nec ipsi, qui studiorum causa aliquo loci morantur, domicilium ibi habere creduntur, nisi decem annis transactis eo loci sedes sibi constituerunt, secundum epistulam divi Hadriani*. Although the effects would have been broadly felt, this law did not target all migrants so much as those who were temporarily in

Logistics and Structural Factors

If the political and legal attempts to define a *numerus clausus* suggest increasing restriction and control, how did the system enforce such exclusivity in practice? After all, the *frumentationes* involved distributing grain to 200,000 urban residents, a larger group of people than the entire population of almost any other settlement in the Roman world. With so many eligible *cives*, we might speculate that the scale of the distribution entailed some unavoidable degree of abuse, even setting aside shipping and focusing only on urban distribution. References to those receiving *frumentationes* as *incisi* and to individuals gaining access *in locum erasorum* suggest that *accipientes* had their names carved onto some physical list.⁵¹ Such a list may have been used by those responsible for handing out the monthly rations. At Oxyrhynchus, grain was distributed after a roll call (*ἀναγροῖα*), which Rea suggests was a countermeasure against impersonation.⁵² Managing a list of 200,000 names presented a daunting task in the likely absence of sophisticated indexing systems; for example, alphabetisation existed in some Roman lists but was unlikely to have gone beyond grouping names based on the first letters.⁵³ However, there is good evidence that the grain distribution system was highly systematised in terms of space and time. We know that the Porticus Minucia Frumentaria was organised architecturally into 44 separate *ostia* (distribution windows?), and *frumentationes* were given out at these *ostia* on different days of the month.⁵⁴ Recipients apparently knew their assigned positions and dates, to judge by the fact that inscriptions sometimes relate highly specific information, e.g. *de Minucia die XIII ostio XLII*, “from the Porticus Minucia on the 13th day at the 42th distribution window.”⁵⁵ Another group of inscriptions specifies *tabulae* on

Rome for unspecified pursuits (*studiorum causa*). Moatti 2006: 122–123 refers to other legislative attempts to separate temporary or short-term inhabitants from the privileges of *domicilium*. I do, however, caution that it does not necessarily follow from the term *studia* that such short-term visitors were pursuing intellectual or professional training in the modern sense.

51 Rickman 1980: 189 assumes a bronze plaque; Viriouvét 1995: 255 n. 30.

52 Rea 1972: 5.

53 Thus, a Fulvius would follow a Cornelius but could precede a Flavius, a pattern which limited the utility of this organisational device for larger lists of names; for alphabetisation, see Daly 1967. I thank Andrew Riggsby and Daniel Harris-McCoy for discussing Roman organisational systems with me.

54 Not all days of the month were used for distributions, cf. Viriouvét 1995: 16.

55 *CIL* 6, 10223: *Ti(berius) Claudius Aug(usti) lib(ertus) | Ianuarius curator | de Minucia die XIII ostio*; there is some debate over whether this freedman received *frumentum publicum*,

which a recipient's name appeared. If the means of organising the long lists of eligible citizens were not consistent across time, we do see a consistent attempt to make the number of *accipientes* manageable at a practical level.

The demographic profile of the urban population of Rome has its own implications for access to *frumentationes* during the empire.⁵⁶ As a closed population of adult males with minimal outmigration, the *plebs frumentaria* decreased naturally over time as its members died, producing a shortfall of perhaps between 5,000 and 8,000 members a year.⁵⁷ This fact alone challenges the impression of fixity given by the legal enforcement of a *numerus clausus*, as the *plebs frumentaria* would not have survived without some periodic measures to ensure replenishment. The natural shortfall is precisely what Caesar's establishment of an annual "selection by lot from those not included in the list" (*subsortitio ex iis qui non recensenti essent*) hoped to counteract, and it seems likely that a similar lottery continued into the empire.⁵⁸ But who were these *non recensenti* from whom the list was replenished? Since the huge increase in the number of recipients after the introduction of the *Lex Clodia frumentaria* was seen as abusive, as suggested by Caesar's reactionary measures, we should assume that his halving of the number of eligible citizens prioritised *ingenui* over the more recently-admitted freedmen.⁵⁹ If Caesar also excluded some free-born adult males who were otherwise eligible, we would have to infer that

or whether he was simply a magistrate involved in distributions. The crucial question is whether the title *curator* at the end of line 2 belongs with what follows in line 3, or whether line 3 is to be read separately and refers to the place where and the time at which Ianuarius received grain. The latter interpretation is supported by stronger arguments. Van Berchem 1939: 38 argues that the curatorship had nothing to do with the *frumentationes* at all; Bruun 1989 points out that *Minucia* increasingly became synonymous with grain distributions. The phrase *de Minucia* might be interpreted as being synonymous with the expression 'from the *plebs frumentaria*' and as calling attention to the fact that Ianuarius belonged to those residents entitled to receive *frumentum publicum*. Virlovet 2009: 61, 209–212 notes that the preposition *de* with a toponym after *curator* would be a unique and therefore unusual title for a magistrate.

56 Lo Cascio 1997: 47–58.

57 A crude death rate of 40 in 1,000 p.a. is perhaps high considering that adult members of *plebs frumentaria* had higher life expectancy than an individual at birth. Coale and Demeny 1983 Model West 3 (males) gives a crude death rate of 25.63 for those individuals aged > 5 in a stable population.

58 Rickman 1980: 190 is pessimistic about an imperial *subsortitio*, but the existence of a lottery at Oxyrhynchus in conjunction with Pliny's reference to those *subditi in locum erasorum* (*Pan.* 25) at Rome form stronger evidence than he allows; see Rea 1972: 9.

59 Cf. Dio 39.24.1 for the number of freedmen and slave-owners who sought to take advantage of the *Lex Clodia*, as discussed above.

the size of the free-born adult male population domiciled at Rome exceeded the 150,000 recipients registered in the *recensus populi* of 46 BCE. I find it impossible to believe that Rome contained such a large proportion of *ingenui*. In their recent study of the demographic composition of Herculaneum, De Ligt and Garnsey suggest very low levels of *ingenui* at the Campanian town, where freedmen made up perhaps two thirds of the adult male population.⁶⁰ The situation was no doubt different in Rome, to which the authors suggest many of Herculaneum's *ingenui* might have migrated, but even during the first century CE, when Rome is likely to have had a larger population than immediately after Caesar's reform, the number of adult male *ingenui* residing in the city is unlikely to have exceeded the *numerus clausus* for the grain distribution, which stood at 200,000.⁶¹ Trajan "sought out and discovered" (*conquisivit invenit*) a little fewer than 5,000 freeborn minors to include in grain distributions.⁶² Pliny considered this accomplishment worthy of singling out for praise in the *Panegyricus*. None of this inspires confidence in an excess of *ingenui* at Rome. Instead, regular replenishment of shortfalls must have drawn on other sectors of the urban population. These included:

- (a) Former minors who otherwise met the conditions of eligibility (*civitas, domicilium*) and had reached the appropriate age since the last *recensus*. A document from the Oxyrhynchus archive refers to the promotion of those coming of age from a "list of minors" (*P.Oxy.* 2927, line 4: γράφή ἀφελίκων), and perhaps lists of soon-to-be eligible minors were kept in addition to the *recensus* at Rome as well.
- (b) Freedmen. A *scholion* on Persius 5.73 contained in the *Commentum Cornuti* states that it was customary at Rome for all those manumitted with full citizen rights to receive *frumentum publicum* as eligible *cives*

60 De Ligt and Garnsey 2012.

61 For the social make-up of the population of early-imperial Rome cf. Garnsey and De Ligt, in this volume.

62 Plin. *Pan.* 28.4: *Paulo minor, patres conscripti, quinque milia ingenuorum fuerunt, quae liberalitas principis nostri acquisivit invenit adscivit*. There is some confusion as to what kind of distribution scheme is implied here. Woolf 1990: 226 suggests an urban *alimenta* scheme modeled on the *frumentationes*, while Virlouvet 1995: 230–231 and Lo Cascio 1997: 51–52 argue for inclusion in the *frumentationes* themselves. A connection with the *frumentationes* can be made by equating the 5,000 *ingenui* referred to in this passage with a group of 5,000 people to whom Trajan granted "seats" (*loca*) in the Circus (cf. Plin. *Pan.* 51.5). A contemporaneous inscription may then refer to those new seat-holders as those Roman citizens belonging to the 35 tribes (*tribus xxxv*) and having access to the imperially-bestowed 'privilege' (*commoda*) of grain handouts (*CIL* 6, 955).

Romani.⁶³ The authenticity of this claim has been doubted, especially by Viriouvét, and it is true that all the other textual evidence for the automatic or mass admission of freedmen to the *frumentationes* is pre-Augustan.⁶⁴ Freedmen admitted to subsidies at Oxyrhynchus typically gained access by performing liturgies, rather than through the lottery.⁶⁵ There certainly were freedmen among the *plebs frumentaria* at Rome. Three of the dozen or so inscriptions in which an individual explicitly claims inclusion among the group of those “registered for public grain” (*frumento publico incisus*) specify that the individual in question was *ingenuus*. The fact that this information was specified strongly suggests that some *incisi* were not freeborn citizens.⁶⁶ But we may question whether freedmen gained access to free hand-outs by participating in the annual lottery, or in a different manner, for instance by purchasing the right to take part in the *frumentationes* (cf. below).

- (c) The emperor awarded the right to collect free monthly hand-outs to certain groups in the city that provided certain public services. Nero’s grant of *frumentum sine pretio* to the praetorians, made in 65, probably does not belong under this heading, since the sources seem to refer to an entitlement of limited duration.⁶⁷ There is, however, secure evidence for the

63 *Comm. Corn.* 7.53 (6) in the edition of Clausen and Zetzel: *Romae autem erat consuetudo ut omnes qui ex manumissione cives Romani fiebant in numero civium Romanorum frumentum publicum acciperent*.

64 Viriouvét 1991: 50–51, *ead.* 1995: 221–224 notes that automatic entry of freedmen, while *ingenui* participated in a lottery, would have resulted in an odd inversion of status. She questions the reliability of the information provided by the scholiast on the grounds that the *Commentum* is a late source. The exegetical tradition on Persius goes back to Late Antiquity. It might be traced back further in time, but the *Commentum Cornuti* is by no means unimpeachable; see Zetzel 2005: 8. Viriouvét goes on to argue that the problem of masters freeing slaves (cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant.* 4.24.5, 39.24.1) was solved by Augustus, who removed all freedmen from the *annona*. As we have seen, demographic considerations make it difficult to believe that *accipientes* at any time consisted solely of *ingenui*.

65 Rea 1972: 4 on ἀπελεύθεροι λειτουργηκότες.

66 *AE* 1998, 285; *CIL* 6, 10228; *CIL* 6, 10220: *tribum ingenuam*. I follow the interpretation of Panciera 2006, who concludes that the two qualifications *incisus* and *ingenuus* are interdependent in these inscriptions and suggest that separate lists of *incisi* at Rome were drawn up according to the status of the listed individuals, as seems to have been the case at Oxyrhynchus. The implication is that a list of *incisi ingenui* was complemented by another of *liberti*. We have already encountered one imperial freedman among the *accipientes* in *CIL* 6, 10223, discussed above in footnote 55.

67 Suet. *Ner.* 10; Tac. *Ann.* 15.72; Viriouvét 1995: 271–272 rightly questions whether this meant that they were admitted to normal *frumentationes*.

vigiles being admitted to the *plebs frumentaria* after three years of service. This was a potentially steady source of new recipients.⁶⁸

- (d) Finally, it is possible that *some* available vacancies may have gone to miscellaneous applicants, and that these applicants included some recent immigrants. Grain-distributions at Oxyrhynchus included a number of recipients classed as *remboi*.⁶⁹ Rea interprets the category as a catchall for “sundry” applicants admitted to grain distributions by a procedure different from the normal *epikrisis*, but the Greek word *rembos* (‘roaming’) suggests to me that the recipients in question were somehow identified as a mobile group of people.⁷⁰ In one document, *remboi* appear to gain entrance not after a test of citizenship, but after performing public liturgies.⁷¹ The possibility that certain people effectively ‘paid’ their way into the *plebs frumentaria* may also be envisaged for Rome. Several passages contained in the *Digest* and a passage from Juvenal suggest it was possible to purchase a *tessera frumentaria* with which to access the *frumentationes*.⁷² It is difficult to understand how the Roman system allowed some people to purchase the right to collect free hand-outs of *frumentum publicum*, while at the same time compelling others to rely on the fortuitousness of a lottery. This difficulty has led to the suggestion that purchase was restricted to some specific group of applicants under close state scrutiny.⁷³ Rea, who upholds the possibility of automatic entry for freedmen *optimo iure*, hypothesises that the option of purchase was available to Junian Latins, who may not have been automatically admitted.⁷⁴ Virlouvvet, who doubts the automatic admission of freedmen for reasons which we have already discussed, sees purchasing the right to collect free hand-outs of grain as an option more widely available to various groups of citizens not dissimilar to the *remboi* of Oxyrhynchus: freedmen, but also *cives*

68 Virlouvvet 1995: 273ff; ead. 2009: 11–41.

69 *P.Oxy.* 2908, col. 3, line 37; 2927 lines 7, 21; 28 col. 1, line 1.

70 *LSJ*, s.v. *ῥεμβός* (‘roaming, roving’) and *ῥέμβομαι* (‘roam, rove, roll about’).

71 Rea 1972: 3–4; the class included freedmen; one *rembos*, admittedly identified as being from Oxyrhynchus, is explicitly described as “uncertified” (*ἀνεπίκριτος*).

72 *Juv. Sat.* 7.174–5; *Dig.* 5.1.52.1, 36.49.1, 36.87.pr., 37.5.pr.; Virlouvvet 1995 gives the definitive discussion of *tesserae frumentariae*, not as chits given in return for grain, but as identity cards of a sort that entitled bearers to distributions and indicated where and when they received *frumentatio*.

73 Rickman 1980: 191; the opinion of Van Berchem 1939: 49–53 that this option existed only for migrants depends on his now obsolete thesis of an *origo* qualification.

74 Rea 1972: 11–13; *contra* Rickman 1980: 248 who is overly sceptical about the imperial *subsortitio*.

without *domicilium*. Thus, it may have been possible for migrants to purchase the right to collect *frumentum publicum*. Virlouvet rightly stresses that this was an exceptional practice.⁷⁵ In any case, I suspect that those immigrants able to pay for *frumentationes* were not attracted to Rome by the availability of free hand-outs of grain in the first place.⁷⁶

So, whereas an annual shortfall in the number of *accipientes* is implied, and a limited number of migrants may have been able to purchase access to those vacancies, there was no shortage of other groups, most of them already at Rome, looking forward to gaining entrance to *frumentationes* through various means. Meanwhile, the emperor apparently viewed deficits as an opportunity to broadcast his liberality, as may have been the case with Trajan's addition of some 5,000 *ingenui*. The system might not have excluded migrants as a rule, but obtaining the right to *frumentationes* was disadvantageously competitive, especially for outsiders.

Real and Perceived Values of Frumentum Publicum

I have argued that the probability of migrants accessing *frumentum publicum* at Rome was low. Even if we accept the possibility that at least some of these people managed to get their names on the lists of recipients, however, we must also take into account the real value of the *frumentationes*. As has often been noted, the monthly rations were insufficient to support most families. Five *modii* or 43.1 liters of grain over the course of a thirty-day month provided some 3,200–3,700 calories a day in the form of bread. This was perhaps enough for the recipient and one other person, if neither were engaged in hard manual labour.⁷⁷ However, families with more than two adult members, only one of

⁷⁵ Virlouvet 1995: 241.

⁷⁶ Juv. *Sat.* 7.174–5 (*summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit / frumenti*) is the only evidence for the price of a *tessera*; *vilis* may modify either *tessera* or *frumenti*, but word order suggests the former. *Summula* and *vilis tessera* indicate a low amount, but Juvenal intends to stress the rhetor's poverty by demeaning his ability to afford the price of grain subsidies, which, while not hugely expensive, do not need to have been negligible to make the point; see Virlouvet 1995: 208–209.

⁷⁷ Duncan-Jones 1982: 147 n. 2. Most modern scholarship reckons with a daily requirement of 2,000 calories, but as noted by Harris 2011: 42 this is low for active males according to FAO figures, and if we suppose that migrants tended to be adult males and that they predominately found employment in casual, manual labour, then 2,000 calories should be considered below subsistence.

whom received *frumentatio*, were compelled to find subsistence elsewhere. Moreover, if Rome's urban poor relied on cereals to meet a comparatively high proportion (75%?) of their food-energy requirements, they still needed to supplement this diet with other foods.⁷⁸ Only by the third century did the *annona* expand to include wine, pork and olive oil. From an income perspective, the *frumentatio* is best interpreted as a supplement to wage-based employment, not as a replacement.

What, though, was the perceived or expected value of the urban *frumentationes* to potential migrants outside Rome? In the sources we may detect two separate and in some sense oppositional discourses concerning *frumentum publicum*. One was the legal discourse concerned with juridical categories of human mobility. In the particular case of the *frumentationes*, as we have seen, legislators and administrators sought to develop rules to establish the boundaries of an exclusive institution. Alongside this legal discourse, however, there existed a carefully constructed dialogue between ruler and subject that placed the broader food supply system, the *annona*, within an ideology of imperial beneficence and inclusivity. To illustrate the point, we may start by comparing two very different ways of describing Augustus' policies regarding the *frumentationes*. Augustus' *Res Gestae* contains the following account of the emperor's liberalities:

To each man of the *plebs Romana* I gave 300 sesterces in accordance with my father's will, and in my fifth consulship I gave 400 sesterces in my name from the spoils of war, again also in my tenth consulship from my patrimony I paid out four hundred sesterces to each man as a cash distribution, and in my eleventh consulship I distributed twelve *frumentationes* using grain bought from my private funds, and when I held tribunician power for the twelfth time, I gave each man four hundred coins for a third time. As for my cash distributions, the recipients never numbered fewer than 250,000 [...] In my thirteenth consulship, I gave sixty *denarii* to those of the *plebs* who were eligible to receive *frumentum publicum* at that moment; they numbered a little more than 200,000 men.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Garnsey 1991: 70–77 on the nutritional pitfalls of a cereal-heavy diet.

⁷⁹ Aug. RG 15: *Plebei Romanae viritim HS trecentos numeravi ex testamento patris mei, et nomine meo HS quadringenos ex bellorum manibūs consul quintum dedi, iterum autem in consulatu decimo ex patrimonio meo HS quadringenos congiari viritim pernumeravi, et consul undecimum duodecim frumentationes frumento privatim coempto emensus sum, et tribunicia potestate duodecimum quadringenos nummos tertium viritim dedi. Quae mea congiaria pervenerunt ad hominum millia nunquam minus quinquaginta et ducenta. ... consul tertium decimum sexagenos denarios plebei, quae tum frumentum publicum accipiebat, dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plura quam ducenta fuerunt.*

A passage from Cassius Dio presents Augustus' policies in a rather different light:

At this time Augustus closed off the total number of people entitled to free grain, previously unlimited, to 200,000.⁸⁰

The rhetorical difference between these two passages is striking. In the passage from the *Res Gestae*, Augustus depicts the large number of recipients of subsidies as an approximation and as falling slightly short of the exact figure (*paullo plura quam*).⁸¹ The historian's version instead focuses on the successful introduction of a *numerus clausus*, a restrictive measure that imposed a limit (κατέκλεισε) on the number of beneficiaries.

It is also noteworthy that the careful presentation of Augustus' *cura annonae* which we find in the *Res Gestae* appears in a section dealing with personal munificence, beginning with Augustus's private fulfillment of Caesar's will, and specifying that he provided *frumentationes* in his twelfth consulship at his own expense (*privatim*). Unsurprisingly, emperors were quick to claim the care of the *annona* as one of their responsibilities.⁸² Augustus set the precedent of staffing the newly created office of the *praefectus annonae* with experienced equestrians, nominated by the *princeps* himself.⁸³

The attention that the emperor devoted to the *cura annonae* also served to emphasise the value of Rome's food distributions to the greater Roman world. A well-known passage of Pliny's *Panegyricus* is exemplary in this regard. Pliny begins by comparing Trajan's *annona* to a "permanent handout" (*perpetui congiarii*). The comparison suggests that he is referring specifically to the urban *frumentationes*, since access to *congiaria* and entitlement to *frumentatio* were exclusive privileges of the *plebs frumentaria*.⁸⁴ However, the next sentences expand the meaning of the *annona* to encompass the cereal economy of the entire Mediterranean. At this point the *annona* is associated with general prosperity (*copiae*). The emperor connects demand and supply (*inter licentem vendentemque conveniat*), feeding the urban consumer while offering a market for

80 Dio 55.10.1: ὁ δὲ Αὐγούστος τὸ τοῦ σιτοδοτουμένου πλῆθος ἀόριστον ὃν ἐς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισε.

81 Pace Rickman 1980: 181, the "curiously guarded and imprecise" language reflects the princes' rhetorical as much as historical intentions.

82 Rickman 1980: 92, 213–225. Tiberius already does so explicitly; cf. Noreña 2011: 113 on Tac. *Ann.* 3.54.6.

83 Pavis d'Escurac 1976: 28–32; Bruun 1989: 108.

84 For the privilege of receiving the *congiaria*, see Duncan-Jones 1994: 40.

the surplus of the provincial producer. The need to supply Rome with grain prompts the carrying out of infrastructural projects in the provinces (*vias portus*), so that all enjoy a tangible share of imperial beneficence. Pliny imagines the *annona* integrating an otherwise divided world: those living outside Rome benefit from their efforts to feed those living in the city.⁸⁵

How effectively was information about the urban grain supply carried outside the city? Imperial ideology may be seen helping to circulate the more inclusive discourse. Copies of Augustus' *Res Gestae* are now known from the two neighbouring provinces of Galatia and Asia; the text explicitly claims to replicate a document from Rome.⁸⁶ Whether central or local authority lay behind the document's appearance in the east remains debated, but it seems safe to say that, one way or the other, imperial power prompted the dissemination of the message it contained.⁸⁷

Another category of evidence that speaks to the potential relationship between ideology and the circulation of information is imperial coinage, an intrinsically-disseminated medium, on which references to the *annona* appear with some frequency. The depiction of images relating to the public grain supply on Roman coinage has received attention almost exclusively for its iconography, but we should also consider the ideological value of such images.⁸⁸ From Nero to Diocletian, most emperors issued coins broadcasting their involvement with grain distributions through depictions of the personified deity Annona,

85 Plin. *Pan.* 29: "I consider the abundance of the *annona* similar to a perpetual handout... our Father, by his influence, resolve, and sincerity, has unblocked roads and opened ports...and united different people in trade to such an extent that local produce seems destined for all. Is it not apparent that every year abounds in the things we need without injury to anyone?... The result is this prosperity, the *annona*, that matches buyer and seller: abundance here, and no hunger anywhere else", *Instar ego perpetui congiarii reor adfluentiam annonae...parens noster auctoritate consilio fide reclusit vias portus patefecit...diversasque gentes ita commercio miscuit, ut quod genitum esset usquam, id apud omnes natum videretur. Nonne cernere datur ut sine ullius iniuria omnis usibus nostris annus exuberet?... Inde copiae, inde annona de qua inter licentem vendentemque conveniat, inde hic satietas nec fames usquam.*

86 Aug. *RG pr.* "a copy of deeds inscribed upon two bronze columns, which have been set up at Rome", *rerum gestarum...incisarum in duabus aeneis pilis, quae sunt Romae positae, exemplar.* The three copies from Galatian cities are long-known; Thonemann 2012 identifies a copy from Sardis in the province of Asia.

87 Cooley 2009: 18–22 argues for a local or regional mechanism behind the appearance of copies in Galatia; the new Sardis copy modifies her thesis, but does not vitiate it.

88 An important exception is Noreña 2011; earlier discussions in Boyce 1958; Vitucci 1958; Pavis d'Escurac 1981; Rickman 1980: 257–267; Virlouvet 1995: 336–338 with reference to *tesserae frumentariae*.

or of her attributes. *Annona* was the goddess of the annual (*annuus*) cereal harvest, but the coinage suggests that a specific reference to Rome's imperial *cura annonae* was intended. The goddess often holds a ship's rudder representing the seaborne commerce that brought grain to the capital. Some issues may relate to an emperor's programmatic interests in facilitating urban grain distributions. A *sestertius* of Nerva bears the reverse legend *PLEBEI URBANAE FRUMENTO CONSTITUTO* / S.C., "grain (has been) made available to the urban *plebs* / (coin struck) in accordance with a decision taken by the Senate", around the image of a grain measure.⁸⁹ More typically, through close iconographic overlaps with depictions of *Abundantia* or *Ceres*, coins showing *Annona* advertised the more general relationship between the smooth operation of the grain supply and the abundance and material benefits offered by imperial rule.

Most of these *Annona* types were issued by Rome's own mint, but some exceptions reinforce the idea that the message circulated widely as part of a package of imperial ideology. At Alexandria, where the *annona* meant a tax on surplus production rather than a straightforward *beneficium*, several Antonine issues show the personified *Euthênia*, the Greek goddess assimilated with the state grain supply, holding grain stalks and often appearing with the personified Nile. Examples that show *Euthênia* standing beside a personification of either the Tiber or the Mediterranean seem to refer explicitly to the transportation of Alexandrian grain to feed Rome.⁹⁰ The Gallic emperor Postumus minted an *antoninianus* with the reverse legend *ANNONA AUG*, "imperial food supply", at Lugdunum with iconography closely imitating contemporaneous Roman issues of Gallienus.⁹¹ Postumus' coinage was clearly never intended for recipients of the *frumentationes* at Rome, but points to the broader ideological role that the *annona* played in the construction of imperial power beyond Rome itself.

The *Euthênia* coinage of Alexandria finds a parallel in the appearance of *Euthênia* and *Euthênia Sebastê* on coins of some cities of the Greek East, outside of the traditional grain-producing regions of the empire.⁹² Unlike those Alexandrian coins which show personifications of the Nile or the Tiber, this coinage's iconography strictly relates to abundance. We see *Euthênia* holding a cornucopia, poppies, ears of corn, etc.⁹³ It is not impossible that the ideological associations with *Euthênia* were reinforced by the emperor's role in local food distributions. A second-century inscription from Ephesus records an

89 *RIC* vol. 2, Nerva 89; Vitucci 1958; Rickman 1980: 216; Noreña 2011: 118–119.

90 Noreña 2011: 121.

91 *RIC* vol. 5.2, 338 Postumus 19; cf. *RIC* vol. 5.1, 180 Gallienus 557.

92 Fears 1981: 936–938.

93 Cf. *RE* 6, 1, s.v. '*Euthenia*', coll. 1498–1500 [O. Waser] for iconographic discussion.

imperial concession made to the Ephesians and unspecified “other cities”, allowing them the right to purchase Egyptian grain, but only after the needs of “the imperial city” (Rome) are fulfilled.⁹⁴ The document’s promise that Ephesus would be “among the first” after Rome to receive or purchase grain may suggest that the emperor envisioned a hierarchy of cities eligible to do so.⁹⁵ Another Ephesian inscription reports civic honours bestowed upon Hadrian for “delivering the grain from Egypt, making the harbours navigable, and changing the course of the Caystros River that was silting up those harbours”.⁹⁶ By linking the emperor’s role in the local grain supply to the creation of infrastructure, this inscription recalls the rhetoric of Pliny’s *Panegyricus*. The triangular relationship of Egyptian production, Roman consumption, and the allocation of surplus to Ephesus presents us with a more complex world than Pliny’s dichotomy of producers and consumers. But in both cases we see the ways in which the emperor’s role in feeding Rome mattered to those living outside the city. While imperial ideology helped to disseminate information about urban food distributions beyond Rome, it also served to emphasise the tangible benefits that the *annona* provided to the broader empire.⁹⁷

94 *I.Eph.* 2, 211: “...because (?) of the greatness of your illustrious (?) city and the large number of people residing among you. It is clear that you will welcome with gratitude this concession, bearing in mind that first the bountiful grain necessary for the imperial city is collected from everywhere and prepared for market, and then the other cities may receive what is necessary. And if the Nile should so appear, as we pray, to grant to us the customary level of flood, and bountiful grain should be cultivated by the Egyptians, then you among the first after the homeland [...]”. διὰ | τὸ | μέγεθ[ος τῆς λαμπροτάτης?] | ὑμῶν πό[λεως] καὶ τὸ πλ[ήθος] | τῶν οἰκούντων παρ’ ὑμεί[ν]. | πρόδηλον δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς εὐγνω- | μόνως χ[ρ]ήσεσθε τῇ τοιαύτῃ συν- | χωρήσει λογιζόμενοι ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον | πρῶτον τῇ βασιλευούσῃ πόλει ἄφθονον | εἶναι τὸν π[ρ]ὸς τὴν ἀγοράν παρασκευα- | ζόμενον [κ]αὶ ἀθροιζόμενον πανταχό- | θεν πυρόν, ἔπειθ’ οὕτως καὶ τὰς ἄλλας | πόλεις εὐπορεῖν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. | εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ Νεῖλος φαίνοιτο, ὥσπε[ρ] | εὐχόμεθα, παρέχων ἡμῖν τῆς ἀνό- | δου τοῦ σύνηθες μέτρον καὶ γεωργο[ῖτο] | παρὰ Αἰγυπτίοις ἄφθονος ὁ πυρός, | καὶ ὑμ[εῖς] ἐν πρώτοις μετὰ τὴν πα- | τρίδα.

95 De Romanis 2002: 287–298 argues strongly that this became a regular policy after good harvests, rather than a singular response to famine; *contra* Wörrle 1971; Garnsey 1988: 255–257 takes a middle position, arguing that the sale of Egyptian surplus was a normal, if not necessarily institutionalised, response to cases of need. One of the “other cities” may have been Tralles, as a Hadrianic inscription (*I.Trall.* 80) refers to Tralles’ purchase of Egyptian grain at subsidised cost.

96 *I.Eph.* 2, 274, lines 12–13: σειτοπομπή[ας δὲ] | ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου παρέχοντα καὶ τοὺς λιμένας | πο[ιήσαν]τα πλωτοὺς, ἀποστρέψαντα τε | καὶ τὸν βλά[πτοντα τοὺς] λιμένας ποταμόν | Καύστρον. De Romanis 2002: 292 relates this to the concession of *I.Eph.* 2, 211.

97 In this context, it is worth mentioning that imperial food distributions were not particular to Rome. Rea 1972: 3 argues that grain distributed at Oxyrhynchus was viewed as a gift

Conclusions

As a status-marker of the *plebs frumentaria*, the urban distribution of grain was not designed to assist immigrants, and it increasingly featured legal barriers and logistical controls to exclude mobile populations from the apparent fixity of a *numerus clausus*. On top of this, the *frumentatio* of five *modii* per month was insufficient to provide for the basic needs of most families. When measured in real terms, neither the income level nor the probability of receiving that income were particularly high, and it is hard to square the restrictive rules governing the *frumentationes* with a scenario of rural–urban migration.

In dealing with the question of what people living outside Rome knew about the *frumentationes*, and to what extent expectations about urban incomes were shaped by this information, we should pay close attention to the importance of the *annona* system for imperial ideology. Following the precedent set by Augustus, emperors stressed the material advantages of their rule, in part by advertising the abundance and inclusivity of the *annona*. Was this sufficient to elevate the perceived value of urban *frumentationes* and thereby to pull migrants to Rome? There are good reasons to take a sceptical stance on this issue. As we have seen, the same ideological impulse that helped to broadcast information about Rome's food supply also reinforced its role within a larger package of *beneficia*. Feeding the city was seen to benefit people across the empire by creating a market for produce, by prompting infrastructural investment, and even by providing surpluses that could be used for local distributions of grain. The rhetoric with which the *annona* was described promised abundance for Rome, and no hunger anywhere else.⁹⁸ If imperial ideology raised expectations about the income that the *frumentationes* represented to Rome's residents, the same ideology also emphasised the benefits of Rome's food distributions for the empire as a whole, thereby diminishing the relative value of urban *frumentationes* to those living outside the capital. While there is no doubt that migrants moved in great numbers to imperial Rome, urban distributions of grain were unlikely to have ranked highly among their many reasons for doing so.

from the emperor. Dio 69.16.2 records Hadrian's establishment of distributions at Athens. Where the emperor did not provide grain himself, private elites often stepped in. While this discussion goes beyond the scope of this paper, it would be interesting to investigate the relationship between food distributions, imperial and otherwise, in the towns of the empire and the general rate of urbanisation.

98 Plin. *Pan.* 29.5, cited above in footnote 85.

Migration in Early-Imperial Italy: Herculaneum and Rome Compared

Peter Garnsey and Luuk de Ligt

The last two centuries BCE witnessed a fast expansion of cities in Roman Italy. Between the end of the Second Punic War and the early decades of the Principate the population of Rome is believed to have grown from c. 150,000, or c. 200,000, to about one million. Some other Italian cities also began to expand during the second century BCE, and this process continued and intensified, ultimately involving hundreds of agglomerations, during the last century BCE.¹

It is generally agreed that the simultaneous expansion of so many cities could not have taken place without a high level of migration, involving free-born Italians, slaves captured in war or acquired in the market, ex-slaves moving to other Italian cities, and an unknown number of voluntary migrants originating from the provinces. What is less clear is how the large urban populations which came into being as a result of these processes were sustained after the period of fast expansion had come to an end.

The aim of this paper is to compare patterns of migration to early-imperial Rome with the migration regime which helped to sustain the urban population of Herculaneum. Studying migration to Rome needs little justification. Rome was the capital of a vast empire and also the largest city of Graeco-Roman Antiquity. Precisely for this reason the city and its population are well served by the literary sources. Much of the information provided by these sources is qualitative, moralising and biased towards certain groups, such as immigrants of non-Italian background,² but there are also some quantitative clues, such as references to the number of citizens receiving free hand-outs of grain at various dates, which give us a rough idea of the size of the *plebs urbana*.

1 For Rome's expansion see, for instance, Morley 1996: 44; for the growth of other Italian cities: De Ligt 2012: Ch. 5.

2 The literary sources are heavily biased towards migrants of non-Italian origin, such as Egyptians, Jews and Syrians. See Noy 2000. For a good discussion of Italian and non-Italian immigrants in Ostia, based on an analysis of *gentilicia* referred to in the epigraphic record, see Salomies 2002: 150–153.

The approximately 60,000 (non-Christian) funerary inscriptions from the city of Rome provide us with another window on the urban population.³ As many scholars have pointed out, the people commemorated in these epitaphs are not a random cross section of the inhabitants of Rome. Even so the inscriptions cast into relief the presence of certain juridical and social groups, among which ex-slaves are particularly prominent.

Finally, a number of recent publications have identified isotope analysis of skeletal and dental material as an important new source of information on migrant numbers and on the places of origin of immigrants.⁴

Although much work has already been done, the opening up of new types of data, in conjunction with the increasing use of demographic modelling, has resulted in important new insights into the demographic regime sustaining the population of Rome, and the buzz shows no signs of becoming less intense.

Migration to Herculaneum may seem a far less attractive object of study. There can be no doubt that the role of migration in sustaining the populations of smaller Italian cities is a topic of considerable interest, if only because the demographic regimes of such cities might well have differed from that of Rome. It is, however, not at all easy to find material that might offer a solid basis for such an inquiry. Certainly, there are various categories of evidence documenting the presence of groups of migrants, or of individual migrants, in many Italian towns. Well-known examples include the letter of the town council of Tyre concerning the *statio* of the Tyrian merchants in Puteoli, the inscriptions from the *Piazzale delle Corporazioni* in Ostia and the abundant inscriptions referring to formally recognised groups of *incolae*.⁵ Free migrants of citizen status may be traced by looking for individuals whose tribal affiliations show they, or one of their ancestors, came from another community. We may also use the presence on funerary inscriptions of slaves and freedmen as evidence of forced migration, although many slaves will have been *vernae* and some of the freedmen might have been voluntary migrants into the town in question. The obvious downside of these types of evidence is that they provide us with snapshots which do not give us any idea of the bigger picture.

3 According to Huttunen 1974: 16 the funerary inscriptions contained in *CIL* 6 total approximately 26,000. Rawson 2013: 99 estimates that epitaphs account for at least three quarters of the more than 40,000 inscriptions from Rome. We adopt the much higher estimate given in Tacoma and Tybout's contribution to this volume.

4 Prowse et al. 2007; Killgrove 2010a and 2010b. For a critical discussion of some of the methodological problems surrounding this type of research see Bruun 2010 and the brief response by Killgrove 2010c. See also Bruun's and Prowse's contributions to this volume.

5 On the letter sent by the town council of Tyre and on the *stationes* of Ostia see now Terpstra 2013: 70–83 and 100–112; on *incolae* see Gagliardi 2006.

The epigraphic record from Herculaneum includes very few epitaphs and only two texts referring explicitly to *incolae*.⁶ However, as we will demonstrate, the town is unique because it provides evidence for involuntary immigration which is qualitatively different and superior to that from other Italian towns. On the basis of this evidence we can model the demography of the town and arrive at plausible estimates of the proportions of slaves, freed and freeborn in the urban population. Using these estimates we may also draw some inferences concerning the relative importance of various types of immigration.

Supposing that the general outlines of the demographic regime sustaining the population of Herculaneum can indeed be recovered, what would that tell us of interest about Italian towns, or about some Italian towns? Could Herculaneum be unique in reality, and not just in terms of surviving data? Put in this way it does not sound very likely, but we have to pose the question. The Bay of Naples was a significant population-centre, a hub of commercial activity, with major, and well-utilised, port facilities and extensive traffic of goods and people. Herculaneum is one of the pieces in this particular jig-saw, not one of the larger ones perhaps, but likely to share many of the characteristics of urban life in the area. The question as to whether Herculaneum had a demographic regime similar to that of Puteoli, Naples or Pompeii cannot be answered with any degree of certainty, but we cannot think of any reason why the demographic system sustaining this particular city should have been dramatically different from the systems sustaining the populations of other coastal cities in Campania, of comparable activity and function.

To date the single most important piece of evidence concerning the demographic make-up of early-imperial Herculaneum is a long, but incomplete, inscription, large parts of which have been known for more than 270 years.⁷ During excavations carried out in the spring of 1739, on the order of the Bourbon king Carlo III, workmen discovered twelve fragments of a list of names. About three quarters of these names were those of freedmen, identified as such by the familiar abbreviation *l.* for *libertus*.⁸ Mommsen published these fragments as *CIL* 10, 1403a-l, without offering any particular interpretation.

6 *Incolae*: *CIL* 10, 1147 and 1452. Cf. our discussion of the term *adlegerunt* in the Album of Herculaneum.

7 For an extensive discussion of this inscription see De Ligt and Garnsey (2012).

8 The three fragments published as *CIL* 10, 1403c, 1403d and 1403l list the names of at least 19 *ingenui* and at least 80 *incerti*. The other *CIL* fragments list the names of at least 316 *liberti*, accounting for about three quarters of the total. The fragments discovered in 1961 contained the names of 24 further *incerti* as well as those of at least 37 *ingenui*, thereby reducing the proportion of *liberti* to about two thirds.

In 1961 four new fragments of the Album were discovered. Three of these fragments contained more names of freedmen as well as the names of a somewhat mysterious group of *incerti* sporting the *tria nomina* but not identified as *liberti* or *ingenui*. The fourth fragment contains a list of freeborn citizens, identified as such by the usual marker of filiation and also by an abbreviated marker of tribal affiliation. These names appear under the heading *centuria* (or *curia*) *Claudia ingenuorum*.⁹ As a result of these new finds the number of surviving names of *liberti* rose to 327.¹⁰ On the new list of *ingenui* 37 names could be read fully or in part, bringing the total number of *ingenui* to 56. To these 383 *liberti* and *ingenui* at least 104 individuals of uncertain status have to be added.¹¹

In a publication dealing with various buildings in the central part of Herculaneum, Allroggen-Bedel suggested the sixteen fragments might have belonged to a document listing the Augustales of the town. This view was subsequently endorsed by Guadagno and most recently by Najberg.¹² At first sight, this might seem an attractive interpretation of a list containing the names of large numbers of freedmen as well as those of a smaller contingent of *ingenui*. However, since large parts of the Album are missing, we can be certain that the original list contained many hundreds of names and quite possibly more than 1,500. The Augustales were a relatively small group in any town. Given the relatively small size of Herculaneum, it is most unlikely that the Album refers to this group.

Pesando was the first to suggest that the long list of names might have been the citizen roll of Herculaneum. This idea was subsequently modified by Camodeca, who suggested that the people listed in the album might have included resident foreigners (*incolae*) with voting rights in Herculaneum as well as adult men having the local citizenship.¹³ In our view this modification is unnecessary and unconvincing. From the Flavian law of Malaga, the *Lex Malacitana*, it appears that *incolae* were allowed to vote in the local assembly but also that they were grouped together in a single *curia*.¹⁴ There is no evidence to support Camodeca's suggestion that *incolae* might have been assigned to the

9 The 7-shaped abbreviation which appears at the start of the heading is commonly found in military documents of the first and second centuries CE, where it means *centuria*. But *curia* appears to have been the usual term for voting groups in early-imperial cities.

10 Camodeca 2008: 91 gives a slightly lower figure of "circa 300 *liberti* dichiarati". We have counted all those names of which at least one character has been preserved.

11 On fragment *CIL* 10, 1403d, the names of 74 *incerti* can be read fully or in part. The first two columns of the composite fragment consisting of *AE* 1978, 119b and *CIL* 10, 1403l lists the names of 30 individuals of uncertain status.

12 Allroggen-Bedel 1974: 104–105; Guadagno 1977; Najberg 2002: 161.

13 Pesando 2003; Camodeca 2008: 89–90.

14 *Lex Malacitana* 53 (*FIRA* vol. 1: 210).

same voting groups as freeborn citizens of Herculaneum. We think such a procedure was followed only in the case of those *incolae* who had ceased to be 'resident foreigners' because they had been admitted to the local citizen body.¹⁵ In short, we take it as a working hypothesis that the Album consists of the citizens of Herculaneum, with only one small modification. Unlike Pesando, we are prepared to envisage the possibility that the *centuriae*, or *curiae*, are to be interpreted as subdivisions of the local assembly. According to this interpretation, all those listed in the *centuriae* (or *curiae*) *ingenuorum* or in the *centuriae* (or *curiae*) *libertorum* are to be regarded as citizens of Herculaneum. However, the evidence from Malaga suggests to us that one voting group, or several voting groups, might have been reserved for individuals who did not have the local citizenship.

Fragment *AE* 1978, 119b of the Album starts with two columns of *tria nomina* which are not accompanied by any indication of filiation or libertine status. From two wax tablets which were discovered in the city we know that one of the individuals listed in the first column, L. Venidius Ennychus, was a Junian Latin, the technical term for a slave who had been manumitted informally or before reaching the age of 30. Such ex-slaves were legally Latins rather than Roman citizens, and did not have the local citizenship. We also happen to know that Venidius had this status until 22 March 62 CE, when he obtained the Roman citizenship.¹⁶ From Gaius' *Institutes* it appears that any Junian who obtained the Roman citizenship simultaneously became the *libertus* of the *dominus* (*ex iure Quiritium*) by whom he had been manumitted.¹⁷ Since Venidius' name appears in a separate list rather than in one of the centuries of ordinary freedmen, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the first edition of the Album was inscribed before 22 March 62 CE, and that this is the reason why Venidius appears with the *tria nomina*.¹⁸ If this inference is correct, we must

15 One of the surviving fragments of the Album contains a list of *ingenui*, under a heading ending with the term *adlegerunt*. In all likelihood the individuals in question were *cives adlecti* who had been co-opted into the local citizen body. Cf. below.

16 Camodeca 2002 and 2006.

17 Or the *libertus* of the heir or *legatarius* of the *dominus*. Gai. *Inst.* 2.195 shows that Junian Latins could be bequeathed. This clue suggests to us that any Junian who obtained the Roman citizenship after the death of his or her *manumissor* must have had a *patronus*.

18 Wallace-Hadrill 2015: 129–134 argues that the high rate of overlap (c. 15 %) between the names listed in the Album and the Petronia Iusta dossier of c. 74 CE points to a date in the early 70s CE for the first edition of the Album. However, since most of the names which are found both in various documents belonging to this dossier and in the Album appear among the *tria nomina* listed in *AE* 1978, 119b, we cannot go beyond the conclusion that groups of people appearing in specific juridical dossiers, e.g. as witnesses, tended to have the same social background. To judge from *CIL* 10, 1403, col. 2 and *CIL* 10, 1403g, col. 1, some

conclude that the Album included a sub-list containing the names of Junian Latins.¹⁹

If we are right, the Album listed not only those adult male residents of Herculaneum who were both Roman and local citizens but at least one group of permanent residents who had voting rights but not the local citizenship. This adjustment of Pesando's theory results in a hierarchical reading of the Album in which *ingenui* are listed before *liberti* of citizen status, and *liberti* of citizen status before ex-slaves of Latin status.

Another sub-list of the Album (*CIL* 10, 1403d) contains a second group of *tria nomina*, again without filiation or libertination. Based on the *cognomina*, which are mostly Latin, these individuals have been thought to be *ingenui* rather than ex-slaves. A striking feature of this sub-list is that it contains an unusually large number of additions, inscribed sometime after the first version of the Album had been fixed to the wall of the Basilica.²⁰ The juridical status of those listed

20 roughly inscribed names were added to each *centuria libertorum* after the first edition of the Album had been put together. The fact that there are no deletions in the lists of freedmen proves that the local authorities of Herculaneum made no attempt to keep the Album up to date. Therefore the roughly added names must be those of individuals keen to add their names to the list. In all likelihood the number of slaves manumitted after the first edition of the Album was published exceeded the number of roughly inscribed names. These considerations undermine any attempt to use the relatively small number of additions as an argument for a date close to 79 CE.

19 Our reading of *AE* 1978, 119b raises the question as to why some *liberti* were listed after Junian Latins. One possible explanation is that the *liberti* in question were freedmen of Latin status who had been manumitted by Junians. The traditional view that the term *libertus* invariably denotes a freedman of citizen status is overly dogmatic. See, for instance, Gai. *Inst.* 3.55 (*bonis Latinorum libertinorum*) and 3.56 (*liberti Latini hominis bona*); *Lex Salpensana* 23 (*FIRA* vol. 1: 204). As Alföldy 1986: 350–351, points out, many funerary inscriptions commemorate *liberti* or *libertae* who obtained their freedom before the age of 30. Examples from the city of Rome include *CIL* 6, 5294, 9970, 12801, 17544, 21309, 22379, 24945 and 34815. Technically, these ex-slaves would have been Junian Latins, with the exception of those *libertae* who had married their former masters (Gai. *Inst.* 1.19). Of course, the *centuria* heading in the first column would have left no doubt concerning the juridical status of those individuals listed in cols. 1–3. A completely different problem concerns the likelihood of Junian Latins owning and freeing slaves. The *lex Aelia Sentia* of 4 CE restricted the right of ex-slaves to manumit their own slaves (e.g. Gai. *Inst.* 1.37), but before the passing of the *Senatus Consultum* referred to in Gai. *Inst.* 1.31 (datable to the reign of Vespasian) there must have been many second-generation Junians. The restrictions introduced by the *lex Aelia Sentia* did not apply to slave-owners belonging to this category.

20 We fully support Wallace-Hadrill's identification of the building near which the fragments of the Album were discovered as the Basilica of Herculaneum. See Wallace-Hadrill 2011b and 2015: 116–119.

on this particular fragment remains uncertain, but one possible reading is that the names are those of second-generation Junian Latins.²¹ If so, we would be dealing with another list of non-citizens who had voting rights. We admit that this reading is speculative and that other interpretations are possible.²² However, as will presently be explained, this particular fragment of the Album plays no part in our attempt to reconstruct the social composition of the urban population. Therefore, the uncertainty surrounding the juridical status of the *incerti* listed in it does not affect any of our calculations.

For the purposes of this paper the main question is whether the Album can be used to reconstruct the social make-up of the urban population. Part of our answer is that this document cannot be used directly to calculate the number of town-dwellers. The obvious reason for this is that if the Album is a list of local citizens, it must have included citizens living in Herculaneum's rural territory. Despite this stumbling block, it is our contention that the evidence supplied by the Album provides us with some basic insights into the urban demography of early-imperial Herculaneum. In what follows we begin by taking a closer look at the numerical balance between the main components of the urban population, such as slaves, freedmen and *ingenui*. Our next step will be to widen our discussion to migrants.

One of the most startling features of the Album is that, in its original form, it must have contained the names of *at least* 850 ex-slaves.²³ We know for a fact

21 In De Ligt and Garnsey 2012: 80–81, we speculated that *CIL* 10, 1403d might have been a list of freeborn boys of citizen status. An advantage of this reading is that it helps to explain the unusually large number of additions which are visible in this list, but our revised interpretation accords better with the theory that the Album lists various groups of people with voting rights. Second-generation Junian Latins would have included children born of parents who had been freed informally after the age of 30, or from unions which did not meet the formal requirements of a *matrimonium ex lege Aelia Sentia* (Gai. *Inst.* 1.29). Non-fulfilment of the latter requirement might explain the appearance in this list of *M. Livius Sp(urii) filius Sabinus*. Cf. Weaver 1997: 61–64, for the suggestion that many children of Junian Latins may never have obtained the Roman citizenship.

22 Wallace-Hadrill 2015: 139–143 suggests *CIL* 10, 1403d might be a list of *spurii* and other people who did not have a *pater familias*. However, as Rawson 1989 has pointed out, there is nothing to suggest that illegitimate children were ashamed to advertise their status in Roman society. In fact, the status marker *Spurii filius* was commonly used to advertise possession of the Roman citizenship. This makes it difficult to explain why only one of the putative *spurii* listed in *CIL* 10, 1403d should have flagged his juridical status. Note that the large number of roughly inscribed names which are visible in this list sits uneasily with Wallace-Hadrill's theory that the first edition of the Album was inscribed as late as the early 70s.

23 The Album contained at least four *centuriae/curiae* of freedmen. In the first edition of the Album the first three of these centuries comprised about 170 individuals each, implying a

that the main part of the Album, listing the adult male citizens of Herculaneum, contained at least four *centuriae/curiae* of ordinary freedmen, identified as such by the abbreviation *l.* for *libertus*. In addition to these four *centuriae*, fragment AE 1978, 119b lists thirty individuals belonging to another group of ex-slaves. As we have already explained, we interpret this sub-list as a list of *Latini Iuniani*. This view is not shared by Wallace-Hadrill, who thinks the ex-slaves on this list are to be identified as *former* Junian Latins, that is to say, as former Junians who had obtained the Roman and local citizenship.²⁴ We remain unconvinced by his arguments, but if he were right we would have to conclude that the (unpromoted) Junian Latins of Herculaneum do not appear anywhere in the Album. It would then follow that the population of the city and its territory included a substantial number of Junian Latins *in addition to* the c. 850 ex-slaves whose names appeared in the first edition of the Album.

The number of ex-slaves might also have been higher for another reason. Our reconstruction of the Album minimises the number of lost panels. The Album must have contained at least four *centuriae libertorum*, but it might also have contained five or six. Our estimate of c. 850 ex-slaves is therefore a minimum figure.²⁵

Since only male ex-slaves are listed, we must add freedwomen. Some scholars have suggested that female slaves were manumitted at a younger age than

sub-total of c. 510 ordinary freedmen. Since there might have been a geographical aspect to the voting groups of the local assembly, the fourth century of ordinary freedmen might have been somewhat smaller or larger than the other three, but it must have contained at least 120 members. To these (510 + 120 =) 630 names those of between 200 and 250 individuals belonging to a somewhat mysterious fifth group of ex-slaves must be added. For a full discussion of our reconstruction of the Album, see De Ligt and Garnsey 2012.

24 Inspired by the fact that fragment AE 1978, 119b lists two columns of *tria nomina* and one column of individuals sporting the juridical marker *l(libertus)*, Wallace-Hadrill 2004 and 2015: 135–136 suggests that promoted Junian Latins might have been listed before ordinary *liberti* because they had lived like *ingenui* (of Latin status) before obtaining the Roman citizenship. However, as Camodeca 2008: 89, points out, there is nothing to suggest that promoted Junians had a higher juridical status than ordinary freedmen. Wallace-Hadrill's reading of AE 1978, 119b implies that the third column of names belongs to the first *centuria libertorum*. This idea runs up against the difficulty that AE, 1978, 119b is the left half of a double panel. All the other left half-panels containing the names of ordinary *liberti* appear to have contained *two* columns of names.

25 Since our reconstruction of the demographic make-up of Herculaneum's urban population is based exclusively on the number of freedmen listed in the Album, the juridical status of the *incerti* listed in CIL 10, 1403d does not affect any of our calculations. Based on the high proportion of Latin *cognomina*, Mouritsen 2007 identifies these *incerti* as *ingenui*. We think they might be second-generation Junian Latins.

men, but as Mouritsen has demonstrated, the epigraphic evidence cannot be used to support this theory.²⁶ The much more reliable evidence from Egypt suggests that female slaves tended to be manumitted in their late 30s or early 40s, at a more advanced age than men.²⁷ If the slave population of Herculaneum had a perfectly balanced sex ratio, such a pattern of manumission should have translated into an unbalanced sex ratio among ex-slaves. In short, *liberti* may have outnumbered *libertae*.²⁸ But even if the number of freedwomen is set conservatively at only 300, we will end up with *at least* 1,150 (850 + 300) ex-slaves. Assuming that slaves of either sex tended to be manumitted at about the same age would translate into much higher numbers of *servae* and *libertae*, thereby increasing the total servile and formerly servile population of Herculaneum and its territory.

From the legal sources we know that Augustus introduced an age limit for manumission. Only slaves aged 30 years and older could be formally manumitted, and only slaves manumitted formally or by will were to become Roman citizens. According to the *Lex Iunia* of 17 BCE, slaves manumitted informally or before the age of 30 were to become Latins. Hence the designation 'Junian Latins'.

Using the age limit of 30 as our starting point, and operating with a low estimate of 1,150 ex-slaves, it can be demonstrated that the population of Herculaneum and its territory must have included at least 2,200 slaves, even if we assume a very high manumission rate of 80 % for male slaves aged 30+ and for female slaves aged 40+. Positing a lower manumission rate would translate into an even larger slave population.²⁹

26 Mouritsen 2011: 189–192. As he observes, large-scale manumission of female slaves at a relatively young age would have put the long-term survival of the *familia* at risk. This concern might have been less pressing for very wealthy families living in Rome, such as the *Statilii* and *Volusii* (*ibid.* 196).

27 Bagnall and Frier 1994: 94.

28 According to this hypothesis many freedmen would have been encountered difficulties in finding a spouse of equal status. Some freedmen are known to have maintained stable relationships with slave women (Mouritsen 2011: 191 n. 323). Any children born of such unions would have been slaves.

29 As we have explained in De Ligt and Garnsey 2012, a manumission rate of 80 per cent for slaves aged 30+ (with not a single manumission at an earlier age) translates into a manumission rate of c. 60 per cent for slaves aged 25+. In a valuable study of the slaves and ex-slaves commemorated in the *columbaria* of the *Volusii* and the *Statilii*, Mouritsen 2013: 53 suggests that between a quarter and a third of urban slaves might have been freed at any time, but he admits that many successful freedmen might have been buried outside of the *columbarium* of their former master.

Based on a variety of indications, such as the very restrictive manumission regime recommended by Columella, most experts on Roman slavery hold that manumission must have been primarily an urban phenomenon.³⁰ According to this view, urban slaves had a far better chance of obtaining their freedom than rural slaves. In addition, there is a widely shared consensus among scholars that the vast majority of freedmen were town-based.

If we forget about the nuances and assign all of the c. 1,150 ex-slaves whose existence is indicated by the Album, plus the entire underlying slave population of c. 2,200, to the city of Herculaneum, we will have to accommodate more than 3,300 slaves and ex-slaves in the urban centre. We do not know exactly how many people lived within the orthogonally planned urban nucleus and in the suburbs which had grown up around it, but it is generally agreed that Herculaneum had a much smaller population than Pompeii.³¹ Following a suggestion made by Maiuri, conventional wisdom assigns Herculaneum 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants at the time of the eruption of 79 C.E.³² Most recent estimates are in the order of 4,000 or a bit lower.³³

30 E.g. Mouritsen 2011: 198–199.

31 Beloch 1890: 18, estimates the size of Herculaneum's territory at one square geographical mile, or roughly 55 km². Approximately 15 km² of this area consisted of steep volcanic slopes unsuitable for any type of agriculture. Pompeii had a territory of c. 130 km², of which c. 115 km² was suitable for arable cultivation (Purcell 1990: 112–113, rejecting Jongman's much higher estimate of 200 km²; cf. Jongman 1988: 107). If the ratio between the sizes of the urban populations of Herculaneum and Pompeii corresponded roughly to that between the sizes of their rural territories, the city of Herculaneum would have been approximately three times smaller than Pompeii. As noted by Angelone 1991–1992: 133–134, the soils of Herculaneum's territory were more suitable for the cultivation of emmer wheat, millet and panic than for growing bread wheat. Carbonised grains of bread wheat have been found in the houses and shops of Herculaneum, but at least some of this wheat might have come from outside its territory.

32 Maiuri 1932: 12, referred to as the “standard guess” by Wallace-Hadrill 2011: 138.

33 See e.g. Camodeca 2008: 22: “circa 4000 abitanti”. But cf. Mouritsen 2011: 130: “a relatively small town with perhaps no more than 5,000 inhabitants”. Maiuri 1958: 30 offers an estimate of c. 12 hectares for the built-up area. Reckoning with a built-up area of 12–5 hectares, Wallace-Hadrill 2015: 125–126 credits Herculaneum with between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants. While the urban population density implied by this re-estimate is credible, it remains the case that we do not know the course followed by the north-eastern edge of the city. A fragment from the late-republican annalist Sisenna (fr. 53 Peter) refers to the presence of “little walls” (*parvis moenibus*) surrounding Herculaneum, but the only external wall identified so far is the sea wall on the south-eastern side of the city, suggesting that the republican city walls were demolished. If the orthogonally planned nucleus was as small as Wallace-Hadrill suggests, there might well have been some suburban habitation. For us the city consists of urban

Starting from the high end of Maiuri's range, we end up with the conclusion that slaves made up almost 45 % of the urban population, and ex-slaves about 23 %. Since almost all of the variables which were fed into our calculations were chosen with the deliberate aim of keeping down the number of slaves and ex-slaves, it is difficult to arrive at significantly lower percentages by playing around with the starting assumptions. There is only one significant exception. In order to simplify our calculations, we have assumed that *only* urban slaves were manumitted and that *all* ex-slaves lived in the city. These assumptions are clearly unrealistic. As we have explained, we do not think that large numbers of freedmen or freedwomen can be assigned to Herculaneum's rural territory, but this view is compatible with the existence of 100 or 200 ex-slaves managing groups of estates as *actores*, or supervising the slave workforce of particular estates either as tenants or as *vilici*.³⁴ If we assign 170 freedmen (one fifth of 850) to the rural territory, and if we assume all of them to have started their working lives as rural slaves, the urban population will shrink by 20 %, reducing it to c. 4,000. At least some scholars may regard this figure as more plausible than an estimate closer to the higher end of Maiuri's range.

It must, however, be kept in mind that any adjustment which decreases the number of ex-slaves, the slave population and the total urban population at the same rate will not alter the relative proportions of ex-slaves, slaves and *ingenui*. In other words, if we assign c. 170 freedmen to the territory while reducing the number of town-dwellers to c. 4,000, slaves will still make up more than 40 % of the smaller urban population, and ex-slaves more than 20 %.

These findings have major implications for our understanding of migration patterns in the coastal cities of Campania. To begin with, the presence, in a single city, of at least 1,150 freedmen and freedwomen logically implies a high rate of manumission, but also a high replacement rate and therefore the importation of a large number of slaves.³⁵ Our models indicate that our hypothetical

nucleus plus suburbs. Depending on how many freedmen are assigned to the countryside and on the average number of children born of unions between ex-slaves (below, n. 38), our calculations are compatible with an urban population of between 3,500 and 4,000.

34 The evidence for *actores* of freedman status is relatively abundant (Carlsen 1995), but since *actores* supervised multiple estates, they must have been fewer in number than *vilici*. To judge from the literary and epigraphic sources, the vast majority of *vilici* were slaves (Scheidel 1994). Some references to tenants of freedman status are to be found in the epigraphic record (Scheidel 1993: 191–194), but at least some of these seem to have been 'managerial' tenants. Finally, some freedmen are known to have acquired landed property (Carlsen 2013). Some of these freedmen must have lived in the country.

35 Some of the freedmen listed in the Album might have been voluntary migrants originating from other cities, but there is no concrete evidence to support a scenario of large-scale immigration of ex-slaves.

slave population of c. 2,200 could be maintained only by importing about 42 slaves annually.³⁶ If the urban population and the number of slaves are assumed to have been one fifth smaller, this figure must be reduced to about 34 imported slaves.³⁷ In either variant of our model bought slaves make up about 36 % of the total slave population, and about 15 % of the aggregate urban population, made up of *ingenui*, ex-slaves and slaves.³⁸

In a nutshell, our reconstruction of the demographic regime sustaining the slave population of Herculaneum implies the annual arrival of approximately 40 involuntary migrants per annum, topping up the very substantial number of unfree migrants already in the city.

The presence of 2,000+ slaves and 1,000+ ex-slaves must have severely reduced job opportunities for free migrants. It is widely agreed that in the cities of early-imperial Italy domestic service was mostly the province of slaves. Non-domestic jobs could also be performed by slaves, but to judge from occupational titles

36 de Ligt and Garnsey 2012: 92–93, model 2. One of the simplifying assumptions upon which our model is built is that all male slaves acquired in the market belonged to the age bracket 15–29 and all females that were bought to the age bracket 15–39. In order to sustain the total number of bought slaves (of all ages) the number of bought slaves belonging to these age brackets would have had to be kept constant. If we use Coale and Demeny 1983, Model West, level 3, females, as the starting point of our calculations, we must posit the annual acquisition of about 33 male slaves and about 9 female slaves to account for the existence of 441 bought male slaves aged 15–29 and of 187 female slaves aged 15–39.

37 The absolute figures given in the remainder of this paper are based on an urban population of c. 5,000, not because we regard a figure of this order of magnitude as more plausible than lower estimates, but simply because we want to avoid using overly complicated formulations. As we have explained in the main text, reducing the size of the urban population to 4,000 will change all absolute figures by one fifth.

38 Of course we have no hard evidence for the numerical balance between imported slaves and *vernae* in Herculaneum. In principle fertility among slaves might have been higher than among freeborns. It must, however, be remembered that positing a higher proportion of *vernae* will increase the total number of slaves (because they are also present in the early age brackets), thereby compounding the difficulties posed by the presence of a very large number of slaves in a relatively small city which did not have a large territory. One way of reducing the proportion of bought slaves would be to lower the number of bought females aged 15–39 to about 100. After this adjustment bought slaves of either sex account for about 32 per cent of the model slave population. If the average age of manumission for all female slaves (including those who initially became *Latinae Iunianae*) was 35, if all these women married, and if fertility of women aged 35+ was about 20 per cent of total female fertility (Bagnall and Frier 1994: 137), the freedwomen of Herculaneum would have had about 80 surviving children. Our original guesstimate of 272 children born of unions between ex-slaves (de Ligt and Garnsey 2012: 85) almost certainly overestimates reproductivity among ex-slaves.

recorded in inscriptions a wide range of non-domestic jobs was also performed by free workers. Our reconstruction of the make-up of Herculaneum's urban population strongly suggests that non-domestic slaves, freedmen and *ingenui* descended from freedmen accounted for a very large proportion of town-based entrepreneurs, craftsmen, managers and shopkeepers.³⁹ In such a society there would have been little room for voluntary migrants looking for jobs in urban shops or workshops.

Of course we are not claiming that the city of Herculaneum did not attract any free migrants. One fragment of the Album lists nineteen names under a fragmentary heading ending with the term *adlegerunt*, 'they co-opted' or 'they admitted'.⁴⁰ Each name is accompanied by the abbreviation *f. for filius* and by an abbreviated indication of tribal affiliation, such as *Men.* for *Menenia* or *Mae.* for *Maecia*. The individuals in question are clearly *ingenui*. What, though, are the technical implications of the term *adlegerunt*? In our view, the most natural interpretation is that the nineteen names are those of *cives adlecti*, a technical term for outsiders who had been given the local citizenship of a particular city as a result of a decision taken either by the *curia* or by the local assembly (or by both).⁴¹ We happen to know that, unlike the citizens of Herculaneum, who were inscribed in the *tribus Menenia*, those of Neapolis belonged to the *tribus Maecia*. Similarly, those *adlecti* sporting the tribal affiliation *Falerna* might have come from Puteoli or Capua.⁴² Interestingly, some of the *ingenui* belonging to the *centuria* (or *curia*) *Claudia ingenuorum* also sport the tribal affiliations *Maecia* or *Falerna*. In all likelihood they were the sons or grandsons of immigrants who had received the local citizenship of Herculaneum during the early decades of the first century CE. There is thus good evidence for free-born immigrants settling permanently in the city or territory of Herculaneum. However, nineteen names are a low number, and at least five of these names were inscribed after the first edition of the Album had been fixed to the wall of the Basilica.

Let us now turn to Rome. In the introductory part of this paper we noted that in passing that approximately 60,000 funerary inscriptions from the city of Rome have been published. It is therefore not surprising that some studies have tried to illuminate the social structure of the city using this evidence.

39 Slaves and ex-slaves account for roughly two-thirds of our model population. To judge from their names many *ingenui* were the offspring of ex-slaves.

40 *CIL* 10, 1403c.

41 Cf. Bruun, in this volume, on the *cives adlecti* of the North-Italian town of Vardagete.

42 Camodeca 2008: 90. Six of the individuals listed in *CIL* 10, 1403c belonged to the *tribus Menenia*, but *Menenia* was also the tribe of Pompeii, Nuceria and Surrentum.

One illustration of this approach is Brunt's discussion of the demographic make-up of Rome during the final decades of the Republic, one of the 'special studies' contained in his *Italian Manpower*. Building on Ross Taylor's pioneering study of the epitaphs from Rome, he observed that the texts show an enormous preponderance of freedmen, both in general and among skilled craftsmen.⁴³ It must be stressed that Brunt was keenly aware of the likelihood that freedmen might have been over-represented in the funerary record. He accepted, for instance, that freedmen are likely to have taken pride in advertising their freedom, also reasoning that precisely because many ex-slaves were skilled craftsmen, they must on average have been better off than many freeborn citizens and therefore more often have had the means to commission an inscribed memorial. Having expressed these reservations, he nevertheless argued that the impression conveyed by the epigraphic record cannot be ignored, ending with the conclusion that in around 70 BCE slaves and freedmen must have accounted for more than two-thirds of the urban population. In another passage he estimated that freedmen might have accounted for the majority of the urban proletariat.⁴⁴

While sharing Brunt's misgivings concerning the biased nature of the surviving evidence, other scholars are far more pessimistic about the viability of any attempt to assess the relative importance of various social or juridical groups on the basis of funerary inscriptions. Putting more emphasis on the likelihood that freedmen were more prone to commission inscribed tombstones, Ross Taylor herself had concluded that the ratio between freed and freeborn indicated by the epitaphs does not bear any meaningful relation to the composition of the urban population. During the past couple of decades this has become the dominant view. In recent years it has been emphatically endorsed by Mouritsen in his book on Roman freedmen.⁴⁵

One of the few dissenting voices is that of Jongman who holds that the argument that freedmen are epigraphically over-represented has been pushed too far.⁴⁶ His main arguments are that many freedmen are recorded as members of professional associations, and that freedmen account for a large proportion of witnesses in the documents of the Pompeian auctioneer L. Caecilius Iucundus. However, the first argument merely reinforces the impression that skilled craftsmen and workshop managers of servile status had a good chance of obtaining their freedom, and using evidence from a small town such as Pompeii

43 Brunt 1971: 387. Cf. Ross Taylor 1961.

44 Brunt 1971: 377.

45 Mouritsen 2011: 123–129; Ross Taylor 1961.

46 Jongman 2003: 117.

to reconstruct the social composition of the city of Rome is methodologically problematic. Neither argument allows us to estimate the number of slaves or ex-slaves in Rome.

The best way of getting to grips with the social make-up of the population of Rome is to focus on the number of recipients of the early-imperial grain doles. In the 15th chapter of the *Res Gestae* we read that in the period 44 BCE–5 BCE between 250,000 and 320,000 recipients belonging to the Roman *plebs* benefited from hand-outs of money or grain. It is not clear whether any of these groups is to be identified with the *plebs frumentaria*, but the chapter's final sentence explicitly states that the number of recipients of free monthly hand-outs stood at approximately 200,000 in 2 BCE. The majority view is that it remained at that level until the late first or early second century CE.⁴⁷

If the number of recipients stood at c. 200,000, if the *plebs frumentaria* was characterised by a perfectly balanced sex ratio, and if eligibility began at the age of 11, then Rome should have had *at least* 520,000 free inhabitants of citizen status.⁴⁸

Given the Roman tradition of employing slaves for all kinds of domestic duties as well as for a wide range of productive and commercial activities, we can be certain that the population of Rome included large numbers of unfree workers. As we have seen, this impressionistic statement is consistent with the epigraphic record from Rome, but in the absence of hard data any attempt at quantification is necessarily speculative. During the 60s CE, 400 slaves are said to have lived in the household of Pedanius Secundus, a wealthy senator.⁴⁹ If the figure reported by Tacitus can be trusted (it might be symbolic),⁵⁰ the roughly 600 senators of the early Empire might have owned 240,000 slaves. Of course Pedanius might have been more wealthy than most senators, but many *equites* also lived in Rome,⁵¹ and slave ownership extended down to moderately well-off

47 Garnsey 1988: 236 discusses diverging views on the number of recipients during the first and second centuries CE. In this volume both Erdkamp and Bernard assume that the number of recipients stood at 200,000 during the first century AD. For detailed discussions of the figures given in the *Res Gestae* and in various other sources see Lo Cascio's and Bernard's papers.

48 Morley 1996: 37. In this volume Elio Lo Cascio suggests that those belonging to the *plebs frumentaria*, plus their wives and children, might have numbered between 600,000 and 650,000. In estimating the number of Roman citizens living in Rome, we should take account of those citizens whose names did not appear on the lists of recipients, but their number cannot be quantified.

49 Tac. *Ann.* 14.45.

50 As suggested by Mouritsen 2011: 120 n.1.

51 Brunt 1971: 383, conjectures some 2,000 *equites* might have had their town houses in Rome during the final decades of the Republic.

workshop-owners and shopkeepers.⁵² For the purposes of this paper we will operate with a notional figure of 200,000 slaves, representing the high end of Morley's range of 100,000 to 200,000, but the low end of Scheidel's range of 200,000 to 300,000.⁵³

Finally, we must add resident foreigners. The presence of a considerable number of immigrants of non-Italian background cannot be doubted but, as in the case of slaves, any estimate must come with a large margin of error. Following a tentative suggestion made by Noy, many recent publications put the number of resident foreigners at approximately 50,000.⁵⁴

Since all estimates for the sizes of the various groups making up the population of the city of Rome are at best rough approximations, they are a weak basis for any secondary inferences. Nonetheless it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that slaves and ex-slaves accounted for a considerably smaller proportion of Rome's population than was the case in contemporary Herculaneum. If Rome had a manumission regime similar to that which we have posited for Herculaneum, there should have been about one ex-slave for every two slaves.⁵⁵ Starting from our notional figure of 200,000 slaves, we arrive at the conclusion that the number of ex-slaves stood at roughly 100,000 and that slaves and ex-slaves, taken together, accounted for about 30 % of Rome's population. Even if we raise the slave figure to 300,000, the share of slaves and ex-slaves increases to only 45 %. In the case of Herculaneum the evidence provided by the *Album* suggests that slaves and ex-slaves accounted for about two-thirds of the urban population. Although these figures are necessarily imprecise, they suggest that freeborn residents accounted for a larger proportion of the population of Rome than they did in Herculaneum.

Part of the explanation for the higher presence of freeborn people must lie in the existence of the grain dole. About 200,000 male citizens received free monthly hand-outs during the last twenty years of Augustus' reign, but since each monthly ration was enough to provide two people with grain, the actual number of beneficiaries was as high as 400,000.⁵⁶ The other side of the coin is that those benefiting from the *frumentationes* had to buy at least some essential food items, such as wine and olive oil. In addition to this they had to shoulder

⁵² Joshel 1992.

⁵³ Morley 1996: 38; Scheidel 2004: 14–15.

⁵⁴ Noy 2000: 16–17, followed by Scheidel 2004: 15. Morley 1996: 38 suggests 60,000. Lo Cascio, in this volume, regards Noy's guesstimate as a minimum figure.

⁵⁵ According to our calculations Herculaneum's population would have included c. 2,200 slaves and c. 1,150 ex-slaves, if the city had c. 5,000 inhabitants.

⁵⁶ Cf. Bernard, in this volume.

substantial housing costs as well any expenditure on non-food items, such as textiles or footwear. In any case, since many members of the *plebs frumentaria* had families, they had to feed more than two people. As Le Gall pointed out many years ago, we cannot avoid the conclusion that most members of the *plebs frumentaria*, or their dependants, needed additional sources of income.⁵⁷

There can be no doubt that the huge demand for goods and services generated by imperial expenditure and elite spending was a crucial factor in providing recipients of the grain dole with the temporary jobs necessary to sustain themselves and their families. Options included manufacturing, commerce, banking, the building industry, transporting goods on the back of pack-animals and unloading ships in the harbour district along the Tiber. As Brunt pointed out long ago, some of these economic activities, such as the building industry and the unloading of ships, followed a strongly seasonal rhythm,⁵⁸ and certain categories of workers might be hired for a single job taking a couple of days or even just a couple of hours. The availability of jobs in the building industry depended not only on the season but also on imperial interest in large building projects. It does not seem far-fetched to suppose that many members of the *plebs frumentaria* were under-employed, but if this was the case, the problem posed by fluctuations in family income from labour would have been mitigated by access to regular free grain rations. Without the *frumentationes* and without the job opportunities created by imperial building programmes and elite expenditure the population of Rome would have been vastly smaller, and its social make-up would have been more similar to that of Herculaneum.

The question as to how many migrants were needed to sustain the population of early-imperial Rome cannot be answered directly. In recent years archaeologists and physical anthropologists have begun to use isotope analysis of human bones and teeth as a tool for identifying immigrants.⁵⁹ In principle, this is a promising avenue for further inquiry. We feel, however, that this type of research is still in its infancy, and that the few skeletal and dental studies which have been published to date, while offering tantalising glimpses of particular aspects of migration to Rome, do not offer a reliable basis for a re-assessment of migrant numbers. For such a re-assessment we need larger samples and more material which can be related directly to the city of Rome.

Another way of approaching the scale of migration to Rome is to look at pull factors which would have attracted immigrants. In a well-known passage Sallust asserts that during the 60s BCE many free country-dwellers moved to

57 Le Gall 1971.

58 Brunt 1980; see also Erdkamp 2008 and id., in this volume.

59 For references see footnote 4.

Rome because they preferred an easy life supported by free hand-outs of food to hard toil in the country. If the *frumentationes* were an important pull factor, the introduction of a *numerus clausus* by Augustus might have dissuaded at least some potential migrants from moving to Rome.⁶⁰

Job opportunities would have been another important pull factor. There were, however, some limiting factors. As we have seen, jobs carried out within elite households seem to have been monopolised by slaves, and there is good evidence for the widespread use of slave labour in manufacturing, commerce and other non-domestic economic activities.

The number of empty niches in the urban economy available to voluntary migrants was also reduced by the manumission of slaves. A substantial proportion of ex-slaves must have had jobs outside of their master's household before obtaining their freedom. It seems reasonable to suppose that many of them continued to do the same kind of work, perhaps even in the same shops or workshops. In any case the assistance of patrons who had a finger in the pie of the urban economy must have made it easier for freedmen and freedwomen to find permanent or temporary jobs.

In the first part of this paper we have argued that the sheer number of ex-slaves whose existence is revealed by the Album of Herculaneum points to a high manumission rate. According to our calculations, about 2.1 per cent of all urban slaves had to be manumitted each year in order to prevent the number of ex-slaves from declining.⁶¹ If we apply this percentage to the c. 200,000 slaves with which we have credited the city of Rome, we will find that in an average year some 4,200 ex-slaves joined the free population of the city.⁶² Of course any children born of these ex-slaves before the moment of manumission remained in servitude, and if male slaves tended to be manumitted at a younger age than women, the annual manumission of 4,200 slaves did not mean the loss of 2,100

60 Sall. *Cat.* 37.7. Cf. Bernard, in this volume.

61 If the annual rate of attrition among ex-slaves was about 4 per cent (de Ligt and Garnsey 2012: 84), c. 46 manumissions per annum were needed to prevent the number of ex-slaves from declining. These 46 ex-slaves would have accounted for 2.1 per cent of the notional urban slave population of 2,194.

62 Building on Scheidel's 'intermediate schedule' for manumission (Scheidel 1997), Jongman 2003: 118 suggests a manumission rate of 5.7 per 1,000 for the city of Rome, but he fails to realise that Scheidel's rates include rural manumission. Urban manumission rates must have been much higher than rural ones. Another problem is that Scheidel's schedules do not differentiate between male and female slaves. If women were manumitted at a more advanced age than men, quite high manumission rates, even as high as c. 20 per 1,000, could be sustained without dramatically reducing the number of slave children born of slave mothers.

fertile slave women. Taking account of the likelihood that male slaves and ex-slaves outnumbered *servae* and *libertae*, we estimate that each year about 3,800 slaves had to be imported to keep the slave population of Rome from declining.⁶³

Building on Brunt's observation that some important sectors of the urban economy had a strongly seasonal aspect, Erdkamp has argued that seasonal job opportunities are likely to have attracted temporary rather than permanent migrants.⁶⁴ There is certainly an element of truth in this theory. Since Roman concrete and mortar did not set well when subject to frost, construction was best performed between early April and the end of October, although work in the building industry was normally suspended during the hottest part of the year. The contribution made by seasonal migrants should not, however, be exaggerated. DeLaine suggests that between 9,000 and 13,000 workers were needed to build the baths of Caracalla, and during the spring, summer and early autumn up to 40,000 workers might have found temporary employment in the harbour district of Rome.⁶⁵ These figures might look impressive, but it should be remembered that even 50,000 workers would have made up only five per cent of the total urban population. At the same time seasonal migrants would have had to compete with members of the *plebs frumentaria* looking for supplementary sources of income and perhaps also with unskilled slaves who were hired out as day labourers.⁶⁶ Finally, during certain parts of the seven-month period in which most urban building took place many hands were also needed in the country, for instance in June and July for the grain harvest, and

63 About 42 slaves would have had to be imported to sustain our model slave population of Herculaneum consisting of c. 2,200 slaves. Our model implies that the importation of slaves played a more important part in sustaining the male slave population than in sustaining the number of female slaves. Cf. above, footnote 36. Our estimates take no account of excess urban mortality.

64 Erdkamp 2008: 427–431 and id., in this volume.

65 DeLaine 1997: 193–196.

66 Erdkamp argues that seasonal migrants must have accounted for the vast majority of those working in the urban building industry or in the harbour district because city-based labourers would have had no income during the winter months. In our view, he underestimates the capacity of urban families having multiple sources of income to deal with substantial fluctuations in family earnings. Unfree construction workers are known to have been involved in building the Erechtheion in classical Athens (Randall 1953), although citizens and metics make up 77 per cent of those workers whose status is known (Epstein 2008). For the hiring out of urban slaves as day labourers in Roman Italy see, for example, Bürge 1990; Scheidel 1993a: 173–174; Temin 2013: 130–131.

in August and September for the olive harvest.⁶⁷ In short, the periods in which demand for rural wage labour was highest partly overlapped with the annual peak in demand for urban wage labour. For all these reasons it remains likely that much seasonal work in the urban economy was carried out by permanent residents of Rome.

Arguably the single most important factor influencing the number of vacant slots in the urban economy available to voluntary migrants aspiring to become permanent residents of Rome was the level of excess urban mortality. If the annual death rate was much higher than the birth rate, the ranks of the *plebs frumentaria* would have thinned out at a fast rate, providing immigrants of citizen status with easy access to free hand-outs of grain.⁶⁸ Simultaneously, a high level of excess mortality would have opened up large numbers of vacancies in all sectors of the urban economy, thereby providing voluntary migrants with ample job opportunities.

During the past couple of decades ancient historians have tried to assess the demographic impact of urban mortality through demographic modelling. Much of the original impetus for this type of research came from Morley's book on the economic and demographic impact of early-imperial Rome on various parts of the Italian peninsula, in which the demographic regime of early-imperial Rome was compared to that of early-modern London. In eighteenth-century London the annual death rate exceeded the birth rate by approximately 10 per thousand. Applying this figure to Rome, Morley argued that an annual influx of about 6,000 migrants was needed to sustain the *plebs frumentaria*, if it consisted of c. 550,000 men, women and children of citizen status.⁶⁹

67 Hawkins 2013: 340–341. Brunt 1980: 94 and Scheidel 1993a: 190, speculate that urban dwellers might have earned money by performing harvest labour in the country.

68 Virlouvet 1995: 262–282, argues that deceased recipients of free hand-outs were replaced through *subsortitio*, and that only freeborn members of the thirty-five tribes residing in Rome were eligible. Her arguments for the exclusion of freedmen are inconclusive, but there is nothing to suggest that freeborn immigrants of citizen status were excluded from the lottery.

69 Morley 1996: 43–44. Scheidel 2003: 175 suggests that excess mortality in early-imperial Rome might have been as high as 20 per 1,000, but does not try to estimate the number of migrants. Any attempt to calculate migrant numbers on the basis of excess mortality rates is complicated by the fact that urban mortality affected all age groups whereas migrants were not drawn from a cross section of the population. If most migrants were young adults, and if the sex ratio among migrants was evenly balanced, migration to Rome would have pushed up urban fertility beyond the levels found in pre-modern populations displaying a normal age profile. On the other hand, the continuous migration of large

In recent years various scholars have argued that the comparison between Rome and London is invalid. Lo Cascio, for instance, thinks that Rome was a much healthier place than London, mainly because the aqueducts supplied the inhabitants of Rome with clean water.⁷⁰ Morley himself had already pointed out that the partial economic security provided by the grain doles must have made it possible for members of the *plebs frumentaria* to marry at a relatively young age.⁷¹ In any case Roman women seem to have married at a much younger age than their counterparts in early-modern London, suggesting that marital fertility in Rome might have been higher.

While the recent debate about the merits and demerits of comparing Rome to London is of considerable interest, especially from a methodological point of view, the basic question remains whether or not excess urban mortality made continuous immigration inevitable. We have difficulty believing that Rome was a salubrious city characterised by a relatively low level of mortality. As Scheidel and Shaw have demonstrated, the dates of death mentioned in early Christian epitaphs from Rome show a strong concentration of death in late summer and early autumn. This pattern is best understood as reflecting the deadly impact of falciparian malaria and its interaction with other seasonal infections.⁷² Of course malaria was a seasonal disease in rural areas as well, but there can be no doubt that the spread of many of the afflictions which increased its lethal impact was facilitated by the presence of a large and tightly packed urban population. It looks therefore as if any health benefits created by the availability of large amounts of clean drinking water were cancelled out by other hazards that were less common in the large cities of North-West Europe in the early modern period.⁷³ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Rome had between 100,000 and 120,000 inhabitants, the city continued to suffer from

numbers of young adults to early-modern London did not cause excess mortality in that city to drop below 10 per thousand. Recent discussions of this topic include Lo Cascio 2001: 117–118, Scheidel 2004: 16–17, Erdkamp 2008: 440–442 and Hin 2013: 223–224. Cf. also Lo Cascio's contribution to this volume.

70 Lo Cascio 2006 and id., in this volume. Sallares 2002: 95, points out that the *impluvia* of Roman atrium houses were possible habitats for mosquito larvae. Lo Cascio also thinks that, unlike the populations of many other cities of pre-modern Europe, that of Rome rarely suffered from food shortages. For a less optimistic assessment of the nutritional status of the inhabitants of the capital city see Garnsey 1991 and Gowland and Garnsey 2010.

71 Morley 1996: 37.

72 Scheidel 1994, 2003 and 2013; Shaw 1996 and 2006.

73 As suggested by Scheidel 2013: 55. Gowland and Garnsey 2010 argue that the prevalence of various lesions in skeletal and dental remains from some of the suburban cemeteries of Rome supports the hypothesis that Rome was an unhealthy place in which to live.

malaria, typhus and various other seasonal infections. Between 1620 and 1800 deaths in Rome exceeded births in 13 out of 18 decades, often by a considerable margin. Of the 17 mortality crises which occurred between 1600 and 1800 four coincided with famines, droughts or other economic difficulties, but six were caused by epidemics and seven by a combination of epidemics and famines or other economic problems. The demographic losses which took place during these mortality crises were far larger than the modest gains which were achieved during those decades in which births exceeded deaths.⁷⁴ Early-imperial Rome had a much larger population and almost certainly more inhabitants per hectare, favouring the spread of all kinds of diseases.

Since the concept of excess mortality refers to the numerical gap between death rates and birth rates, we must also consider levels of fertility prevailing in the city of Rome. Of course this is another topic on which we have no hard evidence, but it seems at least possible to identify some factors which might have depressed fertility in Rome below the level prevailing in Roman Italy as a whole. Starting with Beloch, various scholars have suggested that the sex ratio of Rome was skewed in favour of men. In the epitaphs of Rome women are vastly outnumbered by men. In principle this phenomenon might be attributed to a local or regional 'epigraphic habit' favouring the recording of males, but the preponderance of men in the funerary inscriptions from Rome is considerably more marked than in other Italian cities.⁷⁵ On this basis it might be suggested that certain features of the labour market of the capital city, such as the overwhelming predominance of slavery in the domestic sector, which must have made it difficult for voluntary female migrants to find jobs in the houses of the rich, and the availability of large numbers of jobs for men in the building industry and in the harbour district, made Rome a more attractive destination for voluntary male migrants than for women. In so far as these men stayed in Rome for a couple of months, or for a couple of years, with the intention of returning to their places of origin, their migration to Rome would not have depressed fertility rates in Italy as a whole, or at least not by much. Still, a numerical preponderance of men would have made it more difficult for the population of Rome to reproduce itself. Another factor worth considering in this context is the demographic effects of the scale and timing of manumission. If female slaves tended to be manumitted at a considerably more advanced age than men, male ex-slaves are likely to have encountered considerable difficulties in finding suitable spouses. The effect

74 Schiavoni and Sonnino 1982.

75 Beloch 1886: 400–401. Cf. Hin 2013: 240–245.

of this might well have been a relatively low reproduction rate among male ex-slaves.⁷⁶

Taken in conjunction, these considerations suggest to us that Rome did suffer from a considerable level of excess urban mortality. Any demographic losses among the slave population of the capital city could be made good through the importation of slaves, and the ranks of the free *plebs urbana* were continually being replenished by manumitted slaves. Nonetheless we can be certain that the freeborn population of Rome, which might have numbered between 470,000 and 550,000 people (including foreigners),⁷⁷ could not have been sustained without quasi-continuous immigration.

How does the migration regime which sustained Rome compare to that which helped to perpetuate the population of Herculaneum? One of our key points is that Rome was a city where a combination of imperial expenditure and elite spending created a highly diverse labour market. If our assessment of the demographic regime sustaining the population of Rome is correct, it also was a city in which excess mortality created enough vacant slots for recipients of free grain doles, and sufficient job opportunities, to attract a considerable number of voluntary migrants, not just seasonal workers but also people who wanted to become permanent residents. In Herculaneum, by contrast, imported slaves appear to have accounted for the overwhelming majority of all migrants, although there is secure evidence for the arrival of at least some voluntary immigrants. Part of the reason why Herculaneum attracted relatively few free migrants was that the pull factor of free hand-outs of grain was missing. The evidence supplied by the Album, however, suggests that there was another factor which dissuaded spontaneous migrants from moving to Herculaneum. To judge from the very large number of ex-slaves included in this list, slaves and ex-slaves made up about two-thirds of the population of the city. The numerical preponderance of these groups must have severely reduced job opportunities for voluntary migrants originating either from Italy or from the provinces.

76 As suggested by Brunt 1971: 143–146. Of course, some male ex-slaves must have maintained stable relationships with the ‘wives’ they had left behind in servitude. Any children born of such unions would have contributed to the reproduction of the slave population. Nevertheless the very high number of male ex-slaves whose existence is revealed by the Album of Herculaneum suggests that male slaves plus *liberti* outnumbered female slaves plus *libertae*.

77 Our estimate is based on the following crude calculation: between 520,000 and 600,000 free inhabitants of citizen status minus 100,000 ex-slaves plus 50,000 freeborn foreigners. Manumission would have replenished the formerly servile population. Some immigrants of citizen status as well as some resident non-citizens must also have been ex-slaves.

Labour Mobility in the Roman World: A Case Study of Mines in Iberia*

Claire Holleran

Labour markets have a long history.¹ Indeed, in recent years the presence of free wage labour in pre-capitalist societies has been increasingly recognised, challenging the Marxian idea that the commodification of labour power was primarily a product of eighteenth-century Europe, industrialisation, and capitalism.² In the Roman world, for example, there were certainly people who in Marxian terms had only their labour to sell, and the listing of wage rates alongside maximum prices for goods and services in Diocletian's price edict suggests that labour could be classified as a commodity like any other.³ Workers in the list were paid commensurate with their skills, with a skilled worker such as a figure painter (6.9) earning six times the daily wage of an agricultural labourer (6.1a).⁴ Labour contracts also survive from the Dacian gold mines and the quarries at Mons Claudianus, and ancient literature suggests that the hiring of labour was commonplace in the Roman world.⁵ Moreover, workers were largely free to change their occupations, as there were

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1 For free wage labour in pre-capitalist societies, see van der Linden 1997; 2008: 40–46.

2 For Marx and free wage labour: see van der Linden 2008 18–20. Labour as a commodity: Schwimmer 1979: 287; van der Linden and Lucassen 1999: 8. Different forms of labour commodification beyond free wage labour have also been stressed: e.g. van der Linden 2008: 19–32.

3 For work and workers as a commodity in antiquity, see also Zuiderhoek 2013: 35. On wages in Diocletian's price edict, see now Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma forthcoming a.

4 150 and 25 *denarii* a day respectively, with maintenance (*pastum*).

5 Labour contracts, see Cuvigny 1996. As agricultural workers: e.g. Var. *R.* 1.17; in a domestic context, see, for example, the hired servant Corax in Petronius' *Satyrice* (see esp. Petr. 117.11; also Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.114; Marcian. *Dig.* 48.19.11.1); as a porter: Apul. *Met.* 1.7; as muleteers: Fest. p.258M; in construction, see Ven. *Dig.* 45.1.137.3; in a bakery: Plin. *Ep.* 10.74.1; miscellaneous tasks, e.g. guarding a corpse, Apul. *Met.* 2.21–30; throwing dice for a man with gout in his fingers, Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.15–18; see also Plut. *De vitando aere alieno* 6; Epictetus, *Dialogues* 3.26; Holleran forthcoming. On contract labour in general, see Kehoe 2012.

few, if any, hereditary limitations or restrictions imposed by guilds, at least before late antiquity.⁶ Geographical mobility of workers was also possible. While there were some well-known periodic expulsions of particular groups of 'foreigners' from cities, usually during periods of crisis, together with some controls on the borders and between provinces, there was relative freedom of movement within the Roman empire.⁷ The Roman world thus fulfilled the two conditions which Temin identifies as key to a functioning labour market: workers were free to change their location and their occupation, and were paid relative to their skills.⁸

The geographical mobility of workers is crucial in the development of labour markets, allowing labour supply to respond to labour demand. It enables labour markets to develop beyond a local level, linking local markets to those at a regional or even supra-regional level, depending on the extent of movement. Theoretically, if the mobility of labour is high enough, it should eventually bring about an equalisation of wages for comparable tasks across a wider geographical area, resulting in a unified labour market, although in practice wages are rarely, if ever, completely equal, as there are a number of other factors at work in the setting of wage rates.⁹ Even in a unified labour market then, geographical mobility can result in higher wages for an individual, and when labour markets remain primarily local, mobility can be a strong bargaining tool for workers negotiating wages, as demonstrated in England after the Black Death.¹⁰ Consequently, we would expect the level of labour mobility in the Roman world to have had a potentially significant impact on the structure and organisation of the labour market(s).

Prima facie, the data relating to wage rates in mines and quarries in the Roman empire could be taken as indicative of levels of labour mobility high enough to bring about the equalisation of wages, since Cuvigny has tentatively suggested that wage levels at the remote quarry at Mons Claudianus in Egypt and the gold mines at Alburnus Maior in Dacia were roughly equal in the mid-second

6 For restrictions in late antiquity, see Jones 1973: 1050–1051; but see Sirks 1993 for a slightly different interpretation of the evidence.

7 For expulsions, see e.g. Suet. *Aug.* 42.3; for Pliny asking Trajan for a garrison at Juliopolis to control entry into Bithynia (which he was refused), see Plin. *Ep.* 10.77–78. In general, see Moatti 2006: 117–126.

8 Temin 2013: 115.

9 See, for example, Temin 2013: 115–116.

10 See, for example, Dyer 2002: 278–279 for workers in England in the second half of the fourteenth century preferring short-term contracts that enabled them to remain flexible and move around in search of higher wages.

century CE.¹¹ However, this apparent equalisation could also have been the result of a central administration setting wage rates for free workers in *metalla* (quarries and mines) within the empire, rather than down to a functioning labour market successfully matching labour supply with labour demand.¹² It could also be argued that the setting of wage rates may have curtailed geographic mobility, since moving to a different region would not be rewarded by higher wages, although it is clear that both Mons Claudianus and Alburnus Maior in Dacia attracted labour migrants from some distance away.

Certainly it has become normal, particularly following the publication of Horden and Purcell's influential *The Corrupting Sea* in 2000, to speak of high mobility in antiquity.¹³ This reflects a wider trend in late twentieth-century migration studies to emphasise movement in pre-modern societies, a reaction in some ways to the idea of a largely static peasant population. The new paradigm views migration as 'part of the general human pattern, essential for the functioning of families and crucial to the operation of the labour market', and there is much to suggest that the Roman world fits this new paradigm, with mobility appearing commonplace.¹⁴ In the late Republic, for example, Cicero (*Clu.* 40) speaks of an itinerant doctor (*pharmacopola circumforaneus*), Lucius Clodius from Ancona, who he claims was paid 2000 sesterces by Oppianicus' grandfather to murder his wife. In the imperial period, Suetonius mentions an itinerant gladiator trainer (*Vit.* 12.1), and while not an economic migrant as such, the apostle Paul supported his missionary work with tentmaking and leatherworking as he travelled over long distances.¹⁵ Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 35.15) describes the economic pull of an assize centre in Bithynia, and urban centres

11 Cuvigny 1996: 142–145. She notes that we do not know if the miners at Dacia received rations in kind, as appears to have been the case in the quarries of Mons Claudianus, making a comparison of the real value of wages difficult.

12 Cuvigny 1996: 145. For the presence of a central authority directing the exploitation of mines and quarries under imperial control, see, for example, Dušanić 1989; Hirt 2010: 342–343. See also p. 102.

13 Horden and Purcell 2000: 377–400. For the Classical Greek world, see, for example, Osborne 1991, and Taylor 2011, who highlighted the potential for high rates of mobility, primarily, but not exclusively, within Attica. For Republican Italy, see Isayev forthcoming. For the Roman empire, see, for example, Eckardt 2010. For the limits of mobility, see Woolf, in this volume.

14 Lucassen and Lucassen 1997b: 9. In general, see Moch 2003, who emphasises the mobility of pre-industrial peasantry, although focusing primarily on the period from 1650 onwards.

15 For example, *Acts* 21.1–7; Hock 1980. cf. Lucian, *Somn.* 7, where one of the benefits of learning a trade is that the person who has received such a training will never have to leave his country and go wandering abroad.

in general were a draw for economic migrants, not only large cities such as Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, but also smaller local urban centres.¹⁶ Seasonal mobility was also a fact of life.¹⁷

Furthermore, although fictional, the narratives of novels such as those of Petronius and Apuleius, take place against a backdrop of regional mobility, and the motivation for much of this movement was economic. Eumolpus, the protagonist of Petronius' work, travels around Southern Italy with his companions, while Apuleius' protagonist, Lucius, is also highly mobile; at one point (while an ass) he even becomes part of a *circumforaneum mendicabulum* or 'travelling beggar's show' (Apul. *Met.* 9.4), joining a group of Syrian priests moving around the Greek countryside.¹⁸ Elsewhere, Lucius meets a man from Aegium who claims to make a living trading in honey, cheese, and the like with innkeepers, journeying through Thessaly, Aetolia, and Boeotia (Apul. *Met.* 1.5). Material culture also indicates the movement of both goods and people around the Roman empire. Inscriptions commemorating *negotiatores* and *mercatores* testify to economic migration. Whenever there are indications that such people took up residence in a city or locality different from their place of origin for some considerable time, they may reasonably be called 'migrants'. The groups of Tyrians resident in Rome and Puteoli provide a well-known illustration.¹⁹

The literary, epigraphic and archaeological material, scattered and anecdotal as it is, testifies at the very least to a world in which economic mobility

16 For migration to Rome, see Noy 2000; Ricci 2005. For the economic opportunities offered by urban centres, see Holleran 2011. For a detailed study of migration to Augusta Emerita from its foundation in 25 BCE to 250 CE, see Edmondson 2004. For migration to towns in Lusitania in the imperial period, see Stanley Jr 1990.

17 For seasonal mobility in Republican Italy, see Erdkamp 2008: 424–433. See also Suet. *Vesp.* 1.4.

18 A link is made here between itinerancy and begging or vagrancy, a connection also made by John Chrysostom in the fourth century, when he repeatedly pairs itinerant traders and beggars (*Κάπηλος* and *ἀγύρτης*; *De confessione Pretiosae Crucis* (PG 52. 843); *Hom. In Matt.* 54 (PG 58. 538); *Eclogae i–xlviii ex diversis homiliis* (PG 63. 850)). This is a link which continued to be made until relatively recently, with a distinction between 'subsistence' and 'betterment' migration, that is, between those who are so poor that they have to move to avoid dying from hunger and destitution, compared with those who are motivated to move in order to better their situation (Lucassen and Lucassen 1997b: 9; 18).

19 See, for example, the *negotiator Britannicianus* who dedicated an altar to a local deity in Germania Inferior (*AE* 1983, 722); the *negotiator ex provincia Dacia*, a decurion at Patavissa, who commemorated himself and his wife in Dalmatia (*CIL* 3, 2086); or the *negotiator celeberrimus suariae et pecuariae* from Misenum in Rome (*CIL* 6, 33887). For Tyrian groups, see *IG* 14, 830, lines 1–19 (= *OGIS*, no. 595 = *IGR* 1, 421); Lewis and Reinhold 1990: 109–110; Sosin 1999. For further examples, see Holleran forthcoming.

was commonplace, particularly within regions.²⁰ Many of these workers appear to be independent, but Suetonius' comment that Vespasian's great-grandfather may have been a 'labour contractor' (*manceps operarum*) involved in the annual movement of agricultural workers from Umbria to the Sabine district indicates that labour also moved in order to take advantage of specific opportunities for paid work.²¹ The demand for labour in agriculture is hardly surprising given that this was primarily an agrarian economy, but other sectors, such as mining, also had a high demand for labour, particularly shaft mining of the type common in Iberia.²² Furthermore, since mines are often located in isolated places, mining has historically been dependent on migrant labour, and the sector thus provides an excellent opportunity for an exploration of labour mobility.

This paper will, therefore, use mining as a case study to explore economic migration and labour mobility in the Roman world, since labour had to be moved to the mines, whether this was the forced relocation of slaves, convicts, and conquered peoples, or the voluntary movement of free workers. This will be done through a study of the epigraphic record and will focus on the Iberian Peninsula, a region particularly rich in metal resources and one of the most important sources of gold, silver, copper, tin and lead in the Roman empire, particularly in the first century BCE and into the first two centuries CE.²³

20 Movement between regions did take place, but much of this was either forced (slaves) or military, rather than free migration: Scheidel 2007a: 49, for example, argues that in contrast to later Han China, there was no mass migration between different parts of the empire, a point supported by the material discussed here.

21 Suet. *Vesp.* 1.4. Although Vespasian's great-grandfather's role is to be dated to the second half of the first century BCE, Erdkamp 2008 426, points out that Suetonius speaks as though this practice was still on-going. For the complementary role of slaves and free seasonal labour in agriculture in Republican Italy, see Rathbone 1981. For longer-term agricultural wage labour in Roman Egypt, see Kehoe 2012: 121–123.

22 Silver 2011: 137.

23 For metals in Iberia, see Craddock 2008: 95; Davies 1935: 94–139; Edmondson 1987: 25–36; Wilson 2012: 133–135. See also Plin. *NH* 3.3.30. For a detailed study of mines in this region, see especially Domergue 1990. The study focuses on inscriptions, but it should be noted that exciting new possibilities are offered by the increasingly sophisticated analytical techniques applied to skeletal and dental data. See, for example, the strontium isotope analysis of a sample of 31 skeletons from the cemetery at the mining camp of Phaeno, which was in use from the third to the seventh century, indicating that all but one were of local origin (Perry *et al.* 2009; cf. Prowse, in this volume). For further references to strontium and oxygen isotope analysis employed in studies of migration in the Roman world, see, for example, Killgrove 2010c: 133 n.3. cf. the discussion of Bruun 2010, who highlights the need to combine this analysis with a consideration of associated inscriptions wherever possible.

Organisation and the Labour Force

The Roman state retained active control over the exploitation of mines, although the level of involvement varied. Some mines were exploited directly by the state, particularly in the early years of conquest, while the mining rights of others were leased out to private contractors or 'corporations' (*conductores* and *societates*), overseen by the state; still others were left in the control of cities, and some smaller mines on private land remained in private ownership.²⁴ The diversity of practice presumably reflected a number of concerns, including geological, topographical, and geographical factors, the type of metal being mined, and the local political situation.²⁵ Strabo (3.2.10) comments that in his day, for example, the silver mines at New Carthage and elsewhere had passed into private ownership (in contrast to Polybius' time when they appear to have been state-owned). He claims that the majority of goldmines, however, were state property, and the general trend appears to have been for mines to come increasingly into state ownership, even if the mode of exploitation still varied.²⁶ Hirt argues that the general principle was to keep direct imperial involvement to a minimum without renouncing control; in this scenario, the bulk of work was contracted out, meaning that much of the workforce must also have been employed privately.²⁷

Although there were developments in mining technology in Antiquity that may have improved efficiency, it remained a labour-intensive practice.²⁸ In the mid-second century BCE, Polybius (34.9.8 apud Strabo 3.2.10) famously talked of 40,000 workers in the mines at New Carthage, an incredible figure but one which Domergue argues was exceptional but not exaggerated, considering that almost all the excavation here was done by hand.²⁹ Polybius' claim of

24 On the Iberian mines and Roman administration, see, for example, Domergue 1990: 229–316. On the organisation of mines in the Roman world more broadly, see Hirt 2010. Also Andreau 1989.

25 Kehoe 2007: 568; Hirt 2010: 365–368.

26 See also Strabo (4.6.10) for the comment that while the Taurisci were able to run a gold mine in Northern Italy as a monopoly in Polybius' day, all gold mines were now under the control of the Romans. For the Imperial Fiscus increasingly taking control of mines in the imperial period, see Edmondson 1987: 37; Kehoe 2007: 568. See Domergue 1990: 281 (Table XII) for a list of known imperial mines in Iberia, together with the relevant documentary evidence.

27 Hirt 2010: 368.

28 For mining technology, see Craddock 2008: 96–99.

29 Domergue 1990: 335–336; 358. He also argues that these workers were slaves, although Polybius does not explicitly state this. Not all of these workers were necessarily directly engaged in the extraction and processing of ore. Some may have provided ancillary services: Edmondson 1987: 60.

high numbers of workers is supported by a Republican ruling of the censors prohibiting the employment of more than 5000 workers in the gold mines at Victumulae in Northern Italy (Plin. *NH* 33.78).³⁰ Modern estimates also point to high numbers of workers; in the gold mines of Northwest Spain estimates range from 4-6000 workers at Valduerna, 10-15,000 workers at Las Médulas, and as many again in the mining areas of the three tributaries to the Órbigo river.³¹ Polybius (34.10.10-14 *apud* Strabo 4.6.12) also talks of the economic pull of mines for migrants in Republican Italy, describing how the discovery of a gold mine in the region of Aquileia drew workers from other parts of Italy, who were subsequently expelled by the local population (the Noric Taurisci) when the price of gold dropped by a third, presumably because of the abundance of gold extracted.³² Already in the second century BCE then it was possible to mobilise workers within Italy, and there must have been some effective means of transmitting information about economic opportunities.

Furthermore, before the Second Punic War, Diodorus Siculus (5.36.3.4) describes the mines in Southeast Iberia as being worked by “private individuals” (ιδιώται), whoever happened to be there;³³ these workers were able to take away great wealth, since the silver was abundant and easily accessible. Once the territory fell under Roman rule, however, what he calls “a multitude of Italians” (πλῆθος Ἰταλῶν) came to Iberia to profit from the mines. The use of the term πλῆθος here implies a high number of migrants, yet these were not labourers, but overseers or exploiters, as Diodorus clearly states that these Italians purchased slaves as a workforce; in a later passage (5.38) he describes the miserable conditions in which these slaves worked. The names on lead ingots linked to mines at New Carthage in the Republic also indicate that the exploiters were largely Italian, but the workforce may well have been purchased locally.³⁴ Diodorus points here to a largely slave workforce, which may have been the case in these particular mines in the second and first centuries BCE, but the general impression that emerges from our sources in the imperial period is of a more mixed workforce, comprising forced labour from slaves, condemned criminals, prisoners of war, and conquered peoples, together with free labour. This reflects the picture of a mixed labour force of slaves, free, and freed workers that is increasingly emerging in studies of many other sectors of the Roman economy.³⁵

30 See also Strabo 12.3.40 for over 200 workers in a sulphur mine in Bithynia.

31 Andreau 1990: 92. See also Blanco and Luzon 1966: 75.

32 Cf. Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma forthcoming b who suggest that this passage refers to the exploitation of the mine rather than its workforce.

33 The verb used is τυγχάνω.

34 Domergue 1990: 321-326. For local labour force, see Domergue 1990: 335; Fear 1996: 47.

35 For example, in the construction industry: DeLaine 2000: 121-123.

A mixed workforce is implicit in the *Lex Metalli Vipascensis* (CIL 2, 5181) and the *Lex Metallis Dicta* (FIRA² 1, 104) of the second century CE from Vipasca (Aljustrel), where silver, copper, and iron mines were under the overall control of an imperial *procurator metallorum*, but with the actual mining rights leased out to contractors. These documents detail the concessions granted to private individuals to perform a series of activities as a monopoly, and some of the leasing arrangements for the exploitation of the mines.³⁶ The *Lex Metalli Vipascensis* dictates in particular that anyone who wishes to exploit the slag heaps and rock deposits must make a declaration to the lessee of the number of slaves (*servi*) and hired labourers (*mercennarii*) sent for the task. The regulations for the maintenance of the baths included in this document also point to a diverse community of women, children, free men, imperial freedmen and slaves, and soldiers. Furthermore, among the details of leasing arrangements and organisation of mining in the *Lex Metallis Dicta*, different penalties are imposed on slaves and free men who steal ore or contravene regulations.

Just as there does not appear to have been a single model for ownership or organisation of Roman mines, the composition of workforces appears to have varied, reflecting a similar range of factors linked to the chronology of the mine, its location, topography, geography, and geology, and the type of metal mined, as well as the particular local political circumstances. We might, for example, expect the more widespread use of convict or forced labour in those mines directly exploited by the state, although convict labour may also have been available to hire.³⁷ Furthermore, in the early years of conquest newly-acquired subjects were sometimes put to work in the mines. Following the Cantabrian wars in the late first century BCE in Northwest Spain, for instance, both the Cantabri and the Astures were forcibly resettled from the mountains to the plain and ordered to mine for gold and pigments (Florus, 2.33.59–60; also 2.33.52; Dio Cass. 54.11.5). A change in settlement patterns has also been identified in the region; from the early first century onwards, the number of ‘castros’ not only increased in number and density, but more importantly, were now found clustered around areas of metallurgical activity.³⁸ Similar policies of resettlement and labour exploitation are attributed to Augustus’ general C. Vibius Postumus in Dalmatia (Florus, *Epitome* 2.25.12), and are hinted at by the speech that Tacitus puts into the mouth of Calgacus, who asks the Britons if they would prefer to follow him into battle or to submit to taxation, labour in

36 For a detailed discussion of these texts, see Domergue 1983.

37 Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma forthcoming b.

38 Hirt 2010: 229. See also Andreau 1990: 91 for archaeological indications that the population of these settlements was indigenous; Domergue 1990: 347 for discussion of the status of these workers.

the mines, and all the other punishments of slavery (Tac. *Agr.* 32.4).³⁹ More directly, enslaved prisoners of war were put to work in the mines (Jos. *BJ.* 6.418), as they were in other public works, such as the digging of a canal through the Isthmus of Corinth under Nero (Jos. *BJ.* 3.540). Such measures were probably used primarily in the initial stages of conquest to get mines up and running, with a more mixed workforce developing soon afterwards. Soldiers could also be used to open up a mine (Tac. *Ann.* 11.20.3). The presence of soldiers in Roman mines is in fact well-attested; they were probably typically utilised for logistical purposes and to supervise and provide security, rather than to provide labour as such, although some were skilled specialists.⁴⁰

A different policy appears to have been employed following the conquest of Dacia. According to Eutropius (8.6.2), Trajan moved large numbers of people to Dacia *ex toto orbe Romano*, as the region had been depopulated by the war with Decebalus.⁴¹ Eutropius claims only that people were brought in to inhabit the countryside and the cities (*ad agros et urbes*), but at least part of Trajan's motivation may have been to provide workers for the newly-acquired gold mines in the region. Certainly epigraphic material and the names on wax tablets taken from Alburnus Maior testify to the presence of Illyrians in Dacia, who may well have been moved there as part of Trajan's relocations, bringing with them skills in mining acquired in their places of origin.⁴² Hirt highlights the Pirustae in particular, who came from the mining region of the Upper Drina valley, and formed a new community in the *Vicus Pirustarum*.⁴³ Whether these Illyrians were moved here as part of a deliberate policy by Trajan, or were voluntary migrants (and the latter was almost certainly the case after the Trajanic period), they were free, salaried workers.⁴⁴ Both the epigraphic record and the literary testimony of Eutropius also indicate that many of these migrants were Roman citizens.⁴⁵

39 In general, see Hirt 2010: 334–335.

40 See Andreau 1990: 92–93; Edmondson 1987: 70; Hirt 2010: 358.

41 See Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011: 38 for the argument that this was not due to depopulation but to a naturally low population density in the area even before the war.

42 Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2011: 13–19; 37. For the wax tablets, Andreau 1990: 90.

43 Hirt 2010: 335. He also notes that pre-conquest workings of the Dacian mines make the use of local, experienced labour a possibility. Also Andreau 1990: 90–91. For mining in Roman Illyricum (here defined as the area containing the provinces of Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Moesia Superior), see Dušanić 2004.

44 Domergue 1990: 347. See also Oltean 2009: 93–94 for the policy of relocation ending with Trajan.

45 Eutropius (8.6.2) comments that Hadrian was unable to pull out of Dacia because Trajan's policy of planned relocation to the region would mean abandoning many Roman citizens to the barbarians. Hadrian's motivation for remaining in Dacia was most likely the mining wealth of the province.

Convict labour was also utilised in Roman mines, possibly on a larger scale than has been previously recognised.⁴⁶ Ulpian (*Dig.* 48.19.8.4) talks of punishments that take away freedom, such as condemnation to the *metalla* or to the *opus metalli*, claiming that those provinces that did not have mines sent convicts to those that did.⁴⁷ Such punishments were largely reserved for those of lower social status, that is, for slaves, non-citizens, and non-elites. Since convicts may have been chained, the presence of fetters in mines is ambiguous, as these could be taken as evidence of either slave or convict labour.⁴⁸

It appears clear then that since the supply of metals was so important to the Roman state, it took an active interest in ensuring a sufficient supply of manpower, utilising forced labour from conquered peoples, enslaved prisoners of wars, and convicts, as well as on occasion organising the relocation of individuals or communities to mining regions.⁴⁹ This concern with the labour force, and particularly the redistribution of manpower resources across regions, may well indicate some central control of mines and quarries; the forcible and sponsored transfer of labour also suggests that the significant labour requirements of mines were not always satisfactorily met by the market. The remote locations of many mines meant that the hinterland could only very rarely, if ever, supply the necessary labour.⁵⁰ Recruiting the necessary unskilled workers may have been particularly difficult, as much of the work in mines was difficult and dangerous. In some areas, mining work was also seasonal, and it therefore made sound economic sense to employ free labour rather than maintain a force of slaves year round.⁵¹

46 Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma forthcoming b argue for the more widespread use of convict labour in the Roman empire than hitherto realised. See Plin. *Ep.* 10.31–32 for convicts who had been sentenced to service in the mines or the arena being used as public slaves in Nicomedia and Nicaea, receiving an annual salary for their work.

47 The movement of convict labour over long distances may have been more about punishment than economics; *C.Th.* 14.24.1 (Constantine 328 CE) implies that being set further away was an additional punishment (Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma forthcoming b). See also Hirt 2010: 333 for Christians being sent to mines outside of their own province.

48 See, for example, Philostratus (*v. App* 5.19.2) for Musonius Rufus being bound and forced to dig at the Isthmus of Corinth under Nero (Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, forthcoming b). For fetters, see, for example, those found in the mines at Rio Tinto (Domergue 1990: 342).

49 The supply of precious metals in particular was important for the production of coinage (Mrozek 1989: 163–164).

50 Edmondson 1987: 61.

51 Las Rubias, for example, on the slopes of Mount Teleno is at an altitude of 1700m and could not be worked in winter (Domergue 1990: 361).

In fact, there is plenty of evidence to indicate that free labour was also a key part of the mining workforce, particularly in the imperial period.⁵² As we have seen, the Dacian mining contracts point to the use of free labour in mines, as does the *Lex Metalli Vipascensis* (CIL 2, 5181). The latter document also highlights the potential diversity of economic opportunities offered by mining communities aside from actual mining, detailing concessions to bathkeepers, shoemakers, fullers, schoolteachers, and those involved in auction sales.⁵³ Opportunities were also available in activities linked more directly to the exploitation of the mines, such as the working of slag heaps and rock deposits. In this particular case, the monopolies granted by the regulations must have restricted the opportunities offered to migrants, but the necessity to include, for example, a clause prohibiting any itinerant barber (*circitor*) from practicing rather suggests that free workers could be drawn to the mines by opportunities other than mining.

For quarry workers at Mons Claudianus in Egypt, the wages paid appear to have been higher than those in other parts of Egypt, something perhaps necessary to draw workers to this remote location.⁵⁴ Van der Veen's analysis of the food remains also indicates that the workers there ate a rich and varied diet, suggesting a population enjoying a good standard of living, rather than slaves or convicts surviving on a subsistence diet.⁵⁵ The same may not necessarily be true of mining sites in Iberia, but since there is some evidence for the relative standardisation of pay in imperial mines and quarries, wages may well have been high enough to attract free workers.⁵⁶ The necropolis at Rio Tinto also included graves containing *sigillata* and glass, indicating a population living above subsistence level, although excavations at the mining settlement of Vipasca suggest a low level of wealth.⁵⁷ Nonetheless, the mobility of workers within the Iberian peninsula in the two centuries preceding the Antonine

52 For free labour in the mines, see Mrozek 1989. Andreau 1990: 87–89; 92 argues for a mixed workforce in all periods, but with slave labour playing a more important role in the late Republic. Also Domergue 1990: 335; 350; Haley 1991: 98. For a comparison, see the well-documented free labour force at Mons Claudianus: Cuvigny 1996; Hirt 2010: 206–208; Jackson 2002: 48–49.

53 See Edmondson 1987: 60 for a comparison with sixteenth-century mines at Potosi in Peru (now modern Bolivia), where just over a third of the workforce were directly involved in the extraction and processing of ore, and the remainder provided ancillary services for the miners.

54 Cuvigny 1996: 141. See also Mrozek 1989, who argues that the state actively tried to improve conditions for free workers in the mines.

55 van der Veen 1998.

56 See n. 12.

57 Blanco and Luzon 1966: 77 (Rio Tinto); Edmondson 1987: 85 (Vipasca). See also Domergue 1990: 361–363.

plague is well attested in the epigraphic record, and at least a proportion of this movement – Haley argues the largest economically-driven proportion – can be attributed to the economic attraction of mining regions for free workers.⁵⁸ Since mines were, by and large, not situated in particularly arable areas, and were not a great stimulus to urbanisation, the most plausible explanation for the presence of migrants in these regions must be the draw of the mines.⁵⁹

The Epigraphic Record

Methodology

A number of inscriptions from Roman Iberia include the place of origin (*origo*) of named individuals, although in relative terms, the number is small. Of over 24,000 inscriptions included in the *Hispania Epigraphica* online database, only 473 record *origo* (i.e. less than 2% of the overall record), and fewer than 20% of these can plausibly be related to mines.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the sample of inscriptions selected for analysis here cannot claim to be definitive; it is based solely on those inscriptions included in *Hispania Epigraphica* (*HE*), and although an attempt has been made to be as comprehensive as possible, some inscriptions may have been overlooked. Moreover, given the low numbers of inscriptions that include *origo*, this is hardly likely to provide us with a full record of migration, either to mines or elsewhere. Neither does the inclusion of *origo* necessarily indicate migration; people also sometimes stated their ethnic when they were commemorated within their own community.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the inscriptions considered here number over eighty and are suggestive of a general trend of labour mobility towards mines within Iberia.

Origo is denoted through the adjectival form of a town or city, as for example with Titus Pompeius Fraternus Cluniensis from Clunia (*HE* 546) or Anius

58 For mining accounting for the largest proportion of epigraphically-attested *alieni* in Iberia who move for economic reasons, see Haley 1991: 98. For economic mobility in Iberia in general identified through the epigraphic record, see Haley 1991. Also see Stanley Jr 1990, mainly focused on migration to urban areas in Lusitania. For previous studies of inscriptions related to mining, see Blanco and Luzon 1966: 83–84; Domergue 1990: 336–346; Edmondson 1987: 61–67; Hirt 2010: 273–274. For mapping population movement on the basis of inscriptions in the Roman world more broadly, see Carroll 2006: 209–232; Noy 2010.

59 For mines located in remote, mountainous regions, devoid of good arable land, see Edmondson 1987: 61; Fear 1996: 47. Also see n. 73.

60 Blanco and Luzon 1966: 83 note that the inclusion of *origo* is rare in Latin epigraphy in general but more common in Iberia. See also Noy 2010: 15.

61 See, for example, Quintus Julius Avitus Emeritensis, who was commemorated at Augusta Emerita (*HE* 19251).

Toletanus from Toletum (*HE* 212). Inscriptions with such attestations of *origo* that can plausibly be linked to labour migration to mining centres are catalogued in Table 6.1, organised firstly by province, and secondly by findspot.⁶² More problematically, names have sometimes been seen as indicating *origo*. Haley, for example, argues that ethnically derived *cognomina* have a geographic significance; a name such as Arantonius Taporus (*HE* 4366) would then indicate an ethnic origin among the Tapori of Lusitania.⁶³ The *Hispania Epigraphica* database, for the most part, also includes onomastically-derived examples in its catalogue of *origo* inscriptions.⁶⁴ However, *origo* derived in this way is less secure and such names may not have any geographical significance.⁶⁵ Such inscriptions are, therefore, catalogued separately in Table 6.2.

In order to produce these catalogues, a search was undertaken for *HE* inscriptions that included details of *origo*, yielding 473 results. Slaves, freedmen, and administrative and military personnel were excluded from the selection in the first instance, since these are less relevant for any consideration of free labour mobility. A map was then created in ArcGIS marking the location of mines in Iberia, drawing on a combination of data from the mines database of the *Oxford Roman Economy Project*, the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, and Domergue's detailed studies of mines in the peninsula.⁶⁶ Domergue counts 565 sites, and while not all of these are included in the map, all those that are listed as active in the first and second centuries CE are included, since this is the period to which most of the inscriptions in the database can be dated; 452 mines are mapped in total.⁶⁷ As it is difficult to gauge the chronology of a mine, the list cannot be definitive, but in general terms, a move from east

62 Inscriptions are catalogued here by their *HE* number; further details (e.g. *CIL* and *AE* references, images etc.) can be found on the *HE* website (<http://eda-bea.es/>; Last accessed 25/11/2014).

63 Haley 1991: 22–23.

64 It is, however, somewhat inconsistent in this. Among inscriptions including the *cognomen* Taporus, for example, some are classified as indicating *origo* (e.g. *HE* 18967; 20297), while others are not (e.g. *HE* 4366; 4367).

65 Pers. comm. Jonathan Edmondson.

66 For mines database, see http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/databases/mines_database/. The database is not systematic, so was supplemented by data from the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, which is available as a mapping layer on the Harvard Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilisation (<http://darmc.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k40248&pageid=icb.page188868>). Domergue 1987 provides a catalogue of mines, while Domergue 1990 is an in-depth study of mining in the Iberian Peninsula more generally.

67 For 565 sites, see Domergue 1987: I. See Domergue 1990: 201–203 for the list of mines exploited in Roman period; 203–214 for selection criteria.

to west can be identified, as the mines at New Carthage ceased to function, and mines in the southwest and northwest of Iberia began to be exploited.⁶⁸

The findspots of the *origo* inscriptions were then added to the map in two separate layers, reflecting the different ways of denoting *origo*. Although inscriptions often have a long history of use and reuse, and it is therefore possible that some of those included in this sample were moved from their original location, the place of finding as given by *HE* was used for mapping purposes.⁶⁹ The spatial distribution of these inscriptions reflects the general pattern in the exploitation of mines, with notable clusters in the southwest and northwest of the peninsula.

The inscription findspots were then checked against the locations of Roman mines in Iberia, and those with findspots that were located within a 20 km 'bufferzone' of a mining site were noted. Those inscriptions with findspots in mining regions that fell just outside the 20 km radius were then checked against the location of cities and settlements in the map.⁷⁰ Inscriptions with findspots that were linked to an urban centre were not included, as the motivation for migration could not clearly be assigned to mining, although it remains a possibility, given the intensive mining in many of these regions.⁷¹ Conversely, those inscriptions located in mining areas that could not reasonably be linked with any urban centre, but were just outside the 20 km radius were included in the sample.⁷² Almost all the inscriptions were found in areas

68 For the move from east to west, see Domergue 1990: 214; 519, fig. 4e-f. Not all locations were easy to pinpoint exactly on a map, given the general nature of the description (e.g. Algibe, located 15 km to the south of La Aliseda), but every effort has been made to map the location of maps as accurately as possible.

69 For the reuse of inscriptions, see, for example, Cooley 2012: 320–321, including their use in town defences in Lusitania. Also Carroll 2006: 83–85. Findspots are clearly differentiated on the database from place of custody. A single inscription in the final catalogue was not mapped, as the findspot was the same as the point of origin, but this referred to the repatriation of the remains of one Vegetus from Mons Marianus to Conimbriga by his parents (*HE* 22185).

70 The cities and settlements mapping layer was taken from the Harvard Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilisation in turn drawn from the *Barrington Atlas*.

71 For example, *HE* 23402, found at Serpa; *HE* 21194, found at Beleizão in Portugal, close to Pax Julia, but also Vipasca (Aljustrel); *HE* 21251, close to Vicus Camalocensis; *HE* 22733, close to Castelo de Corregedor and Ammaia; and *HE* 22842, close to Ammaia.

72 This includes *HE* 7787 and *HE* 18926. *HE* 20469 was also included, given its proximity to the major mining site at Vipasca (Aljustrel), although it could plausibly be linked to the settlement of Arandis also. An exception was also made for *HE* 20424, as according to Haley 1991: 93, this was found roughly equidistant from Vipasca (Aljustrel) and Pax Julia,

with intensive mining activity, and while the nearest mine to the findspot of the inscription is included in Tables 6.1 and 6.2, numerous other mines were often found within close proximity. It should be noted that none of these individuals claim to be miners (e.g. *metallici* or *fossores*). In fact, none of these inscriptions mention an occupation at all, and the link to mining is made solely on the basis of their location in proximity to mines and mining regions. However, the economy of these areas was dominated by mining, and the most likely explanation for the presence of migrants in these areas is the economic opportunities offered by the exploitation of local mineral resources.⁷³ These opportunities were broader than just mining itself, and also included ancillary services. Lucius Julius Reburinus (*HE* 24835), for example, a migrant at Rio Tinto, was almost certainly a potter, since twenty-six terracotta lamps from the area bear the initials L.I.R.⁷⁴

The origins of the migrants were then added to the map, again as two separate layers.⁷⁵ Some points of origin are uncertain and these are marked with a question mark in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.⁷⁶ Inscriptions with *origo* locations that could not be mapped as they are unclear, ambiguous (largely due to multiple locations with similar names), or unknown were removed from the main catalogues and are collected in Table 6.3. Links were then made between the points of *origo* and the findspot locations, expressed as straight lines on the map; these were measured to give some idea of the distances moved, although this was done as straight lines between two points and in reality journeys must have been longer (see Figs. 6.1 and 6.2). This final step resulted in a final catalogue of over 80 inscriptions, collected together in Tables 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

rather than at Pax Julia as *HE* claims. A minority of inscriptions found within the 'buffer-zones' were linked to urban centres, but were included given the close proximity to important mining sites (e.g. *HE* 3969 from Cordoba, and numerous inscriptions linked to Civitas Igaeditanorum).

73 For the difficulties of proving a direct link between migrant inscriptions and mining, see Domergue 1990: 337; Hirt 2010: 274 n.70. For similar methodology, with further discussion of mining and migration, see Haley 1991: 89–99.

74 Edmondson 1987: 64. Lamps with his initials were also found at Cerro Muriano, Poderosa, and Aljustrel. This could indicate several things: that he was an itinerant potter, that he set up branch workshops at other mines, or that individual miners were moving around with his lamps.

75 Most *origo* locations were mapped using the co-ordinates given on Pleiades, themselves based on the maps in the *BAGRW*. For points of origin based on tribal affiliation, a central point was selected within the appropriate region for mapping purposes.

76 See, for example, L. Marcius Rusticus (*HE* 4519), most probably from Victoriacum.

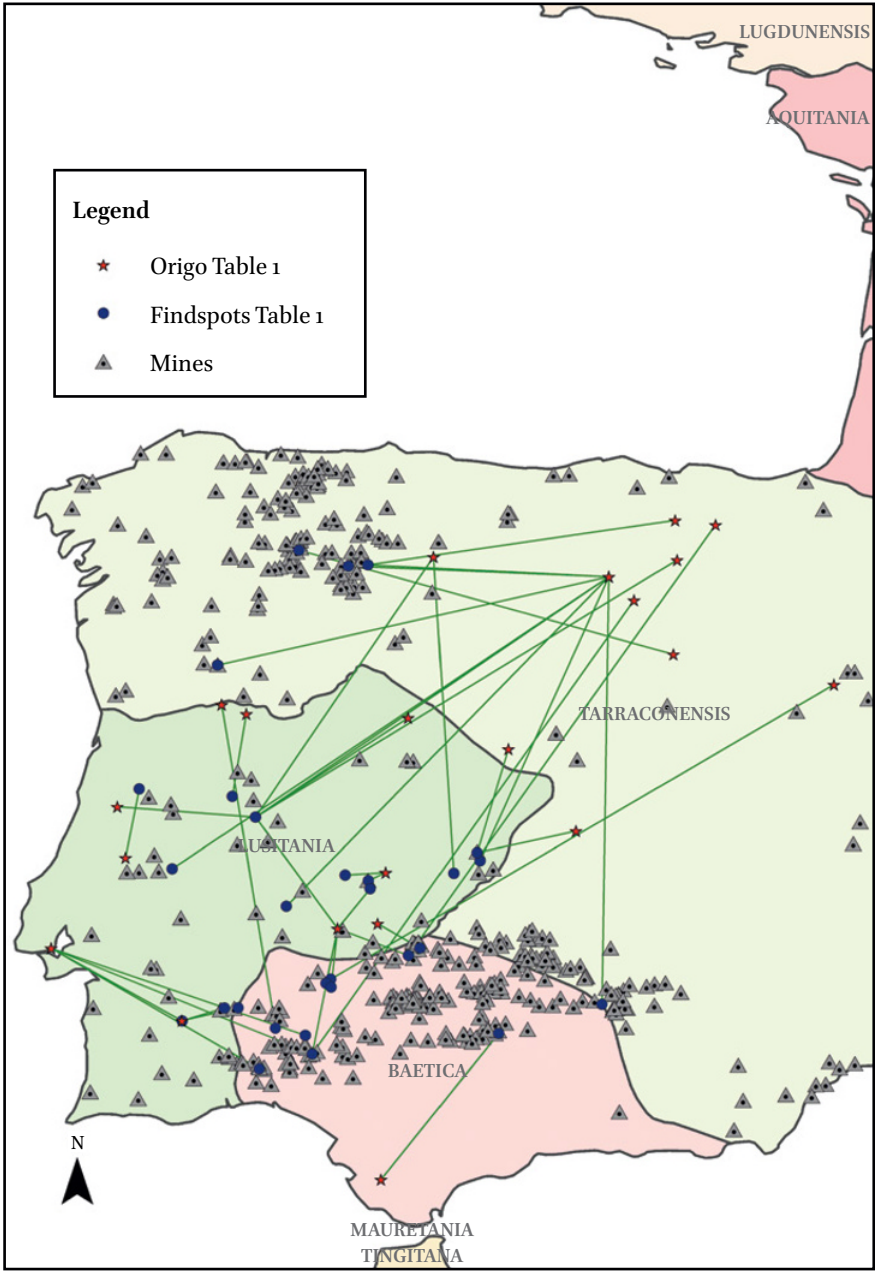


FIGURE 6.1 *Migrants to mining areas (Table 6.1)*

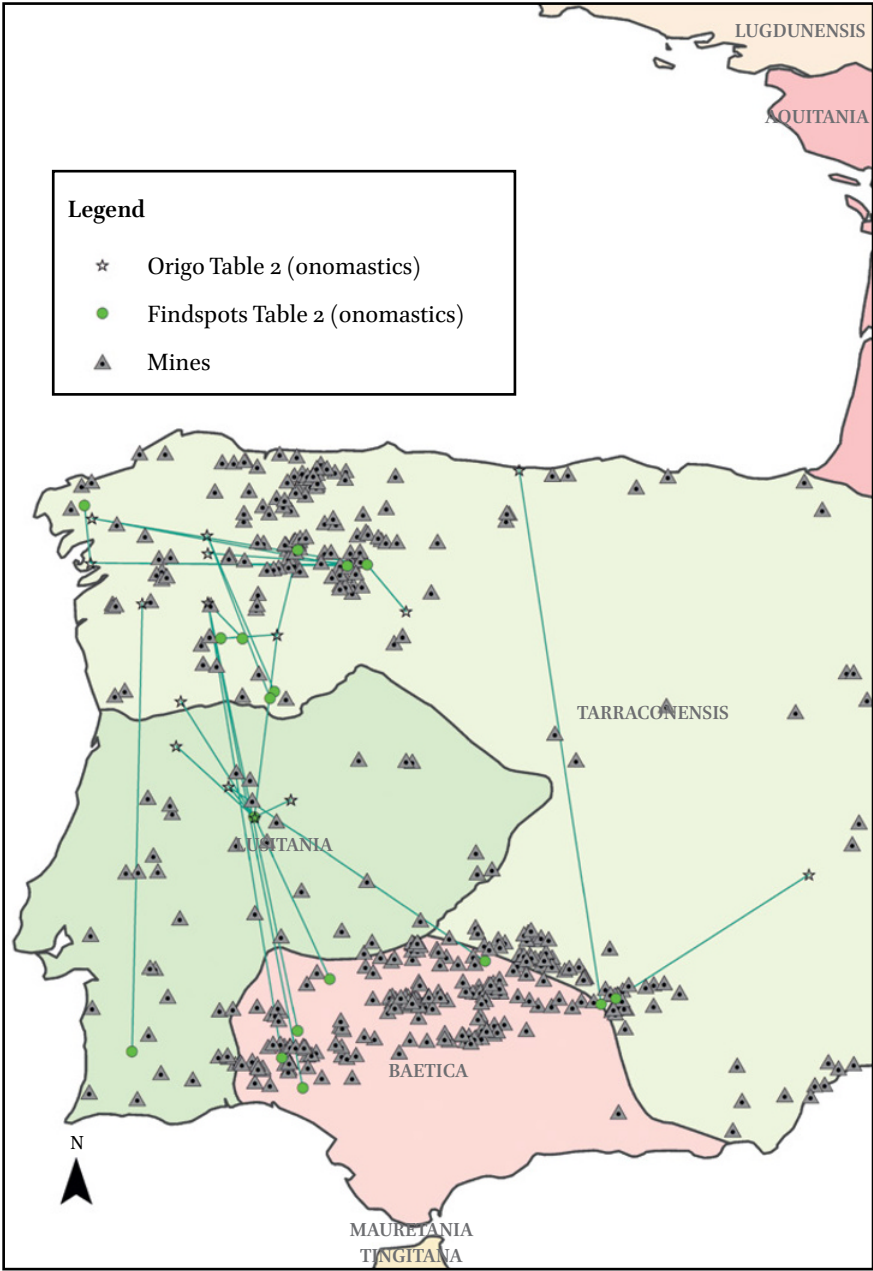


FIGURE 6.2 *Migrants to mining areas (Table 6.2)*

The Limitations of the Evidence

Since these are largely funerary inscriptions, they record only those who died in these places. Many migrants may have returned home, although it should be noted that there are several inscriptions recording individuals aged over sixty, whom we might expect to have returned home if this were indeed the case.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the so-called 'epigraphic habit' was not common to all; not everybody could afford such commemorations, and since these funerary inscriptions are written in Latin (both those with the 'Roman' *tria nomina* and those whose names were expressed in the indigenous form of a single name with a patronymic), erecting such a monument was a specific cultural act.⁷⁸ Additionally, mentioning *origo* was clearly not the norm. Those that did so must have made a conscious decision to record this additional information for specific personal or cultural reasons. There was, for instance, a particular predominance of migrants from Clunia in the epigraphic record, which may reflect local Clunian practice rather than testifying to a notable population movement from this urban centre.⁷⁹ Chronology is also a problem, since few of these inscriptions can be dated precisely, making it difficult to detect changing patterns in movement across time.⁸⁰

Moreover, it is not clear at what point an individual stopped identifying with a particular *origo* or ethnicity; it is possible that some of the individuals recorded were what we could now categorise as second or even third generation immigrants. The eight month old baby, Lucius Helvius Lupus, for example, commemorated by his parents at Rio Tinto in the first half of the first century CE, and described as *Emeritensis* or from Augusta Emerita, was most likely born at Rio Tinto, unless his parents chose to make the 137 kilometre journey with a small baby (HE 560).⁸¹ Other inscriptions that commemorate parents and children, however, attribute a particular *origo* to the parent only; the tombstone of Annia Vegeta, for example, attributes an *origo* of Lancia to the father only (HE 24873).⁸² It may be that the example of the baby is exceptional, and

77 See HE 422; 802; 3969; 4495; 4519; 12607; 14454; 18642; 18926; 19250.

78 For setting up a Latin inscription as a distinctly *Roman* cultural act, see Edmondson 2002: 43; Noy 2010: 13. For patterns of naming, see Domergue 1990: 342–343; Knapp 1992. For the cost of funerals and memorials, see Carroll 2006: 77–78.

79 See n. 91. Knapp 1992: 411 notes that people from Clunia show a marked tendency to migrate but it may be that they are more likely to *record* their migration. See Domergue 1990: 345 for the suggestion that the area around Clunia experienced an economic crisis at some point (the date is difficult to fix), perhaps due to overpopulation or disaffection with the traditional local economy.

80 On this problem, see Haley 1991: 24.

81 The child takes his name from his mother, Helvia Secundilla, rather than his father, Probus, demonstrating the continuation of a Celtic form of filiation (Fear 1996: 258–259).

82 See also HE 3969; HE 18642. Also HE 18926.

we are dealing almost exclusively with first-generation migrants here, but certainty is impossible.

Skilled or Unskilled?

Clearly then there are limitations to this evidence, and there are different ways of interpreting this data. It could, for example, be argued that it is indicative of a much larger population movement, with these inscriptions testifying to the small number of migrants who left a record of their move, and representing a whole swathe of undocumented migration. Conversely, this data could be viewed as representing the movement of *skilled* workers or overseers and investors only, those who could afford to leave such monuments and for whom the rewards of moving were high enough to make it worthwhile. As we have seen, the movement of overseers or investors to the mines, rather than workers themselves, is also implied by at least some of the literary sources from the Republican period.⁸³

Furthermore, Davies suggested back in the 1930s that the technical similarities in the methods of exploitation between mines in Iberia was the result of a school of mining engineers moving around to take up positions in different mines.⁸⁴ The pattern of movement revealed by the inscriptions catalogued in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 could further support this notion of skilled mining workers or exploiters moving around Iberia, since it is clear that migrants did not always simply move to their nearest mine. Ladronus, for example, a Bracarani from Northwest Spain died at Vipasca in Southern Portugal aged 30 (*HE* 20469); his point of *origo* was located in a region of intensive mining in the imperial period, particularly gold mining, yet he moved almost 500 kilometres south to Vipasca, perhaps facilitated by the *sodalitium Bracarorum* attested in Pax Julia (*HE* 23699; discussed further below). Similarly, Fuscus moved from Lancia to the mines at Santa Quiteria, a distance of almost 350 kilometres, rather than go to his more local mines in the northwest (*HE* 24127), and while 2 of the migrants from Clunia went to mines relatively close by, most went much further afield.⁸⁵ The place at which these individuals died may not have been their destination but a stop on their journey, and they may have started at their nearest mine and moved around as opportunities arose. The Dacian gold mine contracts, for

83 See, for example, Diod. Sic. 5.36.3.4; also perhaps Polybius 34.10.10–14 apud Strabo 4.6.1; p. 101. For inscriptions relating to the upper echelon of mining society, see also Edmondson 1987: 61.

84 Davies 1935: 130–131, referring here specifically to the technical similarities in modes of exploitation between Rio Tinto and Sotiel Coronada.

85 *HE* 14390 and *HE* 18764 record migration from Clunia to the cluster of goldmines in Northwest Spain, still a distance of over 200 km, but in close proximity relatively speaking. Gaius Sempronius Aebarus (*HE* 16743), on the other hand, moved almost 480 km from Clunia to the Tage mines in Central Portugal. For more on the inscriptions from Clunia, see pp. 115–116.

example, are for a specified length of time (in one case, just over a year (*CIL* 3.2.TC IX) and in another, just less than six months (*CIL* 3.2.TC X)), presumably leaving these workers free to move on at the end of their contracts. All three contracts end on the same date (13 November 164), which was presumably of significance in the administration or working of the mine; our workers may then have been hired on new contracts after this date, rather than moving on.

The fact that these migrants moved over long distances does not in itself indicate that they were skilled. The demand for both skilled and unskilled labour must have fluctuated over the life course of a mine, and there was almost certainly mobility among unskilled workers too. This is clearly implied by the Dacian mining contracts, where the work to be undertaken is left as unspecified *opera*. However, there was a skill premium in the Roman world, and it was probably more advantageous for skilled workers to move around, particularly when we consider the technical and specialised nature of mining.

Distances, Journey Patterns and Organisation

The movement of workers suggests that there was some means of transmitting information about opportunities at other mines. This becomes particularly clear when we consider that some of the migrants moved over substantial distances, although none came from outside Iberia, indicating that migration was largely regional.⁸⁶ The average distance moved by the migrants in Table 6.1 was 260 kilometres, but the length of individual journeys ranged from 16.7 (*HE* 20342) to 558.9 (*HE* 562) kilometres.⁸⁷ No particular pattern can be discerned in the distances moved, although only eight journeys were longer than 400 km.⁸⁸ Not only are the examples of *origo* in Table 6.2 less secure, given that they are derived from the names of the migrants, but the potential distances moved are more difficult to measure, since they must be calculated from an estimated point within a tribal region rather than a single point of origin. Nevertheless, we can determine the order of magnitude of the distances involved. The average journey was 206 kilometres, with journeys ranging from around 36 kilometres (*HE* 20089) to around 580 kilometres (*HE* 12801). Again, no clear pattern can be discerned in terms of distances.⁸⁹

86 Stanley Jr. 1990 draws similar conclusions from his study of geographical mobility in Roman Lusitania. See also Edmondson 2004: 327–328.

87 *HE* 22185 is listed as a journey of 600 km, but this is a rough estimate based on the distance from Conimbriga to the Mons Marianus region (Sierra Morena).

88 12 journeys were under 100 km; 8 between 100 and 200 km; 7 between 200 and 300 km; 17 between 300 and 400 km; 4 between 400 and 500 km; and 4 between 500 and 600 km.

89 9 journeys were under 100 km; 7 between 100 and 200 km; 8 between 200 and 300 km; 0 between 300 and 400 km; 3 between 400 and 500 km; and 2 between 500 and 600 km.

If we think of mobility rather than single migrant journeys from one place to another, then the distances involved perhaps become less remarkable. Nevertheless, it remains likely that these journeys were not simply speculative, with individuals moving on the off-chance that work might be available. Rather this movement was the result of a rational choice based on the availability of work, both in the place of origin and the migrant destination. There are, for example, clusters of migrants from Northwest and Central Spain, including Clunia, Nova Augusta, Uxama (Argaela), Uxama Ibarca, Libia, and Victoriacum, and from central Lusitania, areas characterised by Domergue as poor regions, devoted to agriculture and farming.⁹⁰ The decision to move to an area with greater economic opportunities was thus a rational one, leading to focused migration flows, rather than arbitrary or unplanned mobility. This is where information networks are crucial, and these could be linked to a number of factors, such as a central organisational mechanism, systems of labour contractors, or links developed through practices such as chain migration.

While no clear system of movement emerges overall from the mapped inscriptions in Table 6.1, case studies of the destinations of migrants claiming *origo* from certain locations, together with the profile of migrants at particular mines, may help illuminate patterns of migration. There are, for example, eighteen migrants in Table 6.1 who state their *origo* as Clunia, just over 20% of the sample.⁹¹ All these individuals died at least 200 km away from Clunia, and are recorded at 7 different locations, although there are notable clusters at Três Minas and Monfortinho.⁹² The six Clunians recorded at Três Minas were all men who died between the ages of 20 and 40, and comprise the total number of individuals in *HE* who recorded an *origo* at this particular mine. This migrant profile of adult males is consistent with the idea of skilled mining workers. Similarly, the six Clunians recorded at Monfortinho were also all men, and although fewer of these individuals included their age at death, the two that did died aged 20 (*HE* 20090) and 40 (*HE* 20152).⁹³ In total, there are seventeen

In proportional terms, there were fewer longer migrant journeys in this sample (only 17% were over 300 km, as opposed to 48% of journeys in Table 6.1).

90 Domergue 1990: 345. See also Edmondson 1987: 64 for migrants coming largely from agriculturally unfavourable areas of the peninsula; also Edmondson 2004: 328. See n. 79 for suggestion of an economic crisis in the region around Clunia encouraging emigration.

91 Migrants from Clunia: *HE* 213; 546; 5597; 6668; 7757; 7758; 7759; 7760; 8207; 14454; 16743; 18764; 18926; 20090; 20152; 20170; 21469; 25987.

92 Três Minas: *HE* 6668; 7757; 7758; 7759; 7760; 8207. Monfortinho: *HE* 5597; 20090; 20152; 20170; 21469; 25987.

93 All the Clunian migrants whose sex can be determined from their name were male. The name in *HE* 18764 is illegible, making it impossible to discern the sex of the individual concerned.

individuals with recorded *origo* documented in the vicinity of Monfortinho, although the only notable cluster of shared *origo* relates to the Clunians;⁹⁴ it should be noted, however, that these inscriptions were all linked to the urban centre of Civitas Igaeditanorum, so cannot be definitively connected with mining.⁹⁵ There were also two Clunians who followed a similar route to the mines in Northwest Spain; these two men moved the shortest distance of any Clunians, 209.2 and 193.4 km respectively, although the distances involved are still significant (*HE* 14454 and 18764).

The six migrants who record their *origo* as Olisipo all follow similar migration paths, moving to the cluster of mines in the southwest of Iberia, with two dying at Rio Tinto and two at Concepcion, although this may primarily be due to proximity rather than any other factors.⁹⁶ Conversely, the seven migrants from Augusta Emerita go in a multitude of directions, with only two of these possibly moving in the same direction to Cerro de la Mina;⁹⁷ this as much as anything indicates that we are most likely dealing with the voluntary migration of individuals here, rather than any resettlement of communities.

A mixed picture also emerges if we look at the profile of migrants in particular mining regions. In the vicinity of the gold mines at Rio Turienzo in Northwest Spain, for example, eleven inscriptions record *origo*, and four of these individuals, including two women, identify themselves as Supertamarci, a tribal group located to the west of the mines.⁹⁸ Another two were Cileni, located to the south of the Supertamarci (*HE* 8460; 19250), and as we have seen, two came from Clunia (*HE* 14454; 18764), but the remaining three migrants were from different places (*HE* 2899; 6714; 14387). Other pairs with a shared *origo* found in proximity to a mine include two Taponi at Las Morras (*HE* 4366; 4367), and two Suerri at Urros (*HE* 12607; 20028).⁹⁹

94 The only other shared *origo* belongs to a man and a woman from the Lancienses Oppidani (*HE* 20089 and 24874 respectively).

95 See Edmondson 1987: 64–65 for the suggestion that the large number of inscriptions testifying to immigrants at Civitas Igaeditanorum was due to its location in an area of intensive gold mining.

96 Rio Tinto: *HE* 5354; 24835. Concepcion: *HE* 5338; 5363. See also *HE* 799; 20424.

97 Cerro de la Mina: *HE* 836; 851. These two texts were recorded in the nineteenth century, but are now both lost. As they are similar in layout and content, Edmondson suggests that they might well be the same text with a variant findspot recorded (pers. comm.). See also *HE* 560; 4495; 25057; 25988.

98 *HE* 7455; 8732; 8734; 14390.

99 Also see the two migrants from Augusta Emerita at Cerro de la Mina (*HE* 836; 851) and the two from Turgalium at Plasenzuela (*HE* 22090; 20342), although these journeys are fairly short (from 16.7 to 64.4 kilometres) and may reflect proximity rather than any particular patterns of movement.

The numbers here are perhaps too small to point to any definitive patterns, but the presence of clusters and pairs of individuals with a shared *origo* could point towards networks of labour contractors performing roles similar to that of Vespasian's great grandfather in Italy, and perhaps some chain migration. Some of this movement may also have been organised through associations such as *collegia*, *sodales*, and *sodalicia*. At Pax Julia, for example, a town close to the mines at Vipasca, a dedication to a Deus Invictus was made in the second century CE by a *sodalitium Bracarorum* (HE 23699), an association of Bracari, whose point of origin was hundreds of kilometres to the north.¹⁰⁰ Ladronus, a Bracaran from Castello Durbede, was recorded in the vicinity of Vipasca in the first century CE (HE 20469), and his movement may have been facilitated by an earlier version of this association; at the very least it may have assisted him by providing contacts and advice on his arrival in the south. Certainly comparative material demonstrates the importance of such networks not only in stimulating movement, but also in assisting migrants with finding housing and work upon arrival in a particular location.¹⁰¹

The Paradigm of the Single Adult Male

Despite the clusters of male migrants noted from Clunia, in general the epigraphic record from Iberia suggests that migration was a much broader phenomenon, encompassing men, women, and children.¹⁰² Seventeen women and girls are included in the sample (Tables 6.1 and 6.2), with ages at death ranging from twelve (HE 805) to sixty-seven (HE 802). These migrants move an average of 190 km, which is congruent with the overall migratory pattern; the shortest distance travelled is 34.1 km (HE 22090) and the longest is almost 560 km (HE 562). While some are commemorated by husbands (HE 822; 8460; 20028; 22777), others are commemorated by female family members or kin, including a *soror* (HE 8732; 20296), a *mater* (HE 805; 821), and daughters (HE 24874).¹⁰³ A number of these women, however, such as Licinia Materna, who claims Nova Augusta as her *origo* and died aged thirty at Rio Tinto, over 550 kilometres away (HE 562), are not commemorated by any named individual.¹⁰⁴ Most studies

100 Haley 1991: 27; 92. A *collegium* is also attested at Rio Tinto (Blanco and Luzon 1966: 82). See also HE 422 for the commemoration of the deceased by a *sodalis*. See Edmondson 1984 for a detailed discussion of this inscription.

101 See Holleran (forthcoming) for the potential role of migrant networks in finding work in Rome.

102 For the notion that migration was primarily the preserve of the young adult male, see Prowse *et al.* 2007: 517. See also Bruun 2010: 123, who makes the point that this view has not been particularly prevalent among historians of the ancient world.

103 *Soror* need not literally mean a sister, but could refer to a more distant female relative.

104 See also HE 802; 7455; 14387; 22090; 25057.

emphasise the restrictions on female mobility and clearly men dominate the record here, but women comprise a substantial minority of the sample, constituting almost 20% of the overall catalogue.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, while the lack of a named commemorator on the funerary monuments of some of these women does not necessarily indicate that they were without family, it is perhaps suggestive of some single female migration. Those commemorated by husbands and children may also have moved prior to marriage and children.¹⁰⁶

The mining regulations from Vipasca (*CIL* 2, 5181) certainly indicate a mixed community, encompassing not only slave and free, but also women and children. It was stipulated, for example, that the lessee of the baths must keep the baths open until the seventh hour for women (and from the eighth to the second hour after sunset for men); women also paid one *as* for entry, double the half an *as* that it cost the men. At least some of these women may have been economic migrants, attracted by the opportunities offered by mining communities, be it in retail, bars, prostitution, and the like, or even in mining itself.¹⁰⁷ For what it is worth (and this should largely be seen in the context of ethnographic stereotyping of the 'barbarian other'), Posidonius claims (Strabo 3.2.9) that in the late Republican period, women in the far northwest of Lusitania mined for metal; silver, tin, and 'white gold' (gold mixed with silver) was brought downstream in the soil and women scraped this up with shovels and washed it in sieves. There are no discernible patterns of movement or age among these women, but at the very least it reminds us that we should look beyond the paradigm of the single adult male when thinking about migration in the Roman world.

A small number of children and adolescents are also included in the sample, ranging in age from eight months to fifteen.¹⁰⁸ As discussed above, some of these may have been 'second-generation' migrants, but these inscriptions could also point to some family migration.¹⁰⁹ Child labour was used in the mines, so it is perhaps unsurprising that we find them documented in the epigraphic record linked to mining sites.¹¹⁰ One funerary monument even depicts

105 For restrictions on female mobility, see, for example, Woolf 2013a.

106 On single and family migration to Augusta Emerita, see Edmondson 2004: 346–347.

107 For working women in Roman Italy and their roles in retail in particular, see Holleran 2013.

108 *HE* 546; 560; 805; 6714; 2899; 14390; 19243.

109 The possibility of family migration to Ostia-Portus is also raised by Prowse *et al.* 2007 in their isotopic analysis of dental enamel from the cemetery at Isola Sacra, although see the response of Bruun 2010. Also Killgrove 2010b; 2010c.

110 See, for example, Diod. Sic. 3.13.1; Edmondson 1987: 68. If, as is now generally accepted, we are to read *CIL* 3.2 TC. X as saying *liberisque* rather than *cibarisque*, the Dacian mining contracts include a wage rate for children (Cuvigny 1996: 142–143).

a child as a miner; Q(u)artulus, who died aged 4, is shown with a small hammer and basket (HE 9397).¹¹¹ Commemoration of the deceased by siblings also points to the movement of families, either as children or as young adults; a certain Paternus, for example, who died aged twenty, was commemorated by a *frater* (HE 12801), although this could refer more generally to a male relative or kinsman rather than an actual brother.¹¹² The presence of families within these communities may also point to more permanent migration as opposed to a general mobility of workers. Older teenagers, such as Vegetus, whose remains were repatriated by his grieving parents from Mons Marianus to Conimbriga when he died aged eighteen, were moving independently of their parents (HE 22185).

The epigraphic data is not without its problems and for that reason any interpretation of this material must remain tentative. However, it is clearly indicative of the movement of people around the Iberian Peninsula, and it points to a world of labour mobility, supporting the picture that emerges from the literary and legal material. It was not only urban centres that drew in migrants, but also mining centres, which had a high demand for labour; some of this labour may have been forced, but a significant proportion, particularly in the imperial period, appears to have been free. Tracking the movement of individuals through the epigraphic record demonstrates that people were prepared to move over significant distances for economic opportunities, although this movement was largely regional (in the sense that it was confined to Iberia), and it is not clear if such trips were made in stages or in a single journey. Women and children also appear as migrants, potentially indicating some family migration, and possibly even the movement of single females to mining regions. Furthermore, there are indications that some people either moved in groups, perhaps at the behest of labour contractors, or that there were links between particular locations that encouraged some chain migration. Despite the difficulties of interpreting this data then, it is suggestive of a functioning labour market within the Iberian Peninsula, with some effective means of transmitting information about economic opportunities between often distant locations, and offering sufficient incentives to draw people to mining communities that were often situated in remote, mountainous locations.

111 On this monument – and child labour in ancient mines more broadly – see Giardina 2000; he also argues that the age at death should be read as 9 rather than 4, bringing Quartulus more into line with the pattern of both ancient and more modern usage of child labour in mining. See also Blanco and Luzon 1966: 86; 88 (Fig. 10).

112 See also HE 1783; 7754; 8732; 20296; 22693; 25987.

TABLE 6.1 *Migrants to mining areas*

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine ^a	Name of migrant ^b
Baetica	Alajar, Huelva, Spain	Olisipo	5338	Concepcion (H6; Cu)	Caius Cabius Atius
Baetica	Alconera, Badajoz, Spain	Augusta Emerita	836	Cerro de la Mina (BA60; Arg; Pb)	L. Lucretius Marinus
Baetica	Alosno, Huelva, Spain	Olisipo	799	Prado Viciosa (H11; Cu)	Anon.
Baetica	Aroche, Huelva, Spain	Arabrigenses	802	Pico del Aguila (H28; Cu)	Vibia Crispa
Baetica	Castuera, Badajoz, Spain	Metellinum	422	Gamonita (BA32; Arg; Pb)	M. Helvius Sabinus
Baetica	Cordoba, Spain	Asido	3969	Casilla del Cobre (CO40; Cu)	M. Fabius Themison
Baetica	Medina de las Torres, Badajoz, Spain	Augusta Emerita	851	Cerro de la Mina (BA60; Arg; Pb)	Licinius Albanus
Baetica	Minas de Riotinto, Huelva, Spain	Augusta Emerita	560	Rio Tinto (H43; Cu; Arg; Fe)	Lucius Helvius Lupus
Baetica	Minas de Riotinto, Huelva, Spain	Nova Augusta	562	Rio Tinto (H43; Cu; Arg; Fe)	Licinia Materna

^a Text in parentheses provides the site reference number in Domergue's 1987 catalogue of mines, together with the type of metals produced (Au = gold; Arg = silver; Cu = copper; Fe = iron; Pb = lead).

^b The name of the migrant does not always relate to the deceased, but sometimes to the commemorator.

Age	Sex	Text ^c	Distance (Km) ^d
	M	C(aius) Cabius/Atius Olisi (ponensis)/hic situs est/s(it) [t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)]	236.1
	M	----- /L(ucius) Lucretius/Marinus Emer(itensis)/v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)	59.9
		N[---]O[--]N/co(n)iugi [---]I/Tura[---]P[---]/ Olisiponensi	220.3
67	F	D(is) · M(anibus) · s(acrum)/Vibia · Cr/ispa Ru/fini Ara/ brigensis/annor(um)/LXVII/h(ic) · s(ita) · e(st) · s(it) t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis)	352.6
60	M	M(arcus) · Helv(ius) · Sab(inus) · M(etel(l)ine(nsis)/an(norum) · LX · h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st) · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis) · /sod(ales) · tab(ulae)/saluta(ris)/f(aciendum) · c(uraverunt)	34.3
70	M	M(arcus) Fabius Themison Asidone(n)sis/annor(um) LXX pius in suis/hic s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)/Fabia Modesta Themisonis f(ilia)/annor(um) xx pia in suis/hic s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)/[-----]/Iunia T(iti) lib(erta) Clarina/ann(or)um LX pia in suis/hic s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)	188
	M	----- /Licinius · M(arci) f(ilius)/Albanus · Emer(itensis)/v(otum) · s(olvit) · l(ibens) · m(erito)	64.4
8 mths	M	L(ucius) Helvius Lupus/Emeritensis mens(ium)/VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) fac(iendum) c(uraverunt)/Helvia Secundilla m(ater)/et Probus pat[e]r	137.3
30	F	Licina Paterni/f(ilia) Materna/Novaugustana/ann(or)um xxx h(ic) s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)	558.9

c The texts of the inscriptions are drawn from the *Hispania Epigraphica Online Database*, adapted where necessary.

d Distances are measured as a straight line between the point of origin and the findspot; in reality, journeys must have been longer.

TABLE 6.1 *Migrants to mining areas (cont.)*

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine	Name of migrant
Baetica	Minas de Riotinto, Huelva, Spain	Olisipo	5354	Rio Tinto (H43; Cu; Arg; Fe)	Anon.
Baetica	Minas de Riotinto, Huelva, Spain	Olisipo	24835	Rio Tinto (H43; Cu; Arg; Fe)	Lucius Julius Reburinus
Baetica	Moura, Portugal	Pax Julia	22777	Crueira (POR10; Cu)	Asinia Priscilla
Baetica	Santo Amador, Portugal	Pax Julia	805	Ruy Gomes (POR8; Cu)	Modesta
Baetica	Villanueva de los Castillejos, Huelva, Spain	Olisipo	5363	Concepcion (H6; Cu)	Anon.
Baetica	Zafra, Badajoz, Spain	Segeda	822	Cerro de la Mina (BA60; Arg; Pb)	Sperata
Baetica	Zalamea de La Serena, Badajoz, Spain	Augusta Emerita	4495	Atollar de los Frailes (H61; Arg; Pb)	Tongilia Maxuma
Baetica	Zalamea de La Serena, Badajoz, Spain	Victoriacum?	4519	Atollar de los Frailes (H61; Arg; Pb)	Lucius Marcus Rusticus
Lusitania	Alía, Cáceres, Spain	Lancia	24127	Santa Quiteria (TO1; Arg; Pb)	Fuscus

Age	Sex	Text	Distance (Km)
		-----/[---]sis/[---] Oli/[siponen]sis an(norum)/ [---h(ic)] s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)/[---] facien/[dum curavit]	250.4
41	M	D(iis) M(anibus) S(acrum)/L(ucius) · Iulius · Reb/urinus · Olisip(onensis)/an(norum) · XLI h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st) · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(euis)/Fortunata con/tubernalis f(aciendum) · c(uravit) ·	250.4
31	F	D(is) · M(anibus) · s(acrum) · A-sin(ia) Pr/iscilla/Pac(ensis) · c(oniu?) · r(arissima?) · an/n(or)um XXXI h(ic) s(ita) e(st)/A (---) · H(---) · u(xori) · p(iissimae) · p(onendum) · c(uravit)/s(it) · t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)	38.8
12	F	Modesta · Mo/desti filia/Pacensis/ann(or)um · XII/[h(ic) s(ita)] e(st) · te · r(ogo) · p(raeteriens) · d(icas) · s(it) ·/[t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)] mater f(ecit)	49.9
		]sm[---/---]R O[li]/sipo/ne(n)sis/[h(ic)] s(itus) e(st)	236.1
45	F	D(is) · M(anibus) · s(acrum)/ L(---) · E(---) · Sperata · Seged{i}ensis · ann(or)um · XXXV · h(ic) s(ita) · e(st) ·/L(---) · Quaternus uxori/ · et L (---) · Cincinatus · matri/optumae posuerunt ·	526.3
60	F	Tongilia · T(iti) · f(ilia) · Maxuma · Scaevini/Emeritensis · annorum · LX · sibi · et/L(ucio) · Granio · L(uci) · f(ilio) Pap(iria) · Scaevino · viro/ann(or)um · LXXXV · d(e) · s(ua) · p(ecunia) · f(aciendum) · c(uravit) · h(ic) · s(iti) · s(unt) · s(it) · v(obis) · t(erra) levis	66.8
70	M	L(ucius) · Marcius/Rusticus · Vi/ctor(---) · an(norum) · LXX ·/h(ic) · s(itus) · est · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis) ·/Tab(u) la · f(aciendum) · c(uravit)	529.6
50	M	Fuscus/Dobiteri [f(ilius)]/ · Lanciens(is)/ an(norum) · L · h(ic) · s(itus) e(st) s(it)/t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis) ·	342.6

TABLE 6.1 *Migrants to mining areas (cont.)*

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine	Name of migrant
Lusitania	Beja, Portugal (Pax Julia)	Olisipo	20424	Between Aljustrel (POR2; Cu; Arg; Fe) and Pax Julia (find spot in Haley 1991: 93)	M. Iulius Avitus
Lusitania	Belver, Portugal	Clunia	16743	Tagus River 1: Mouricos (POR33; Au)	Gaius Sempronius Aebarus
Lusitania	Capinha, Portugal	Meidubriga	20296	Meimoa (POR18; Au)	Hispanus
Lusitania	Condeixa-a- Velha, Portugal	Conimbriga	22185	Repatriated from Mons Marianus	Vegetus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Clunia	5597	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Gaius Fabius
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Clunia	20090	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Aternus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaedit-anorum)	Clunia	20152	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Lucius Cornelius
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaedit-anorum)	Clunia	20170	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Gaius Valerius
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaedit-anorum)	Conimbriga	20171	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Marcus Allacarius Celer Paulliannus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaedit-anorum)	Salmantica	21457	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Lucius Antius Avitus

Age	Sex	Text	Distance (Km)
30	M	M(arcus) Iulius/Avitus O/lisip(onensis) annor(um)/xxx H(ic) S(itus) (hedera) (est)	136.5
	M	C(aius) Sempron/ius Aebaru[s]/Viscunos Ni[---]/f(ilius) Clunie(n)s(is) an(norum) x[---]/h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) [t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)]	477.5
50	M	Hispanus Tangini f(ilius) Mei/dubrigensis ann(orum) L h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/Cessee Celti f(ilia) soror ob merita f(aciendum) c(uravit)	90
18	M	Vegeto Aviti f(ilio)/an(norum) xviii defuncto/Monte Mariano/o(ssis) t(ranslatis) Avitus Arconis f(ilius)/et Rufina Rufi f(ilia)/parentes f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)	600
	M	C(aio) · Fabio · C(ai) · f(ilio) · Verno/Cluniensi · Fabiae/Fabi(i) · lib(ertae) · Bassae · heres/ex · test(amento) · Bassae f(aciendum) · c(uravit) · s(it) · v(obis) · t(erra) · l(evis)	388.7
20	M	Aternus A[---]/cae f(ilius) Clun(iensis)/an(norum) xx h(ic) s(itus)/e(st)/[s(it) t(ibi)] t(erra) l(evis)	388.7
40	M	L(ucius) Cornelius Q(uinti) f(ilius)/Cluniens(is) an(norum)/xl · h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st) s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis)	388.7
	M	P(ublio) Valerio/Celti · f(ilio) · Quir(ina)/Clementi/ C(aius) Valerius/Gal(eria) Clu(niensis)/ - - - - -	388.7
	M	Valgiae C(ai)/f(iliae)/Flaccillae/M(arcus) Allacarius/Celer Paullia/nus Conimbri/gensis	115.2
	M	Aemil[i]a[e] Rufina[e]/L(ucius) Antius Avitus Salmantic(ensis)/mar(itus) [et] h(eres) ex te[stamento] f(aciendum) c(uravit)]	165.6

TABLE 6.1 *Migrants to mining areas* (cont.)

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine	Name of migrant
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaedit-anorum)	Libia	21458	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Arrenus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Clunia	21469	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Tuatrus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Lancia	24873	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Annius Valens
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Clunia	25987	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Lautrus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Augusta Emerita	25988	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Gaius Furius Lycius/Gaius Furius Eutyches
Lusitania	La Nava de Ricomalillo, Toledo, Spain	Toletum	212	Nava de Ricomalillo (TO2; Au)	Anius
Lusitania	La Nava de Ricomalillo, Toledo, Spain	Avila	215	Nava de Ricomalillo (TO2; Au)	Maeso
Lusitania	Meimoa, Portugal	Clunia	18926	Herdade da Tinoca (POR29; Cu)	Titus Domitius Postumus
Lusitania	Penacova, Portugal	Sellium?	22693	Furados de Pombeiro (POR19; Au)	G. Valerius Juilianus
Lusitania	Plasenzuela, Cáceres, Spain	Turgalium	20342	Plasenzuela (CC2; Arg; Pb)	Libaeco
Lusitania	Salvatierra de Santiago, Cáceres, Spain	Augusta Emerita	25057	Plasenzuela (CC2; Arg; Pb)	Roscia Caesia

Age	Sex	Text	Distance (Km)
	M	Arreno Cresce/ntis f(ilio) Libiensi/Maurilla Celeris/lib (erta) marito f(aciendum) c(uravit)	442.2
	M	Tuatro/Fronto/nis (filio) Clun(iensi)/Reburrus/ frater/f(aciendum) c(uravit)	388.7
	M	Anniae/Vegetae/Anni(i) · Valentis/Lanciensis · f(iliae)/ex · testamento/Anniae Rufinae/matris eius ·	317
	M	Luatro/Fronto/[n]is f(ilio) Clun(iensi)/[R]eburrus/ [f]rater/f(aciendum) c(uravit)	388.7
50 /20?	M/M	L(ucius) · Cocceius/Lycius · an(norum) · C/C(aius) · Furius · Lycius/Emer(itensis) · an(norum) · L/C(aius) · Furius · Eutyches/Emer(itensis) · an(norum) xx/ — — — — ?	138.6
50	M	Anius · Alpeti/f(ilius) · Toletanus/an(norum) · L · h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st)/s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis)	85.8
	M	Maeso · B/urri f(ilius) · Av/ile(nsis) h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st)	114.9
66	M	T(itus) Domitius [— — —]/Postumus Clun(iensis)/an(norum) LXVI h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)]/L(ucius) Dom(itius) Postuminus P[— — —]	440
18	M	G(aius) Valerius Iulianus Seiliensis/annorum XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)/M(arcus) Antonius Iulianus/fratri piissimo/faciendum curavit	75
	M	Libaeco/Caenici f(ilio)/Turgalese/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	16.7
50	F	Roscia · C(ai) · f(ilia)/Caesia/Emerite(nsis)/an(norum) · L/h(ic) · s(ita) · e(st) · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis)	51.2

TABLE 6.1 *Migrants to mining areas (cont.)*

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine	Name of migrant
Lusitania	Sevilleja de la Jara, Toledo, Spain	Clunia	213	Nava de Ricomalillo (TO2; Au)	L. Cornelius Hispanus
Lusitania	Sierra de Fuentes, Cáceres, Spain	Turgalium?	22090	Plasenzuela (CC2; Arg; Pb)	Maxsuma Teia
Tarraco-nensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Uxama Ibarca	2899	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Baebius Latro
Tarraco-nensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Clunia	18764	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Anon.
Tarraco-nensis	Baños de la Encina, Jaén, Spain	Clunia	546	Salas de Galiarda (J10; Cu)	Titus Pompeius Fraternus
Tarraco-nensis	Cacabelos, León, Spain	Uxama (Argaela)	11997	Toral de los Vados (LE55; Au)	Flavia
Tarraco-nensis	Santa Colomba de Somoza, León, Spain	Clunia	14454	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Aternus
Tarraco-nensis	Tresminas, Portugal	Clunia	6668	Três Minas (POR45; Au)	Magius
Tarraco-nensis	Tresminas, Portugal	Clunia	7757	Três Minas (POR45; Au)	Titus Boutius
Tarraco-nensis	Tresminas, Portugal	Clunia	7758	Três Minas (POR45; Au)	Gaius Septumius
Tarraco-nensis	Tresminas, Portugal	Clunia	7759	Três Minas (POR45; Au)	Gaius Licinius
Tarraco-nensis	Tresminas, Portugal	Clunia	7760	Três Minas (POR45; Au)	Sorex
Tarraco-nensis	Tresminas, Portugal	Clunia	8207	Três Minas (POR45; Au)	Cornelius? Couneancus

Age	Sex	Text	Distance (Km)
45	M	L(ucius) · Cornelius · Hispa/nus Clu(niensis) · an(norum) · XLV/h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st) s(it) · t(ibi) t(erra) · l(evis)	324.9
20	F	Maxsu/ma · Teia/Turcale(nsis)/Arconi · /[[f(ilia)] · an(norum) · xx/[h(ic)] · s(ita) · e(st) · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis)	34.1
13	M	Baebius/Latro Nig/ri f(ilius)/Uxama/Ibarcens/is/an(norum) XIII/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	249.8
		-----/[---]A · VEN+A[---/---] · Clun(iensi)	193.4
15	M	T(itus) Pompei/us C(ai) f(ilius) Ga/leria Fr/aternus/Cluniens/ is an(norum) xv/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/t(e) r(ogo) p(raeteriens) d(icas) s(it) t(ibi)/t(erra) l(evis)	462.5
	F	Deae/Degant+[---]/Flavia Fl[av(i)]/in hono[rem]/ Argael[orum]/f(ecit) l(ibens) e(x) [v(oto)]	321.9
60	M	Atern... Mni F. Clu...LX HSE.... VS	209.2
20?	M	[- M]agius/[Ma]gi f(ilius) Clun/iensis an/norum xx[-]/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	330.1
40	M	T(itus) Bouti/[---]o Seg/onti f(ilius) Cl(uniensis) an(norum) xL/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	330.1
30	M	C(aius) Septumius/[---] f(ilius) Clu(niensis) a(nnorum)/ [---]xxx/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	330.1
25	M	C(aius) Licinius/Clun(iensis) an(norum)/xxv h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	330.1
30	M	-] Sorex/Clu(niensis)/an(norum) xxx/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)	330.1
40	M	C(ornelius?) Coune/ancus/Fusci [f(ilius)] Clu(niensis)/ [a]n(norum) xL/LA CIV/[-----]/vs C/xxx h(ic) s(itus) e(st)	330.1

TABLE 6.2 *Migrants to mining areas (onomastics)*

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine ^a	Name of migrant ^b
Baetica	Calañas, Huelva, Spain	Limici (Castellum Berensis)	1783	Sotiel Coronada (H2o; Cu)	Reburrus
Baetica	Jabugo, Huelva, Spain	Limici (Castellum Talabriga)	7754	Concepcion (H6; Cu)	Anceitus
Baetica	Niebla, Huelva, Spain	Limici	1688	Rio Corumbel (H36; Cu; Arg; Pb)	Celer
Baetica	Santa Eufemia, Córdoba, Spain	Tapori	4366	Las Morras (CO110; Arg; Pb)	Arantonius
Baetica	Santa Eufemia, Córdoba, Spain	Tapori	4367	Las Morras (CO110; Arg; Pb)	Lupus
Baetica	Zafra, Badajoz, Spain	Igaeditania	821	Cerro de la Mina (BA6o; Arg; Pb)	Allia Severa
Lusitania	Garvão, Portugal	Bracarii (Castellum Durbede)	20469	Aljustrel (POR2; Cu; Arg; Fe)	Ladronus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Lancienses Oppidani	20089	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Albinus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Paesuri	20146	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Caturo
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Interan-nienses	20172	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Vegetus

a Text in parentheses provides the site reference number in Domergue's 1987 catalogue of mines, together with the type of metals produced (Au = gold; Arg = silver; Cu = copper; Fe = iron; Pb = lead).

b The name of the migrant does not always relate to the deceased, but sometimes to the commemorator.

Age	Sex	Text ^c	Distance (km) ^d
	M	Reburrus/Vacisi · f(ilius) · caste/llo · Berensi/Limicus · h(ic) · s(itus) · e(st)/[A]pu[s] · fratr(i)/fecit	495.8
30	M	Anceitus Vaccei f(ilius) Limi/cus (castello) Talabriga an(norum)/xxx h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) [F]lavus Aquilus frater/suus et Talavius Cloutius/Cloutai f(ilius) et Urtienus/Turdae f(ilius) et fratres eius/ [f]aciendum curaveru[nt]/ob m(erita) eius	468.8
	M	Celer Erbuti f(ilius) Limicus/Borea Cantibedoniensi/muneris tes(s)era(m) dedit/anno M(arco) Licinio co(n)s(ule)	531.1
	M	Arantoni/us Cili f(ilius)/[T]aporu[s]/ — — — — —	286.3
35	M	Lupus Ca/mali Tap(orus)/ann(orum) xx/xv h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/t(e) r(ogo) p(raeteriens) d(icas) s(it)/t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)	286.3
22	F	Allia · Severa/Igaeditana/ann(orum) · xxii/h(ic) · s(ita) · e(st) · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis)/Allia · Modesta/ mater/f(aciendum) c(uravit)	185.7
30	M	Ladronu[s]/Dovai · Bra[ca]/rus · castell[o]/Durbede · [h]ic/ situs es[t]/an(n)o/ru[m] xxx/[s(it) t(ibi)] t(erra) l(evis)	484.7
	M	Albino Tangini f(ilio)/Lancie(n)si Oppidano/Amoena Maelonis/ex tes(tamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit)	35.9
50	M	[Ca]turon/[Me]dami f(ilio) Paesuri/[an]n(orum) L Sulla Arci f(ilius)/ex testamento f(aciendum) c(uravit)	139.5
	M	D(is) · · M(anibus) · · s(acrum) /Vegeto · Vegetini · f(ilio) / Interaniensi · Amo/ena Nigri · libert(a) · ma/rito et sibi · f(aciendum) · c(uravit)	100.6

c The texts of the inscriptions are drawn from the *Hispania Epigraphica Online Database*, adapted where necessary.

d Distances are measured as a straight line between the point of origin and the findspot; in reality, journeys must have been longer.

TABLE 6.2 *Migrants to mining areas (onomastics)* (cont.)

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine	Name of migrant
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Lancienses Oppidani	24874	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Aunia
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Interamici?	24876	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Camalus
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	Tapori	24892	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)	Anius
Tarraconensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Lemavi (Castellum Eritaecum)	6714	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Fabia/Virius
Tarraconensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Cileni	8460	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Amia Prisca
Tarraconensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Supertamarci (Castellum Blanio-brense)	8732	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Fusca
Tarraconensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Supertamarci	8734	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Anon.
Tarraconensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Brigiaecini	14387	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Aelia Ver(i)na
Tarraconensis	Astorga, León, Spain	Supertamarci	14390	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Clarinus Celticus
Tarraconensis	Baños de la Encina, Jaén, Spain	Oregeno-mesci / Cantabri	12801	Salas de Galiarda (J10; Cu)	Paternus
Tarraconensis	Cacabelos, León, Spain	Interamici (Castellum Louciocelo)	19243	Toral de los Vados (LE55; Au)	Festus

Age	Sex	Text	Distance (Km)
	F	Auniae Arantoni(i)/Celtiatici f(iliae) Lanc(iensi) Oppidanae/ Cocceia Silonis f(ilia) Avita/Naevia Silonis f(ilia) Clara matri/f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)	35.9
	M	Camalo/Talonti/Entara/mico	198.3
	M	[A?]nius/[C]elti · f(ilius)/[T]aporus/[--- C]areo/ [---]S/ -----?	39.8
40/7	F/M	Fabia · E·buri/f(ilia) · Lemava · (castello)/Eritaeco a(nnorum)/XL · Virius · / Caessi · f(ilius) · Le/mav(u)s · (castello) eo/dem · an(norum) · /VII hic · s(iti) · s(unt) · / Caessius/ -----	127.9
50	F	D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)/[A]mia Prisca/[C]ilena ann(orū) L/h(ic) s(ita) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)/Alfius Proculus/ uxori piissimae	205.7
	F	Fusca Co/edi f(ilia) Celti/ca Superta(marica)/ (castello) Blaniobr/ensi Seco/ilia Coedi f(ilia)/soror sua/posuit	210.2
40	M	----- /[--- Cel]ti[cu]s/Supertama/r(i)cus an(norum) XL/h(ic) s(itus) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)	210.2
20	F	Aelia Ver(i)na/Legirniccorum/Brigiaecina/an(norum) XX h(ic)/s(ita) e(st)	59.4
6	M	Clarinu/s Clari f(ilius) Celticus Su/pertama(ricus) ann(orū) VI h(ic)/s(itus) · e(st) s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) [l(evis)]	210.2
20	M	D(is) [M(anibus) s(acrum)]/Paternus/Cant(aber) Orgen/ ome(scus) f(rater) f(ecit)/an(norum) XX	581.5
3	M	Festus · Lov/esi · f(ilius) · Intera/micus exs/ (castello) Louciocel/o · hic · sepeli/tus · est · an(norum)/ · III	93

TABLE 6.2 *Migrants to mining areas (onomastics)* (cont.)

Province	Find spot	Point of origin	HE no.	Nearest mine	Name of migrant
Tarraconensis	Carboneros, Jaén, Spain	Egelestani	11834	Los Palazuelos (J14; Arg; Pb)	Q. Manlius Bassus
Tarraconensis	Chaves, Portugal	Interamaci	7728	Trincheiras (POR43; Au)	Reburrus
Tarraconensis	Felgar, Portugal	Seurri (Castellum Narelia)	12607	Urros (Au)	Reburrus
Tarraconensis	Felgueiras, Portugal (C. Bracaraugu- stanus)	Seurri Transmi- niensis (Castellum Serante)	20028	Urros (Au)	Tridia
Tarraconensis	Fiães, Portugal	Limici	7787	Trincheiras (POR43; Au)	Camalus
Tarraconensis	Santa Colomba de Somoza, León, Spain	Supertamarci (Castellum Lubri)	7455	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Eburia
Tarraconensis	Santa Colomba de Somoza, León, Spain	Cileni?	19250	Rio Turienzo (LE37; Au)	Albinus
Tarraconensis	Santa Comba, Coruña, Spain	Cileni (Castellum Berisamo)	18642	Pozo Limideiro (Cg; Au)	Caeleo

Age	Sex	Text	Distance (Km)
50	M	Q(uintus) M[an]lius Q(uinti) f(ilius)/Bass[u]s Egelesta/nus	62.6
	M	a[n]n(orum) L[[R]eburrus/Viriatis/Interamicus [	45.7
62	M	Reburrus/Ari · Seuru/s · I(castello) Nareli/a · an(norum) · LXII	177.5
20	F	Tridiae M/odesti f(iliae) Se/urr[a]e T/ransm(iniensis)/exs (castello) Se/rante/an(norum) xx Va/lerius u(xori) f(ecit)	183.3
	M	Camalus/Mibois(?) Lim[icus (curia)] Livai(rum) h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)] Iul(ius) [	48
26	F	Eburia/Calveni f(ilia)/Celtica/Sup(ertamarica) (castello)/ Lubri an(norum)/xxvi h(ic) s(ita) e(st)	210.2
60?	M	Albin[us]/Albur[i f(ilius)]/Cilinu[s]/ann(orum) · LX[.?]/ h(ic) · s(itus) ·	205.7
60	M	Caeleo Cadro/iolonis f(ilius) Cilen/us (castello) Berisamo/ an(norum) LX et Caesa/rus Caeleonis/f(ilius) an(norum) xv/h(ic) s(iti) s(unt)	62.4

TABLE 6.3 *Migrants of uncertain origo*

Province	Find spot	HE ref	Mine ^a
Baetica	Minas de Riotinto, Huelva, Spain	5352	Rio Tinto (H43; Cu; Arg; Fe)
Baetica	Minas de Riotinto, Huelva, Spain	5355	Rio Tinto (H43; Cu; Arg; Fe)
Baetica	Paymogo, Huelva, Spain	5359	S. Domingos (POR7; Cu; Arg)
Lusitania	Idanha-a-Velha, Portugal (Civitas Igaeditanorum)	5622	Monfortinho (POR17; Au)
Lusitania	Villar del Rey, Badajoz, Spain	20233	Herdade da Tinoca (POR29; Cu)
Tarraconensis	Lugo, Galicia, Spain	25990	Moncelos (LU1; Au)
Tarraconensis	Padrón, Galicia, Spain	11959	Cobas de Fornas (C9; Au)

^a Text in parentheses provides the site reference number in Domergue's 1987 catalogue of mines, together with the type of metals produced (Au = gold; Arg = silver; Cu = copper; Fe = iron; Pb = lead).

Name of migrant ^b	Age	Sex	Text ^c
Anon.	30		-----/[b]rigensis/annorum xxx/h(ic) s(it-) e(st) s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)
Anon.			-----/[---]pensis
Iulia Gratilliana		F	Iul[ia] Gratillia/[na] [---]igen/s[is h(ic) s(ita)] e(st) s(it) t(ibi) terra) l(evis)
Anon.	35		-----/[---]nsis/an(norum) · xxxv/ h(ic) · s(itus) · est · s(it) · t(ibi) · t(erra) · l(evis)/ Paternus/fr(atri) · f(aciendum) · c(uravit) ·
Accius Aloncus		M	Accius/Bouti · f(ilius)/Aloncus/Instinie(n)sis/ hic · situs/est/Taurus · Arci/f(ilius) · Ammicius/ statuit · et · /scripsit // Bolos/a Vapi (filia)
Anon.		M	-----/[---] Iria · Flavie[nsis --- / ---] filio f(aciendum) · c(uravit)
Cambavius	50	M	Cambavius/Corali f(ilius)/SENA For(o)irie(n) s(is)/annorum L/h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis)

^b The name of the migrant does not always relate to the deceased, but sometimes to the commemorator.

^c The texts of the inscriptions are drawn from the *Hispania Epigraphica Online Database*, adapted where necessary.

State-Organised Mobility in the Roman Empire: Legionaries and Auxiliaries

Saskia T. Roselaar

Introduction

The Roman army in the first century CE was responsible for a great deal of mobility in the Empire. Legionary soldiers and auxiliaries, from Italy or the provinces, were sent to the furthest corners of the Empire, often serving in several provinces during their time under arms. Since there were about 125,000 legionaries in service at any one time, plus some 225,000 auxiliaries,¹ the mobility caused by these servants of the Roman state was enormous. It is obvious that the movements of legionaries and auxiliaries were not necessarily voluntary: although soldiers usually signed up of their own free will, the Roman state decided where they were sent, so that they – similar to slaves – had little say in their own mobility. This type of mobility should therefore not be compared directly to other types of movements which were more ‘free’, e.g. of merchants and labourers, discussed elsewhere in this volume.

Scholarship so far has mostly studied the movements of military personnel in active service and the settlement of veterans in colonies.² However, veterans were not directly controlled by the state, and were free to go their own way. Discharged veterans were free to make their own decision as to where to settle: some joined colonies established by the state for the express purpose of settling veterans, others returned to their place of origin, while yet others remained in the area in which they had last served or moved elsewhere altogether. Although these movements were the result of the veterans’ own wishes, they were still influenced by the Roman state, since the government decided where soldiers served. Auxiliaries after their discharge usually received Roman citizenship, but were not normally settled in colonies. This meant that they had the choice to return home, stay in the area where they had served, or move somewhere else entirely. Such choices depended on many variables, such as the length of time a

1 Duncan-Jones 1994: 34; figures for 150 CE.

2 It should be pointed out that soldiers not only stayed in their camps, but also moved around outside for many reasons, e.g. scouting, policing duties, trade with civilians, et cetera, as can be seen in the duty rosters from Vindolanda and Dura-Europos. For some examples, see Wierschowski 1982 and 1984.

soldier had served in a specific region, the type of relationships he had built with people in the area, the origin of his wife, if he had one, and the ties he had maintained with his home town. All these motivations were equally valid to a former legionary soldier or auxiliary facing the choice of where to settle, and it is very difficult for us to reconstruct why the final choice was made.

This paper will investigate the nature of this state-organised mobility in more detail, focusing on two case studies, namely legionaries recruited from Northern Italy and auxiliaries from the Batavian units. These case studies were chosen because they both form well-defined groups, which are not too large and are well documented in the sources.³ For both groups a reasonably large body of scholarship exists, which makes it easier to focus on the questions debated in this paper. Furthermore, these two groups can be considered representative of other legionaries and auxiliaries, at least for the purpose of the issues investigated here: they experienced the same kind of mobility as other groups in the army and the motivations behind their choice of where to settle after service were impacted by the same factors. First, we will investigate where these men were recruited and what may have been the motivations behind these recruitment patterns. We will then explore their movements after discharge from the army. We will try to determine where soldiers settled and whether there were differences between legionary and auxiliary soldiers; were such decisions affected by different factors for legionaries and auxiliaries?

In this way we can evaluate the importance of the state in the overall level of mobility of the Roman Empire. The state stimulated mobility by creating circumstances of peaceful trade and an infrastructure to facilitate it, and by integrating the Mediterranean in an economic sense – all these circumstances were conducive to voluntary mobility. It is also clear, however, that state-organised mobility of military personnel involved a large number of people, and this accounted for a significant proportion of long-distance mobility within the Empire.

Recruitment of Legionaries

The Roman state had a direct impact on the mobility of its subjects by the way in which it recruited men for the armies. The methods of recruitment varied

3 I have excluded Batavians who served in the imperial horse guard at Rome itself, since they enjoyed a higher status and concomitant wealth than other auxiliaries. They were also less mobile during service than other auxiliaries, so that their opportunities to interact with civilians were different from those of others. All this suggests that their motivations for mobility after service differed from those of other Batavians and auxiliaries generally, although further research is needed to test this hypothesis.

over time, according to the urgency of the need for men. In some periods conscription was used, but most men in the first century CE joined voluntarily.⁴ As has been argued recently,⁵ joining the army was attractive: the risks of military action and the requirement to subject oneself to an external authority were compensated by a regular and relatively high income, supplemented by occasional booty and donatives.

The regions from which men were recruited changed over time. Until the end of Augustus' reign, most legionaries came from Italy itself, with emergency levies made elsewhere during campaigns. Italy remained the most important source of recruits in the first half of the first century CE, but the percentage of Italians in the army declined sharply in the second part of the century. In general it is estimated that up to the time of Claudius and Nero about 50% of new recruits were Italians.⁶ From Nero onwards, Italians were only recruited when a whole new legion was created, e.g. I Italica in 67.⁷ When existing legions were supplemented, provincials were often recruited from the region the legions were stationed in; in 54, for instance, Nero filled up several legions with provincial recruits.⁸ Therefore, the ethnic composition of legions varied greatly, depending on where they were stationed. For example, many legionaries had been recruited into the legions stationed in the eastern provinces in the first half of the first century BC.⁹ An inscription from Koptos in Egypt, possibly dating to the Augustan period, lists 36 men, of whom 33 were from the eastern provinces, including many from Egypt itself.¹⁰ Despite the fact that in this period Italians still formed the majority of the army in general, this was clearly not the case in all legions. After the mid-first century, the place of Italians in the legions was gradually taken over by the descendants of Italians settled in colonies in Narbonensis, Spain, and Africa, and men who had settled in the frontier zones; their sons would have been familiar with army life from birth and joining the army would therefore have been a logical choice.¹¹

4 Wesch-Klein 2007: 436–437.

5 Cf. Rosenstein 2004: 80–93, focusing on the Middle Republic.

6 Forni 1953: 65; 1974; Dobson and Mann 1973: 192–193.

7 Suet. *Nero* 19.2. See Forni 1953: 69. Only the urban cohorts of Rome and the praetorian guard consisted mainly of Italians; according to Tac. *Ann.* 4.5 these were “recruited mainly from Etruria and Umbria or Latium Vetus and the earlier Roman colonies” (presumably colonies settled in Italy during the Republican period).

8 Tac. *Ann.* 13.7.1; see *Ann.* 13.35.1.

9 Forni 1953: 61–64. All movements of legions discussed in this paper have been taken from Farnum 2005.

10 *CIL* 3, 6627 = *ILS* 2483. The inscription is dated by various scholars either to the Augustan or the Flavian period.

11 Dobson and Mann 1973: 192–193.

We will now briefly re-evaluate these theories, paying special attention to the places of origin of legionaries from Italy. For this purpose I created a database of all Italians in the Roman legions for the period from Augustus up to the reign of Trajan.¹² This database contains 370 individuals who certainly or probably originated from Italy and whose places of residence after retirement can be determined, mostly from epitaphs mentioning their *origo*. For another 13 we know that they originated from Italy, but not where they settled.¹³ In addition to these 370 men, there are 596 legionaries of whom we know that they came from other provinces than Italy. This results in a total of 966 men of whom we know the origins, of whom 383 were Italians.

It is important to emphasise that we know the details of very few soldiers, despite the fact that soldiers, more often than civilians, mentioned their place of origin on their tombs. If we assume that on average there were 25 legions in service at any one time, and that a legion had a nominal strength of 5000, then at any one time 125,000 men were on duty. If every soldier served for 25 years, then 625,000 men were recruited in the 125-year period between 20 BCE and 105 CE. However, if only about half of the recruits served for the full 25 years,¹⁴ many more than 625,000 men must have been recruited. These figures are only indicative, but they serve to illustrate how little we know about the men recruited into the Roman army – for only 0.1% of all legionaries we have information about their geographical origin.

Nevertheless, from these limited data we can draw some interesting conclusions. For the period of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula,¹⁵ 179 Italian recruits can be identified, while the number of men with provincial origins is 137. This

12 Including data from Forni 1953; 1974; Mann 1983; Todisco 1999.

13 In creating the database I have included all soldiers' epitaphs which explicitly mention home towns. In the case of graves from Italy, I have included all men who mention that they had served in the army; if they do not mention their home town, I have assumed that they were born in the place where they died – a reasonable assumption, in my view, although this was of course not necessarily true; for example, one man was born in Verona, as he mentions on his grave, but buried in Comum (*CIL* 13, 6834a). I have excluded soldiers who were settled in Italy in colonies established by emperors. I have tried to include only veterans, i.e. men who had been discharged. Men who died while still on active duty had not yet made a settlement choice and therefore do not contribute to our knowledge of settlement patterns of veterans. However, it is not always clear whether the deceased was retired or not, unless it is specified they were *veteranus* (see Haynes 2013: 341 for different legal types of dismissal). I have chosen only to include people who specifically mention a home town, and not included evidence from voting *tribus*, as Forni does, since this is more difficult to interpret.

14 Wesch-Klein 2007: 441.

15 The dating refers to the period of recruitment; the dates given by Forni 1953 are used here.

means that 43% of soldiers had provincial origins, with many (31, or 23% of all provincials) from Narbonensis. There were also large contingents of men from Galatia, Paphlagonia, and Lycaonia (23%) and from Macedon (11%), while most of the other Eastern provinces supplied a few men each. For the period of Claudius and Nero we know 121 Italians and 144 provincials: 54% were from the provinces, with again a very large part from Narbonensis (40% of all provincials). Hispania now becomes more important, with 13% of recruits; the Eastern provinces have become relatively less important, while many regions provide soldiers for the first time, e.g. Noricum and Dalmatia.

For the Flavian and Trajanic periods we have 83 Italians and 302 provincials (78%). Narbonensis, with 11% of all provincials, is still important, but other regions have overtaken it: Syria and Palestine now supply 18% of all soldiers. Previously established veteran colonies, such as Cologne (24 men), Lugdunum (8), Virunum (9), and Savaria (6) are now important sources of recruits. Other men had settled near army camps and now sent their sons to the army. Theveste, for example, supplied 7 men and Carnuntum 2. Nevertheless, despite the appearance of such 'sons of soldiers', many men come from locations with no direct link to the military. Their recruitment must be ascribed to other reasons, e.g. personal networks that we cannot identify, or simply the attractiveness of military life.

Remarkably, most Italian soldiers whose origins are known came from the northern part of the peninsula, especially from Cisalpina; the number of known soldiers from central and southern Italy is very small (26 in the earliest period, half of them from Florentia in Etruria; 10 in the second period, and 13 in the third). Various explanations for the northern predominance can be suggested; firstly, many veterans of the Civil Wars had been settled in northern Italy, so perhaps their descendants retained the military traditions of their families. Furthermore, some of the largest towns in Italy were located in Cisalpina; it would stand to reason that they furnished the largest number of soldiers.

Nevertheless, this connection is not automatic: when looking at the towns in Italy recorded most frequently as the *origo* of soldiers, some interesting patterns appear. Some towns are mentioned far more often than others, especially Brixia (7 times for soldiers recruited from Augustus to Caligula, 8 times under Claudius and Nero, and 9 times under the Flavians and Trajan), Cremona (11, 6, and 3 respectively), Mediolanum (13, 17, and 5) and Verona (15, 6, and 6). The number of soldiers recruited was not always directly related to the population size of the town. Some of the towns that occur most frequently were indeed large: by the Augustan period, Mediolanum was the second-largest town of Cisalpine Gaul; Brixia, Cremona, and Verona were also among the largest.¹⁶ Other large towns are mentioned less

¹⁶ de Ligt 2012: 289–303.

frequently; De Ligt places fifteen towns in the category measuring over 40 hectares, but not all of them appear regularly. Patavium, the largest of all, appears only 6 times as home town of veteran soldiers. Other towns measuring about 40–50 ha vary in the number of soldiers they provide: Bononia is very common with 13 men, as are Augusta Taurinorum (12), Placentia (9), and Hasta (8), but Altinum supplied only 3 soldiers and Aquileia and Mutina 5 each. Some of the smaller towns (measuring 20 to 40 hectares) are represented more often than their relatively small size would lead us to expect, e.g. Ateste (9 men), Pollentia (7), Ticinum (7), and Vercellae (8). Others of the same relative size appear rarely or not at all, e.g. Caesena, Claterna, Genua, Industria, Libarna, and Novaria. Some small towns (measuring less than 20 ha) still contributed some men, e.g. Brixellum, Forum Fulvii, and Tergeste – the latter furnished five soldiers in the database, more than some larger towns. Most of the smallest towns are not recorded, however.

It is difficult to explain these patterns of recruitment and settlement. Generally, soldiers signed up voluntarily; in cases where men from small towns appear more often, it may be that they were motivated by the actions of friends or family – if a few men from one town joined the army, others from the same town may have followed their example. Such information flows mediated by social networks are known to cause ‘chain migration’ in the modern world; similar patterns may have played a role in the ancient world. Furthermore, men from large towns may not have seen the army as attractive, since these towns provided plenty of employment opportunities. Aquileia, for example, was the main harbour of Cisalpina,¹⁷ and therefore provided more economic opportunities than smaller, less well connected towns; this may explain why this city supplied fewer men to the army than many smaller towns.

This analysis confirms the proportions of Italians and provincial legionaries as calculated by Forni and other scholars as broadly correct, although the exact figures depend on which kinds of references are included or excluded. It should be emphasised, however, that the composition of individual legions varied greatly. We should also note that recruitment from the different Italian towns varied, not only according to their size, but also to local circumstances that induced men to sign up.

Legionaries from Northern Italy: Settlement Patterns

After their retirement from the army, legionaries faced the choice of where to settle. Colonies for veterans were established regularly during the early Principate,

¹⁷ Bonetto 2007.

especially during the time of Augustus. However, there was no coherent policy with regard to the settlement of veterans: the number of colonies was far too small to accommodate all retirees. The army did not assist veterans if they wanted to move back home or to another location (in contrast to new recruits, who received a *viaticum* to pay for travel to their units); nor did the state actively encourage veterans to settle in specific areas, e.g. frontier zones. This means that veterans were more or less free to decide where they wanted to go after their discharge. Since soldiers often served in the same place for a very long time, their most important social ties would have been with their fellow veterans, soldiers still under arms, and the civilian population in the area where they had served last.¹⁸

Tacitus gives an interesting view on veterans' choices: he records that Nero's attempts to repopulate Italian towns were unsuccessful, because

the majority slipp[ed] away into the provinces where they had completed their years of service; ... For the days had passed when entire legions – with tribunes, centurions, privates in their proper centuries – were so transplanted as to create, by their unanimity and their comradeship, a little commonwealth.¹⁹

Clearly social ties counted heavily for veterans making up their minds about where to settle after their discharge. State-organised settlement schemes may have been popular for some, but those who had already built a life for themselves in the provinces preferred to remain there. This passage also shows that veterans were free in their movements; being settled in a colony did not oblige a veteran to stay there. Possible evidence comes from Carnuntum: two Italians who had been stationed there may have been settled by Claudius in the colony of Savaria, but returned to Carnuntum.²⁰ Still, they recorded their home towns,

¹⁸ Dobson and Mann 1973: 196–197.

¹⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 14.27: *...dilapsis pluribus in provincias, in quibus stipendia expleverant; neque coniugiis suscipiendis neque alendis liberis sueti orbas sine posteris domos relinquebant. non enim, ut olim, universae legiones deducebantur cum tribunis et centurionibus et sui cuiusque ordinis militibus, ut consensu et caritate rem publicam efficerent [...]*. Suet. *Nero* 9 says that the men settled in Antium were 'veterans of the praetorian guard and...the wealthiest of the chief centurions, whom he compelled to change their residence' (*Antium coloniam deduxit ascriptis veteranis e praetorio additisque per domicilii translationem ditissimis primipilariis*). Apparently these men were not enthusiastic about moving to Antium.

²⁰ *AE* 1929, 200 and 204. They both have the *tribus* Claudia, which does not fit with other men at Carnuntum. Mann 1983: 32 therefore argues that they had first been settled in the colony at Savaria, which belonged to the *tribus* Claudia.

Verona and Faventia, on their graves, showing that they had not completely lost emotional connections with their *origo*. Furthermore, many men did accept the colonial lands assigned to them by Nero; several inscriptions of veterans from this period have been found in Tarentum.²¹

Economic considerations were also important in deciding where to settle. A veteran of the fifteenth legion worked as a trader at Cologne; it is likely that he had learned his trade in the army and had already created business relationships with civilians while still serving, or continued to supply the army when he retired.²² A *gladiatorius* (dealer in swords) likely also based his business on contacts established while in the army.²³ Veterans who bought land in the area near the camp could supply agricultural products to the army. In the hinterland of Cologne, for example, veterans received land, which many used to supply the army with agricultural goods. The veterans themselves probably lived in the town or in *villae rusticae* in the immediate surroundings of Cologne.²⁴

If we look at the destinations of the soldiers in our database, two main areas of settlement stand out: Germania and the Danubian provinces. Many men who had served in legions that were stationed in Germania settled there as well. Of XIV Gemina, stationed in Mainz from 10 to 43 CE, 31 certain or probable veterans were buried in Mainz or its surroundings; three of its men moved back to their Italian home towns. Nine men from IV Macedonica, stationed at Mainz from 43 to 69, were buried there or in its surroundings; three moved back to their Italian *origo*. Some settled in the only colony established in Germania Inferior, Cologne, but there are only two known examples of this. In places where no colonies were established, they clearly preferred settlement near the army camps over other options, such as returning home.

In Dalmatia more colonies were established for veterans, e.g. at Saloniae, which was established by Augustus and reinforced by Claudius. Fifteen Italian soldiers in our database settled there, mostly from Legio VII, which had been stationed at Tilurium less than 30 km away. Narona was created as a colony by Caesar or Augustus and received four Italian soldiers. Other Dalmatian colonies have yielded one to three Italian veterans, e.g. Aequum and Tragurium. Despite the large number of colonies in Dalmatia, many men chose to settle near the camps in which they had served. Legio XI was stationed at Burnum from 9–69 CE; twenty of its soldiers are known to us from Burnum, while three

²¹ Todisco 1999: 37–41.

²² *AE* 1978, 635. See Wierschowski 1982: 38.

²³ *CIL* 13, 6677 (Mainz). See Wierschowski 1982.

²⁴ Lenz 2006: 85–90; Haynes 2013: 359–363.

settled in Saloniae and two returned to Italy. Carnuntum was the station for VIII Augusta from 10–45 CE and for XV Apollinaris from 14–62 and 74–120 CE; twenty-three soldiers remained here after service. Vindonissa was guarded by XIII Gemina from 16–45 CE, XXI Rapax from 45–70, and XI Claudia from 70–101. It is remarkable that there is only one Italian here from XIII Gemina and none from XXI Rapax, while we have eight from XI Claudia. This means that a large proportion of the Italians who were still recruited in this late period were sent to Vindonissa. They were, however, mostly from different Italian towns, so this cannot be explained by local recruitment patterns and social networks in Italy. Men settled in colonies often came from different legions, suggesting that a different type of group identity was at work here than in the case of men who remained near their camps, and that different motivations were in play for a veteran who moved to a colony than for someone who opted to stay near the camp.

The choice was not always between staying near the camp, going to a colony, or going back home, however; men could also move somewhere else entirely. A large number of veterans – nine in our database – settled at Aquileia, possibly attracted by its economic opportunities. Men from Bergomum, Mutina, Verona, and Vercellae preferred to move here, rather than to their home towns.²⁵ Other choices cannot be explained easily; for example, a man from Eporedia settled in Scardona.²⁶ This was not a colony, but one of the main sea ports in the area, which may have attracted him.

These examples serve to illustrate the complexity of the settlement patterns of retired Roman legionaries. The data indicate some interesting patterns, but cannot explain the motivations of individual men. In general, however, it seems that settlement near army camps was the preferred choice, unless a colony was established in the near vicinity, as in the case of Saloniae. It may be the case that soldiers who were married and had children were more inclined to stay near the army camp, for example if they had married a local woman, or because they aspired to a military career for their children. Men who had fewer social ties within the camp, with fellow veterans or soldiers who had served, or with the local population, would have found it easier to move back home or somewhere else altogether. Many of these men may have been especially attracted by towns which flourished economically, such as Aquileia. To further establish the connections between social ties and the movements of veterans, it would be necessary to analyse the commemorators mentioned on the epitaphs, i.e. those who set up the grave stone. It would be interesting to know whether soldiers who remained near the army were more often commemorated by wives and children, while

²⁵ Todisco 1999: 225.

²⁶ *CIL* 3, 6413 = *ILS* 2258.

those who moved home were commemorated by parents, brothers, or other family members. This investigation, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

Settlement Location in Relation to Army Camps

Most army camps were surrounded by civilian settlements, called *canabae* in the case of legionary camps and *vici* in the case of auxiliary forts. The inhabitants of *canabae* and *vici* enjoyed social ties with soldiers, e.g. for trade and entertainment; soldiers' families also lived in the surrounding settlements. Cemeteries were placed further away from the camp, beyond the *vici*, and were used for both soldiers from the camps and civilians from the *vicus*.²⁷ Some *canabae* and *vici* developed into real towns, e.g. Exeter, York, Nijmegen, Mainz, Carnuntum, and Aquincum; in other cases they were abandoned when the army left.²⁸

When a soldier decided to remain near his last posting, he could move into the *vicus*, as happened at Jagsthausen, where *veterani consistentes* are attested,²⁹ but could also move slightly further away. If we look at the places of settlement of Italian veterans in Germania, some interesting patterns appear. The great majority of Italian soldiers who had served in Mainz settled in its direct surroundings: we have 68 inscriptions of veterans from the city itself and only three from distances of 25–30 kilometres away. For other locations the situation is similar: veterans settled very close to army camps, rather than in the hinterland. From Nijmegen three Italian soldiers are attested: two settled in the city and one some 15 km away. All three Italians stationed in Novaesium were buried in the town itself.

A detailed investigation of the areas along the Rhine and Meuse rivers shows that the number of rural sites grew quickly in the late first century, most likely because of veteran settlement. Most veterans settled in towns on the Rhine, especially Cologne, Novaesium, and Bonn. In the area around Cologne, most veterans settled in the town or very close to it, with only a few settling at distances up to 40 km away. Interestingly, men who had not served near Cologne settled there as well – out of 30 funerary inscriptions recording legionary veterans, eight commemorate men who had served elsewhere.³⁰ However, the distance from

²⁷ Sommer 1999: 86.

²⁸ Hanel 2007: 411–413.

²⁹ Nesselhauf and Lieb 1960, no. 141: *veterani consistentes*. Also in Öhringen, *CIL* 13, 6540. See Sommer 1999: 89.

³⁰ Lenz 2006.

these camps to Cologne was not very large, so that men might easily move there, attracted by the economic opportunities in Cologne, the most important economic centre in Germania Inferior.³¹ Similarly, from Bonn we have five inscriptions from Italian veterans, but only two of them had actually been stationed here; two had served at Mainz, one at Xanten.

For Italians in the Danubian provinces the results are similar. Most men settled near the army camps in which they had served. As we just saw, many soldiers settled at Burnum, and most of these were buried very close to the camp. From Tilurium we have five inscriptions. Carnuntum became the most important fortress of the Danubian *limes*; we have 23 inscriptions of Italian soldiers who had served here, all found near the camp or in the *vicus*. Aquincum (Budapest) has yielded seven Italians, all in or near the camp. As in Germania, the relationship between soldiers and their camps was not automatic. At Poetovio we have one inscription from II Adiutrix, even though this legion was stationed at Aquincum (some 300 km away), and one from XI Claudia, which was not stationed near Poetovio either. It may be that these men had been sent to these camps with a *vexillatio* of their own legion and therefore settled here, but the exact motivations are impossible to reconstruct.

In other areas the results are similar: Demougin concludes that of the veterans who served in Germania Inferior, only eleven out of 73 inscriptions commemorating them were found in rural areas; the majority came from the towns themselves or from areas near military camps. This is the case for both legionaries and auxiliaries, although the latter received far fewer monumental inscriptions in general.³² In Britain the same settlement pattern is visible: from Chester we have seven Italians, all in the city itself; Wroxeter has yielded three Italians, all from the city.

It is clear that veterans mostly preferred to settle in or near army camps, or, if they chose to move away, in towns. Especially towns which were major economic and/or political hubs attracted veterans; since veterans were not often engaged in local politics,³³ economic reasons were perhaps the most important motivation.

Soldiers Returning to Italy

We have seen that many soldiers returned to Italy after serving in the legions. For those in our database, this applies to 39 Italian men from the reigns of

³¹ Bechert 2001.

³² Demougin 1999: 372. Only five out of 42 inscriptions for legionaries come from rural areas.

³³ Wesch-Klein 2007: 447–448.

Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula, or 23% of the total of whom we know the settlement location in this period. For the period of Claudius and Nero 24 men (20%) returned to their home town, while in the Flavian and Trajanic periods 10 men (13%) did so. The percentage drops in the later period, although, since we have very few data to begin with, it would be unwise to draw definitive conclusions from this.

Men from some towns returned home more often than others. Those from Mediolanum and Brixia were the most likely to return to their *origo*: 17 out of 35 men from Milan went back, while 12 out of 24 Brixians returned. For Verona, only six out of 30 men returned, and for Cremona only four out of 21. Mediolanum, as one of the largest towns in Cisalpina, no doubt offered many economic opportunities,³⁴ but the attraction of Brixia is less easily explained. The movements of Italians recruited from rural areas are interesting. From the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula there are three men from the Alpine Sabini, who all returned home. There were also four Trumplini, living around Lake Garda, of whom three returned. From the reigns of Claudius and Nero we have four men from the rural territory of Brixia, who all returned home. It seems therefore possible that people from rural areas were more likely to return to their native regions than urban dwellers, if we may conclude this from the very small amount of data available.

It would also be interesting to know whether soldiers from some legions returned home more often than others. Legio II Adiutrix was stationed at Aquincum; most of the grave stones of its Italian veterans are from the area near Aquincum (8), while one man returned home, one went to Rome, and another to Poetovio. IV Macedonica was stationed at Mainz, where 9 men were buried, while three returned to Italy. Legio VII was stationed in Tilverium; interestingly, none of the Italians serving in this legion returned home. Instead, they are scattered throughout various Dalmatian towns: five remained in Tilverium, ten went to Salona, and one or two to other colonies in Dalmatia. IX Hispana was stationed at Siscia in Illyricum from 9 CE to 43 CE and then moved to Britain. Remarkably, of the eleven Italian veterans from this legion, seven are known from Italy; most had returned home, although one from Forum Fulvii ended up in Valentia and one from Verona moved to Aquileia. XIV Gemina was at Mainz from 10 CE to 43 CE and again from 70. Thirty-one Italian soldiers from this legion settled near Mainz; only one returned to Italy. XV Apollinaris was stationed at Carnuntum from 14 CE to 62 CE and from 74 onwards; thirteen of its veterans remained in Carnuntum, but a remarkably large number of men – eleven – returned to their homes in Italy, while a few

34 Cf. Garnsey 1975.

others moved to different Italian towns or to other towns in Pannonia. XXI Rapax was at Xanten for most of the first century; of the eleven Italians known from this legion, eight returned to Italy, with two settling in Mainz, although the legion had never served there. XXII Primigenia, stationed at Mainz, has yielded 21 Italians, of whom 13 are attested at Mainz, but a significant number (6) returned to Italy.

It is clear that there are some interesting variations from legion to legion in the number of Italians who returned to their areas of origin or other towns in Italy. For some legions almost all Italians we know remained in their areas of service, in others a large number returned home. It seems that different motivations played a role in the lives of soldiers from different legions, and that diverse social networks influenced the men of the different legions. When the state made some provision for soldiers to settle, the willingness to return home was less, as in the case of Legio VII, whose veterans mostly settled in the Dalmatian colonies.

The Batavian Auxiliaries: Recruitment

The second part of this paper will focus on auxiliary veterans from the Batavian units.³⁵ We will investigate where the Batavians served and where they moved after their service. Auxiliary units were originally made up of men from one tribe, giving the unit its name. They were probably recruited by their local elites, who also commanded them. At first they were usually stationed in the province from which they had been recruited, but the Batavian revolt of 69–70 CE changed this. After this revolt the Roman command decided to remove auxiliaries from their home regions, so that they could no longer start revolts in collusion with the local population.

Originally there were nine Batavian cohorts, led by their own officers.³⁶ They were stationed in their own areas until 43 CE, when eight cohorts were moved to Britain.³⁷ These were later moved back to Germania Inferior, where eight cohorts joined the revolt of Civilis in 67. After the revolt the Batavian

35 For a good discussion of the formation of the Batavian *ethnos* see Ivleva, in this volume.

36 During Germanicus' campaigns they were led by the Batavian Chariovaldus (Tac. *Ann.* 2.11), while at the time of the revolt the *ala Batavorum* was led by Claudius Labeo, a local nobleman (Tac. *Hist.* 4.18). Civilis also commanded one of the Batavian cohorts (Tac. *Hist.* 4.16). See Alföldy 1968: 46, 89.

37 Based on Tac. *Hist.* 4.12. There is some debate about the number of Batavian cohorts and the locations of their service, see Hassall 1970; Spaul 2000.

units were reformed in some way, although the exact changes are not well documented.³⁸ It is certain, however, that after 70 there were five Batavian units: one *ala*, 1 *quingenaria*, with 500 men, and four cohorts, I, II, III and IV *milliaria*, with 1000 men each. *Cohors I* was stationed at Hadrian's Wall up until the late fourth century.³⁹ All other units were moved eastward, where they served in Dacia, Raetia, and Pannonia.⁴⁰

The Batavians were famous for their skills with horses; they were able to swim across rivers, including the Rhine and Danube, with their mounts.⁴¹ It has long been assumed that these skills were so valuable that the Batavian units, in contrast to other auxiliaries, did not recruit locally from the areas in which they were stationed, but recruited only Batavians, so as to ensure their skills were maintained. However, as various scholars have pointed out, the contribution of men to the auxiliaries placed a very heavy burden on the Batavians. Taken together, the nine units mentioned by Tacitus numbered about 5–6000 men, perhaps fewer if they were under strength.⁴² The size of the Batavian population at any one time has been estimated at about 30–40,000 people;⁴³ the number of adult men would therefore have been about 8000, in which case two thirds of them must have served in the auxiliaries.

If indeed half of the men recruited did not live to the retirement age (see above), it becomes clear that the Batavian population was simply not big enough to sustain purely Batavian cohorts over time. It is possible that neighbouring peoples, such as the Cananefates and Frisians, or even Germanic tribes from across the Rhine, were recruited into the Batavian units.⁴⁴ Certainly, in the course of time the Batavian cohorts, like all auxiliary units, began to admit recruits from other areas, as is shown by the presence of two Illyrians

38 Hassall 1970: 135–136.

39 Spaul 2000: 209–210.

40 Alföldy 1968: 47; Spaul 2000: 211–216; van Rossum 2004: 121–122.

41 Tac. *Ann.* 2.8, 2.11, 2.17, 14.29, *Hist.* 4.12; Dio 55.24.7, 60.20, 69.9.6. See Alföldy 1968: 13; Hassall 1970: 131–132.

42 The strength report of the *cohors I Tungrorum* from Vindolanda states that there were currently 752 men on the rolls, rather than the 1000 which should have been in a *cohors milliaria* (*Tab. Vind.* 154).

43 Derks and Roymans 2006: 122–123.

44 Tac. *Hist.* 4.28 records how Civilis recruited Germans from across the Rhine during the revolt through his networks of guest-friendship. See Van Rossum 2004: 124–129. Cf. Ivleva, in this volume. However, the Cannanefates and Frisians also supplied one cohort of men each in their own name.

recruited in the early second century and a Pannonian discharged in 164.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, actual Batavians continued to be recruited, even after the Batavian cohorts had been moved away. A diploma found in Elst, in Batavian territory, records a man from the *ala Batavorum*. Considering the fact that his wife was a Batavian, it is likely that he himself was also Batavian and had returned home after his discharge. The diploma is dated to 98 CE, so its recipient must have been recruited after the revolt of 70.⁴⁶ Two other Batavians serving in the *cohors I Batavorum* are attested in the early second century.⁴⁷ Van Rossum even argues, on the basis of the diploma from Elst, that some Batavians were still serving in the Batavian area after the revolt.⁴⁸ This is unlikely, however; the diploma was most likely taken back home by a retired veteran who had served elsewhere, and cannot therefore be used as evidence for the location of service.

It is normally thought that after the Batavian revolt auxiliary units were no longer commanded by their own elites, but by men from other ethnic groups.⁴⁹ However, it is likely that Flavius Cerialis, the commander of the ninth Batavian cohort serving in Vindolanda, was a Batavian.⁵⁰ Sever[us/ianus], the commander of *cohors III Batavorum equitata* in Pannonia in the late second century, had a Batavian wife, suggesting that he was a Batavian himself.⁵¹ Other commanders attested in the second century, however, were not Batavians. Clearly some Batavian units still had local commanders after the revolt, although there seems to have been no clear imperial policy on this.

The Batavian Auxiliaries: Settlement after Service

The place where auxiliary veterans settled may be determined by places where the diplomas received by them after being discharged from the army were found. However, the find spot of a diploma does not necessarily indicate the final place of settlement of a retired auxiliary. Diplomas may have been lost by

45 Pannonian: *CIL* 16, 185; Illyrians: *CIL* 3, 7800. Conversely, not all Batavians served in Batavian units; we know of Batavians serving in the *ala Afrorum*, *ala Vocontiorum*, *ala Frontoniana*, and the Roman legions.

46 *RMD* 216.

47 *RMD* 86; Alföldy and Lörincz 2003.

48 Van Rossum 2004: 118.

49 Alföldy 1968: 101–102; Dobson and Mann 1973: 193–194; Wesch-Klein 2007: 437–438.

50 Demougin 1999: 364–366; Van Rossum 2004: 117; Devijver F 43bis. Devijver F 49 bis bis is Flavius Genialis, an officer at Vindolanda, who was likely also a Batavian.

51 AE 1969/70, 526 = 1944, 97; Devijver S101. See Van Rossum 2004: 122–123.

veterans on their way home or have ended up in other locations through all kinds of accidents. Nor did all veterans receive one; they had to pay for them, so most diplomas were made for wealthier cavalrymen rather than for infantry. On the other hand, it may have been the case that especially those veterans who decided to leave the military zone asked for a diploma, since this was the only way to prove their status once they had moved away.⁵² For the purposes of this paper, I have therefore used diplomas as evidence for the location of settlement. Epitaphs identifying the deceased as *Batavus* can also provide evidence for settlement after discharge.

Many studies on auxiliaries and their choice of settlement state that between 66 and 80% of veterans settled in the province where they last served, 10% moved to a nearby province, and 10–20% moved a long distance away from their last posting, presumably to their home regions.⁵³ However, variations between provinces and units were large.⁵⁴ For Batavians – serving either in the *cohortes Batavorum* or in other units – we have very little evidence from diplomas or inscriptions: in total there are only 21 references. Considering the enormous number of men who must have served, this is a very small sample. In some cases we can be sure that veterans returned home. The diploma of a man from the *ala Afrorum* was found in Dodewaard, 25 kilometres west of Nijmegen.⁵⁵ This unit was stationed in Burginatum (Alt-Kalkar), about 60 kilometres away, so it is likely that the man in question had been recruited into the unit stationed close to where he was born, and returned home after his service. Others made longer journeys: we have already encountered the unnamed veteran from the *cohors I Batavorum*, who retired in 98 and settled in Elst.⁵⁶ His unit was stationed in Pannonia, yet he decided to return home. Around the same period another man settled in Delwijnen, north of 's Hertogenbosch; he had probably served in Britain, but still returned to his homeland after service. Other diplomas in the rural Batavian area were found in Nijmegen, Delwijnen, Hoogeloon, and Rimburch; the latter diploma belonged to a man who had served in Pannonia, the other three had served in Britain. Despite the large distances, these men did not hesitate to make their way back home.⁵⁷

Sim[p]licius Super, a *decurio* of the *ala Vocontiorum*, was perhaps also a Batavian, because he set up a dedication in Hemmen, in the Batavian area, to a

52 Haynes 2013: 343.

53 Mann 1983: 25; Roxan 1997; Demougin 1999: 368–372.

54 Derks and Roymans 2006: 121.

55 *CIL* 13, 8806.

56 *RMD* 216.

57 See Demougin 1999: 374–379; Derks and Roymans 2006: 125–129 for full details.

local goddess, *dea Vagdavercustis*.⁵⁸ Interestingly, his unit was stationed in Britain at the time the inscription was set up, in the Flavian period or slightly earlier. Nevertheless, he travelled back to his homeland and made a dedication to a local goddess. It is not known whether he was retired or still served when the inscription was set up, but in either case his emotional ties with his native gods remained strong. Another dedication was set up at Hempel by a Batavian serving in Legio X, stationed at Nijmegen, some 50 km away.⁵⁹

Other Batavians remained in their area of service. M. Traianiu[s] Gaisionis f. Gumattius from the *ala Afrorum* was also a Batavian, to judge by his name. He remained in Kalkar, where he had served and where his diploma was found.⁶⁰ A man named Ahucco, probably a Batavian, served in the *cohors I Pannoniorum et Delmatarum*.⁶¹ This unit was stationed in Xanten in the second century, and this is where Ahucco's diploma, dated 158, was found. M. Ulpus Peronis f. Fronto served in the *cohors I Batavorum*,⁶² stationed in Pannonia Superior from 86. When he retired in 113, he remained – with his Batavian wife – in Regensburg, where his diploma was found. Clearly some Batavians remained in the areas in which they had served; although, of course, other explanations are possible, e.g. that the diplomas were lost or the recipients died before setting off for home. A grave stone commemorates a Batavian of *cohors I* in Pannonia, although it is not clear that he was retired when he died.⁶³ Another epitaph records a Batavian serving in Legio XXII Primigenia, then stationed at Mainz, and buried in Wiesbaden.⁶⁴ Although he had not remained in the camp where he had served, he had not returned home either. Others remained in the area of service, but moved to the countryside: Fla(v)us Blandi f. served in the *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*, commanded by the Batavian C. Petillius Vindex.⁶⁵ His diploma, dated 110, was found in Tokód, 45 kilometres north of Aquincum in Pannonia Superior, where he had been stationed. What motivated these men to remain in the areas where they had served, rather than return home, as some of their fellow Batavians did, cannot be determined. It is possible that this choice was connected to their relationships with the local population. When a soldier had married a local woman, for example, he would

58 *CIL* 13, 8805 = *ILS* 2536.

59 *AE* 1990, 740.

60 *CIL* 13, 8806. One other diploma for a Batavian was found here, *CIL* 16, 59.

61 *RMD* 52.

62 *RMD* 86.

63 Alföldy and Lörincz 2003.

64 *CIL* 13, 7577. Several of his fellow soldiers from other legions serving in Mainz, including some of the Italians we encountered earlier, were buried here as well.

65 *CIL* 16, 164.

have been more likely to remain in the area. However, we have already encountered M. Ulpius Fronto, who remained in Regensburg, even though his wife was also Batavian. Others may have chosen to remain because of social or economic ties with the soldiers still serving, or with the local population.

Archaeological finds offer further evidence for the high percentage of Batavians who returned home. Seal boxes – small metal boxes covering the wax seal on a letter, to prevent tampering with the contents – have been found in rural settlements in Batavian areas, suggesting that auxiliary soldiers communicated by letter with their home regions.⁶⁶ It is also interesting that Roman military equipment was found at all excavated Batavian sites; assuming that auxiliary veterans took their gear with them after returning home, this suggests that many indeed returned.⁶⁷ Other cultural developments, such as the distribution of *terra sigillata* and Roman-style grave monuments, may also indicate that auxiliary veterans returned to their native areas. Villas in Batavian areas, with Roman-style decorations, such as the villa at Hoogeloon, may have belonged to local elites, who served as commanders of auxiliary units.⁶⁸ Tacitus tells the enlightening story of a Frisian named Cruptorix, “formerly a soldier in our pay” (*quondam stipendiari*), who sheltered some Roman soldiers after they had been defeated by the Frisians. Cruptorix must have returned to his homeland after serving in the Roman army.⁶⁹

Thus, it is clear that many Batavian veterans settled in their home regions, even if the number of individuals attested is low. Some, however, chose to remain in their location of service, as shown by the diplomas from Alt-Kalkar, Regensburg, and Brixen. Importantly, some still identified themselves as Batavians in their diplomas, even if they did not return home; whether this was still an important part of their identity, or rather a conventional identifier of origin, remains an open question.

Other studies have yielded similar results for the locations of auxiliary veteran settlement. Raepsaet-Charlier collected all 140 auxiliary diplomas found up to 1978; she concludes that 113 soldiers settled in the province where they had served, while 27 settled elsewhere. Of these 113 men, 18 served in their province of origin and settled there as well, thus remaining there for the rest of their lives. Of the 27 who left their service provinces, ten went back home, while eight went elsewhere; in nine cases the origin is unknown. Towns which had an important commercial role were especially attractive; places like Mainz,

66 Derks and Roymans 2006: 128–131.

67 Nicolay 2007; Roymans 2011: 143–144.

68 Derks and Roymans 2006, 124–131; Roymans 2011: 145–154.

69 Tac. *Ann.* 4.73.

Arles, and Trier attracted many former soldiers, even though they neither had served there, nor were born there.⁷⁰ The same factor seems to have influenced the choices made by legionary soldiers, as we saw above. Economic considerations must therefore have played an important role in the choices made by veterans, but it is difficult to estimate the relative importance of this and other factors. To establish the relative importance of marriage patterns, for example, we would have to analyse all veteran diplomas and see whether the fact that soldiers were married and had children impacted their choice of settlement location.

In the Pannonian provinces about two thirds of auxiliary veterans remained in the military zone. For Pannonia Inferior 16 out of 22 tombstones were found near the frontier and four in the interior of the province; four soldiers moved outside the province (but three of these went to the military zone of Pannonia Superior). For Pannonia Superior there were 16 tombstones, ten from the frontier and six from the interior.⁷¹ For auxiliary Britons, all but one references were found in Britain, most of them in or near military camps. Of 40 diplomas issued to non-Britons who had served on the island, 23 were found outside the province, suggesting that they often returned home; this was especially the case for Thracians. Of the seventeen diplomas found in Britain, eight come from military bases, with the others equally divided between urban and rural locations.⁷²

For auxiliaries serving in Germania Inferior, four out of eight diplomas were found outside the province, belonging to two Thracians and two Batavians who returned home. Epitaphs show that many other auxiliaries remained in the military zone, settling in Cologne, Bonn, and Xanten. For those serving in Germania Superior, three out of ten diplomas were found outside the province, with soldiers returning to Pannonia. The rest remained in the military area, at Mainz and Wiesbaden. Nevertheless, in some cases find spots of diplomas are inexplicable: the diploma of a man from Ancyra in Galatia, who had served in Germania Superior, was found in a grave in Debelec, Moesia. Why? We do not know.⁷³

We may conclude that auxiliary soldiers were more likely than legionaries to return home. The options available to auxiliaries were different to those for legionaries, since legionaries usually received land or money from the state. Auxiliaries certainly did not receive land, but it is not clear whether they

⁷⁰ Raepsaet-Charlier 1978; Nicolay 2007, 184.

⁷¹ Roxan 1997: 484–486.

⁷² Haynes 2013: 344–345; Roxan 1997: 487.

⁷³ *CIL* 16, 28. See Roxan 2000; Derks and Roymans 2006: 124–128.

received monetary *praemia*. It seems likely that they did, considering that their normal pay was only slightly lower than that of legionaries.⁷⁴ If auxiliaries did not receive land, it would have been more attractive for them to return home, e.g. to a family farm, than it was for legionaries.⁷⁵ Marriage arrangements may also have been important: if auxiliary veterans, who had been granted Roman citizenship, enjoyed rights of *conubium* with peregrine women, they may have been more eager to return home and marry a woman from their own community, who would have been peregrine. Thus the economic and social situation of legionaries and auxiliaries after service varied, which is reflected in the settlement choices they made.

Conclusion

We may conclude that there were some important differences between legionary and auxiliary veterans. The amount of evidence is unfortunately rather small, but it seems that auxiliaries were overall more likely than Roman veterans to return to their home regions, although many chose to remain in the areas in which they had served. There were also similarities between legionaries and auxiliaries: both groups were attracted by the economic opportunities offered by larger towns; both enjoyed social ties with people near the army camps, encouraging them to stay there after discharge. Among Italian legionaries, there were differences in the proportion of Italians serving in each legion; there were also variations in how many men from each Italian city served in each legion and in how many Italians from each camp or legion returned home or stayed in the military zone.

For auxiliaries, the impact of returning veterans on local culture has often been emphasised; they are considered agents of 'Romanisation' among 'barbarian' populations. This study has shown that many auxiliaries indeed returned home, which likely caused cultural change. On the other hand, many auxiliary veterans settled near the camps where they had served, rather than moving home. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the mobility of the Roman army had great consequences for the cultural development of the Empire;⁷⁶ its precise workings might be elucidated by more detailed local studies.

⁷⁴ Duncan-Jones 1994: 34–36; but see Wierschowski 1982: 36, 42.

⁷⁵ They may have returned to claim their inheritance (Nicolay 2007: 185–186). See Haynes 2013: 129–130 for the importance of marriage.

⁷⁶ See Haynes 2013: 340–341.

Peasants into Soldiers: Recruitment and Military Mobility in the Early Roman Empire

Tatiana Ivleva

The career of Claudius Paternus Clementianus (born c. 65 CE) took him to many parts of the Roman world. Beginning his equestrian *cursus honorum* as the prefect of a cohort stationed on the lower Rhine, Clementianus was then transferred to the Danube region to serve as a military tribune. Following this, he served in Dacia as prefect of an *ala* (cavalry unit). After concluding his military career he was appointed to various senior administrative posts, first in the province of Judaea, then in Africa Proconsularis and Sardinia, ending his career as governor of Noricum.¹ Clementianus' movements across the Roman world are not exceptional. As a result of territorial conquests, first by the Roman Republic and later by the Roman Empire, new patterns of mobility were created, and overall levels of mobility and migration increased.² Such mobility was often voluntary, but could also be imposed by the Roman state. Among those whose movements were state-organised young men who joined the Roman army are particularly conspicuous. These range from recruits of humble background, enlisted as auxiliaries, to high-ranking officers of legionary units. During their careers, exemplified by that of Clementianus, members of the Roman army often covered thousands of kilometres, criss-crossing the Roman Empire individually or with their units. In general, throughout the Greco-Roman world people connected to the military appear to have moved more frequently than civilians.³

The geographic mobility of Roman army units and their personnel is a topic that has been widely researched, and the number of publications on this subject in any modern language is difficult to quantify. The vast literature includes general studies on legionary and auxiliary units, detailed regional surveys focusing on specific units stationed in particular provinces, as well as studies dealing

¹ *AE* 1968, 406; *CIL* 3, 5776. For a career map, see Mattingly et al. 2013: 11, Fig. 14.

² Naerebout 2014: 273, quoting Scheidel 2001: 1: "population movements on an unprecedented scale."

³ Woolf 2013a: 363, following Bekker-Nielsen 2003.

with deployments during the reign of a particular emperor.⁴ Building on indications supplied by the epigraphic record and archaeological data, these publications have sought to illuminate the whereabouts of garrisons and military posts as well as intra-provincial and inter-provincial movements of such units.

In recent years the focus of attention has shifted away from charting troop movements and identifying historically attested units to more anthropologically informed studies of the Roman army as a diverse community.⁵ This more 'holistic' approach offers a broader view of the social impact of the Roman army on the native population, and of cultural continuity or discontinuity among the troops, of the formation of soldierly communities and brotherhoods, and also of the real extent of geographic and social mobility achieved by individual soldiers.

It has been tacitly assumed that most auxiliary recruits came from humble social backgrounds (i.e. from rural areas).⁶ *Auxilia* were mainly composed of non-citizens who, after 25 years of military service, were granted the Roman citizenship along with their family members.⁷ For many of these men their period of military service may have been a disruptive and stressful experience, since during it they were usually transferred to locations far from their homelands, often to the very edges of the Roman world.⁸ The responses of the soldiers to this experience of state-organised mobility are likely to have included some form of 'identity stress'. Such stress can occur when previous forms of identification are manipulated or adjusted in response to newly imposed circumstances.⁹ It may be possible to interpret the detailed recording of birth-places on funerary tombstones, especially when a soldier died in a foreign land, as well the return movements of army veterans, against this background.¹⁰

4 Recent summaries include Roxan 1995, Spaul 1994 and 2000, Meyer 2013 and Haynes 2013.

5 Pitts 2007: 697.

6 Woolf 2013a: 352 and 354. This view is based on Vegetius 1.3 who writes that recruits from the countryside are preferred to those from towns due to the corrupt nature of urban populations. Cf. also Haynes 2013: 100.

7 This is especially valid for the Julio-Claudian period, when most auxiliaries were *peregrini*. By the late-first century citizens started to join the *auxilia*, serving alongside non-citizen recruits; by the mid-second century the number of *peregrini* and citizens in troops had become roughly equal. One should not, however, forget the *cohortes civium Romanorum* raised from the Roman citizens. Haynes 2001: 67–68; Le Bohec 1994: 98.

8 Haynes 2001: 65, cf. also Haynes 2013: 4.

9 Oltean 2009: 92–93.

10 On Roman army veterans returning to their places of origin see Birley 1982/1983; Roxan 1997 and 2000; Mann 2002; Derks and Roymans 2006; Roselaar, in this volume; Ivleva (forthcoming a).

So far Roman soldiers and their family members who originated from rural areas have eluded the attention of scholars interested in ancient mobility, migration and the formation of diaspora communities. Roman peasants are considered to be the most poorly documented migrants,¹¹ but soldiers and their family members are rarely taken into account in publications dealing with levels of mobility in the rural districts of the Roman empire.¹²

This paper aims to bridge the gap between Roman army studies and research into rural mobility and migration by addressing the topic of state-organised mobility of provincial country-dwellers during the High Empire. The first part of my discussion will focus on the movements of 13 'ethnic' auxiliary units that were recruited in Roman Britain during the first century CE. These units provide us with an interesting window on recruitment as a driving force behind state-organised mobility involving people born in rural communities, since most of the men serving in these 13 units were recruited from the rural population of Roman Britain. Only a few years after their creation these units were transferred to the Continent, where they were moved continuously from one province to another. I will use evidence provided by military diplomas and funerary inscriptions to shed some light on the changes in recruitment policies that affected the composition of these units over a period of three centuries. This will be followed by a brief discussion of the backgrounds of these British recruits. The final part of this paper will be devoted to the exploration of the ethnic and military identities of rural recruits.

The British Auxiliary Units and British-Born Soldiers (First to Third Centuries CE)

The establishment of British auxiliary units can be traced rather easily since they have a fixed *terminus post quem* (43 CE) and all the evidence suggests that they were raised no earlier than the start of Nero's reign.¹³ Analysis of the epigraphic material indicates that the establishment of the units can be connected to various events in the early history of Roman Britain, in particular to the steady advance of the Roman army and the subjugation of different territories

11 Woolf 2013a: 356; cf. also Haynes 2013: 5 who notes that rural inhabitants "have received scant scholarly attention."

12 Lassère 1977: 599–600 briefly discusses the places of origin of veterans mentioned in the epigraphic record of Africa Proconsularis and Numidia.

13 Saddington 1980: 1071.

and peoples.¹⁴ A distinction can be made between units raised during the time of Nero and those established during the reign of Vespasian. The nomenclature of the British units shows two different epithets, namely *Britannica* and *Brittonum/Britannorum*.¹⁵ Based on the available evidence, it seems that the naming pattern depended on the period when particular units were raised and on the origin of the recruits.¹⁶ *Ala Britannica* and *cohors I Britannica* were probably created between 55 CE and 60 CE by combining various existing units of auxiliaries stationed in Britain, while *ala I Brittonum*, *cohors I Brittonum*, and *cohortes II* and *III Brittonum/Britannorum* might have been recruited from the natives of the province, possibly at about the same time. Another group of six *cohortes Brittonum* was established in 69 CE, or slightly thereafter, also from native stock.

During the mid-first and early second centuries CE most units after their establishment were immediately sent to the Continent to participate in major military conflicts.¹⁷ Units were summoned to areas where their action was needed and deployed in key provinces where the majority of other auxiliary forces was stationed. For instance, the units belonging to the first set of troops raised prior to 69 CE took part in the Civil Wars of that time. In the Flavian period the units were sent to provinces that were key for the deployment of the auxiliary forces: Germania Superior during the Chattian Wars of 82–83 CE and Pannonia during the wars there (92–95 CE). Two Dacian Wars were fought between 101–102 CE and 105–106 CE at which time most British auxiliary units were moved from the Danube region, where they had been stationed during the Pannonian Wars, to form part of the provincial armies of Moesia Inferior and Superior, possibly acting as support troops. After the pacification of the Central European frontiers under Trajan, British auxiliary units remained in the region. In the aftermath of the Dacian Wars, four units, which had been stationed in Moesia Inferior and Superior and had participated in these wars, became part of the newly established province of Dacia. Three other units, which had also

¹⁴ Ivleva 2012b: 141–146.

¹⁵ Only one unit, *cohors I Belgarum*, possibly raised from the British *Belgae* tribe, does not fit this pattern. It is, however, by no means certain that this unit was indeed raised in Britain (pace Spaul 2000: 191).

¹⁶ For a full discussion of the evidence relating to these units see Ivleva 2012b.

¹⁷ Haynes 2013: 122 suggests that troops were moved out of the province where they had been raised soon after their formation “only if they posed a security threat where they were stationed, or if other areas urgently required reinforcement and no other troops were available.” Britain seems to fit the former description. Cf. Haynes 2013: 123: “in Britain, where the incorporation of territory was accompanied by much hard fighting, locally raised units were virtually absent.” Cf. also *ibid.* 126.

served in Moesia Inferior or Superior during the Dacian Wars, subsequently became part of the garrison of those provinces. They remained in these provinces for the remainder of the second century CE. Information on the location of British auxiliary units in the third century is rather sparse. It is completely absent for at least five units and uncertain for one. The epigraphic evidence shows that most of those units for which we have evidence remained in the province in which they had served in the late second century, but there is some evidence regarding the reshuffling of two units to Germania Superior and Syria.

This summary discussion of military deployment over a period of three centuries points to changing levels of mobility for these units. In general, one can speak of a phase of high mobility during the mid- to late-first century, while the units became far less mobile in the second and third centuries. In other words, while these units were moved from one battlefield region to another immediately after their transfer from Britain to the Continent, such movements became much rarer during the second century. The low mobility of the units in the second century can be related to the diminishing pace of imperial conquest, although some detachments originally raised in Britain were sent on military expeditions during this time (the Parthian and Moorish Wars, for example). Such moving around and settling down of troops is a common occurrence in the Roman army during the late-first and second centuries. The *ala I Asturum* and *cohors I Asturum et Callaecorum*, for example, both criss-crossed the Empire until finally settling in Britain and North Africa respectively.¹⁸

At least three out of the thirteen British units which had been transferred to the Continent in the late first century remained stationed in particular provinces until 260 CE (i.e. until most of the territories conquered by the Flavian Emperors and by Trajan were abandoned). Units that remained stationed in a single province during this period were relatively common. To give just one example, three cohorts raised from the *Breuci*, an Illyrian tribe from Pannonia Inferior, served in one province for the whole of the second and third centuries.¹⁹ In this respect the British units are not exceptional.

How does all this relate to the mobility of rural inhabitants, especially those originating from Roman Britain? From military diplomas and from various other sorts of inscriptions, we know the names of 177 soldiers who served in British auxiliary units.²⁰ Based on various indications, such as *ethnika* and onomastic clues, the probable origins of 94 of these 177 soldiers could be determined. Only

18 Santos Yanguas 2004: esp. 271, Fig. 3, and Santos Yanguas 2007.

19 Bogaers 1969.

20 In Ivleva 2012a: 87 the total number of soldiers was 139. Since the publication of this article, the data has been expanded based on new information; cf. Ivleva 2012b.

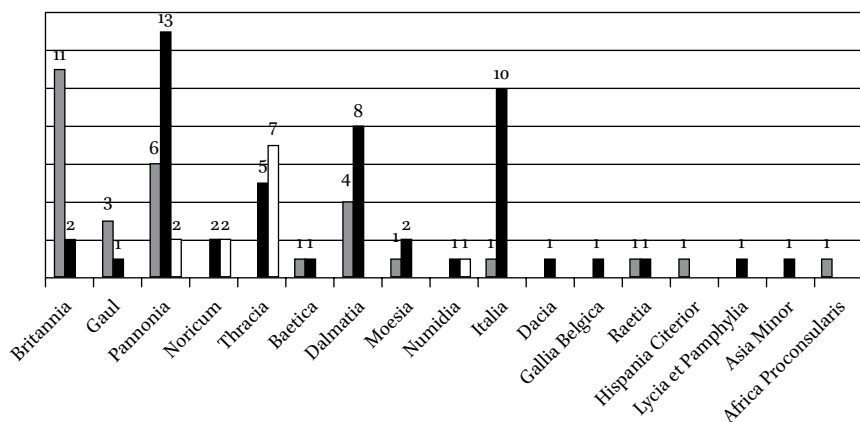


FIGURE 8.1 *Origins of soldiers in British auxiliary units per century*

Note: Light grey, black and white stand for the late-first, second and third centuries respectively.

thirteen British-born soldiers were identified, constituting a minority of all soldiers serving in these units. Pannonians make up the largest group, followed by Thracians, Dalmatians and Italians (Figure 8.1).

It should be noted that the number of men belonging to each of the various ethnic groups represented in this graph combines the data for all British units. In other words, we are dealing with aggregate figures which do not show differences at the level of individual units. It must be kept in mind, for instance, that no fewer than 44 names of soldiers belonging to *cohors I Belgarum* are known, while only two names of soldiers serving in *cohortes I Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum* and *II Britannorum* are recorded. While the aggregate data provide us with only a simple outline, they clearly support the conclusion that while the units were called 'British', British-born recruits were outnumbered by groups of other ethnic origin.²¹

This observation can be refined by looking at changes in recruitment over time. The evidence shows that, while British-born men constituted the largest source of recruits during the late-first century, the second century witnessed an influx of Pannonian-born recruits, while Thracians were introduced in the third century. The Italian recruits, making up the largest ethnic or geographical

21 A similar situation was noted for other units. Cf. Meyer 2013: 115: "the soldiers serving in [cohorts raised from the northwest corner of the Iberian Peninsula] comprised a geographically diverse body within decades of their formation, despite their 'ethnic' appellations that recall the units' original recruitment ground on the Iberian Peninsula." Also Haynes 1999a: 7, and Haynes 2013: 135–142.

group serving in these units in the second century CE, were all high-ranking officers. While the available evidence is limited, these tendencies are, by and large, in line with the general patterns of deployment of the British units. In other words, the changes in geographical location were responsible for corresponding changes in ethnic composition. During the late first century CE (i.e. when the units were raised), British-born soldiers appear to have constituted the largest source of recruits. After the units had been moved to the Continent, soldiers began to be drafted from the local population rather than from those areas where the units were originally raised. As noted by Haynes, immediately after the transfer of the British auxiliary units to the Continent drafts began to be summoned from “the nearest convenient source”.²² This shift is by no means exceptional. The Roman army practiced various methods of recruitment into the auxiliary units, which “varied from province to province and [were] adapted as the political circumstances demanded”.²³ It should be remembered, however, that during or in the aftermath of wars, recruitment happened on a much larger scale, affecting much greater geographical areas.²⁴

Recruitment from the nearest source could be implemented in a number of ways. Different methods were applied, ranging from the enrolment of war bands via the voluntary enlistment of professional militias in the service of client rulers, to conscription (*dilectus*) from the rural population of newly incorporated societies following their defeat by Rome.²⁵ Recruitment from nearby areas implies that most soldiers were natives of the province where their units were stationed. In fact, taking into account the immobility of most troops during the second century, it appears likely that many soldiers served within a day’s travel from their home areas.²⁶

What about the places or regions of origin of those who were recruited into the British units during the first decades of their existence, when the level of

²² Haynes 2013: 124.

²³ Meyer 2013: 31–32, who further notes the complexity of methods of recruitment in any period in contrast to the common opinion represented in Holder 1980 that, from the Flavian period onwards, auxiliary units stopped receiving recruits from their home provinces and local recruitment was practiced everywhere. See also Haynes 2013: 95: “Rome did not harvest its human resources evenly”, and *ibid.* 104–106.

²⁴ Haynes 2001: 66.

²⁵ Haynes 2001: 64 who notes five methods used to establish military units; also Haynes 2013: 106–119.

²⁶ But See Haynes 1999b: 166 who indicates that, in practice, “many of the areas around military installations [...] could not have supplied sufficient men” and recruits were summoned from areas further afield.

TABLE 8.1 *Origins and dates of recruitment of British-born soldiers*

Origin and number of soldiers	Date of recruitment	References
Southern England (1)	c. 77 CE	<i>AE</i> 2005, 954
Town of Lindum (1)	Unknown, he was a unit's prefect	<i>AE</i> 1973, 459 = <i>RMD</i> 1, 21 = <i>CIL</i> 13, 6679
<i>Dobunni</i> (1)	c. 80 CE	<i>CIL</i> 16, 49
Town of Ratae	c. 81 CE	<i>CIL</i> 16, 160
Corieltauvorum (1)		
<i>Belgae</i> (1)	c. 85 CE	<i>AE</i> 1944, 58 = <i>CIL</i> 16, 163
Britto (1)	c. 129 CE	<i>CIL</i> 16, 110 = <i>RMD</i> 1, 47
<i>Iceni</i> (2)	c. 63–69 CE	For discussion see Ivleva 2012b: 143
Second/third generation emigrant (1)	c. 136/137 CE	<i>AE</i> 1994, 1487 = <i>RMD</i> 3, 177
Unknown ²⁸ (3)	c. 80 CE	<i>CIL</i> 3, 3256 and 10331.
— (1)	c. 85 CE	<i>AE</i> 1999, 1258 = <i>RMD</i> 5, 339

mobility was much higher? We can be certain that initially all the units concerned had British-born recruits, although one might argue about percentages.²⁷ As we have seen, some units may have been created from auxiliaries already stationed in Britain, but even these units are likely to have included some British-born recruits. Regarding the areas from which the British-born recruits originated, the epigraphic evidence offers no basis for a detailed reconstruction. Nonetheless, it does provide us with some interesting indications (Table 8.1).

Since the establishment of most British auxiliary units coincides with the advance of the Roman army after 43 CE, recruits of British origin were probably summoned through the conscription of local populations following their military defeat by Rome.²⁹ Prior to 69 CE the evidence indicates that the southeastern tribes, the *Iceni* in particular, may have supplied recruits for British units. Under the Flavians, recruitment from the tribes of southern England (*Dobunni* and *Belgae*) may have continued, and there is evidence that the

²⁷ Saddington 1980: 1073; Haynes 2013: 126.

²⁸ For discussion see Ivleva 2012b: 87, 106.

²⁹ Haynes 2001: 64.

Corieltauvi may have also supplied soldiers during this period.³⁰ Four soldiers who were recruited between 80 CE and 85 CE cannot be linked to any particular place or region. However, since these four men were recruited into the same units and at the same time as the *Dobunni*, *Belgae* and a soldier from *Ratae Corieltauvorum*, they most likely hailed from tribes in southern Britain.

During the period 77–85 CE the Welsh and northern British tribes were subjugated by the Roman army. In 77/78 CE campaigns took place in Wales against the *Silures* and *Ordovices*. In 79 CE the Brigantian campaign of the British governor Agricola took place; and in 80–83/84 CE campaigns in southern Scotland culminated in the battle at Mons Graupius.³¹ In the aftermath of the Brigantian campaign hostages were sent to the Romans, not only from the *Brigantes* but from “many states, which up to that time had been independent.”³² Tacitus describes how, prior to the battle at Mons Graupius, Britons from various tribes summoned their forces to join the Roman army as a result of treaties and embassies.³³ The territories of the subjugated tribes, the *Silures*, *Brigantes*, and *Ordovices*, bordered those of the *Dobunni* and *Corieltauvi*, tribes which are likely to have provided recruits to British units between 77 CE and 85 CE. Conscription of British soldiers might have been spread out over a period of five years to reduce pressure on the population. After all, the tribes living in Wales may have been required to provide as many as 3,000 soldiers.³⁴ Considering the low urbanisation level in Roman Britain during the Flavian period, we can be certain that these recruits came from rural areas. Not long after they had been recruited these men crossed the Channel to participate in the development of the Roman frontier and the acquisition of new territories for the state.

As we have seen, these soldiers experienced repetitive mobility, travelling with their units across the Channel from one province to another. Dobunnian soldiers summoned to *cohors I Britannica* followed this unit from Britannia to Pannonia to Moesia Superior.³⁵ Two inscriptions shed light on the fates of

30 Haynes 2013: 126 notes the possible en masse recruitment of British-born soldiers in the early to mid 80s CE into the units accompanying the departure from Britain to Danube of *legio II Adiutrix*.

31 Tac. Agr. 20, 22–23, 25–27, 29–38.

32 Tac. Agr. 20: *quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus*.

33 Tac. Agr. 29.

34 The men from these tribes were recruited to serve in *cohortes* I, II and III *Augusta Nerviana Pacensis Brittonum*, all of which were *milliaria*. Cf. also Ivleva 2012b: 145–146.

35 Ivleva 2012b: 82–83.

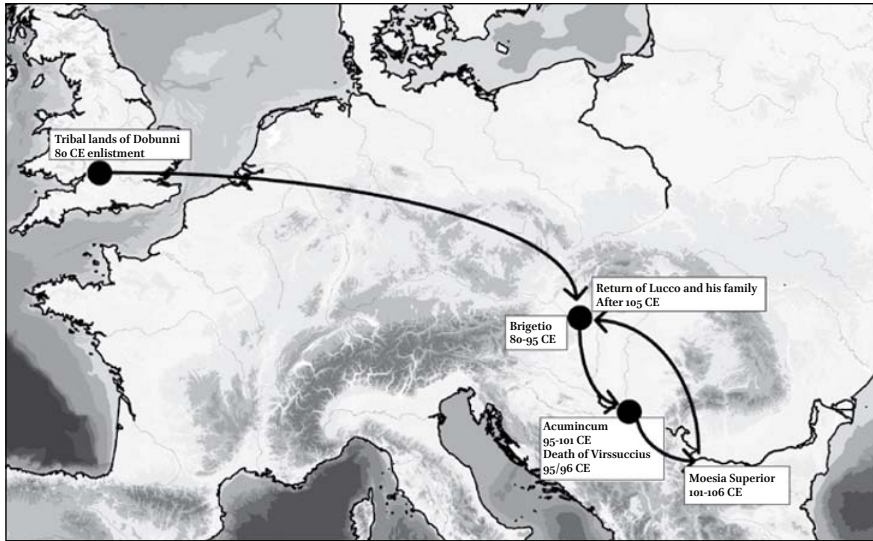


FIGURE 8.2 *Mobility of three British-born soldiers serving in cohorts I Britannica*

three British soldiers belonging to the auxiliary units participating in these movements (Figure 8.2).

Infantryman Lucco, son of Trenus, was possibly the luckiest of the three, surviving the harsh realities of the Pannonian Wars of 92–95 CE, then the Dacian War of 101–102 CE, and only just escaping the start of the second Dacian War of 105–106 CE, since he was discharged in January 105 CE.³⁶ Cavalryman and standard-bearer Virssuccius, son of (E)sus, perished, possibly in the third Pannonian War of 95/96 CE, and was buried in the cemetery of the auxiliary fort of Acumincum (modern Stari Slankamen in Serbia) by his heirs, Bodiccus, his friend, and Albinus, who may have been his son.³⁷ The later life of Bodiccus after the burial of his friend is unknown, but one can presume that he followed his unit to Moesia Superior during the Dacian wars.

British-born recruits belonging to *cohors I Ulpia Brittonum* furnish a second example of rural inhabitants travelling from Roman Britain (Figure 8.3). Foot soldier Marcus Ulpius Longinus, son of Sacc(i)us, from the *Belgae* tribe, located in what are now the modern counties of Hampshire and Somerset in southern England, followed the cohort from Britannia, first to Pannonia and then to Moesia Superior to take part in the two Dacian Wars. His career path appears to have been similar to that of Lucco, son of Trenus. Both were survivors of the

³⁶ *CIL* 16, 49.

³⁷ *CIL* 3, 3256; Ivleva 2012b: 85–87.

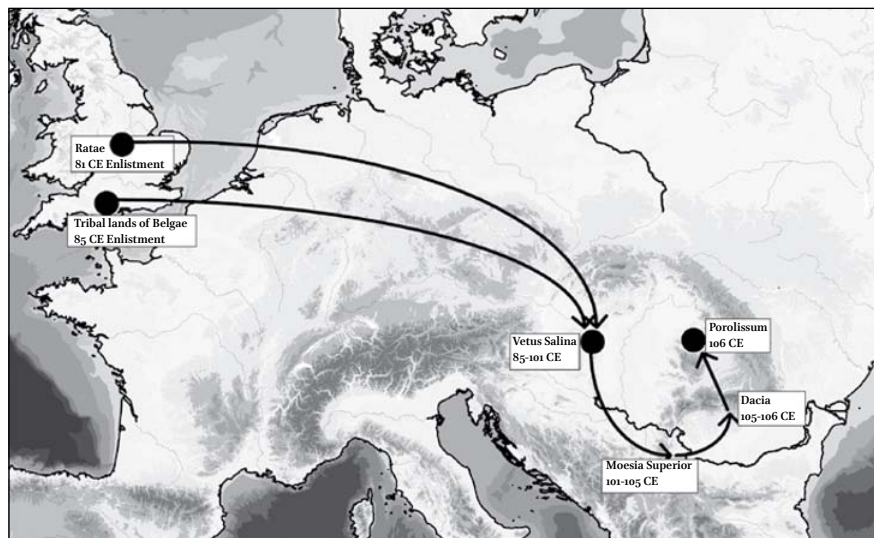


FIGURE 8.3 *Mobility of two British-born soldiers on service in cohorts I Ulpia Brittonum*

Pannonian Wars and the first Dacian War, but Longinus also endured the second Dacian War, emerging alive and in possession of the Roman citizenship in 110 CE.³⁸ Marcus Ulpus Novantico, son of Adcobrovatus, received a military diploma giving his place of origin as Ratae. There can be no doubt that he came from the town of Ratae Corieltavorum, modern-day Leicester in England.³⁹ The extent to which he can be called ‘urban’ rather than ‘rural’ will be discussed later in this article.

These examples demonstrate that rural inhabitants of Roman Britain travelled with British auxiliary troops to other parts of the Roman world. They were obviously not ‘voluntary migrants’, but they must have been allowed some freedom of movement within close proximity of the fort. This inference is supported by the above-mentioned case of Lucco, son of Trenus. In all likelihood he met his wife, Tutula, while his unit was stationed in Pannonia. Tutula, daughter of Breucus, indicated her origin on the military diploma as *Azali*, a tribal entity living near the frontier of Pannonia Inferior, not far from the fort of Brigetio, where Lucco’s unit was stationed for some time in the late-first century CE.⁴⁰ Tutula accompanied Lucco to various other places in Pannonia

³⁸ *CIL* 16, 163; Ivleva 2012b: 102–105.

³⁹ *CIL* 16, 160.

⁴⁰ Ivleva 2012b: 84, 89.

and Moesia Superior, until they and their three children were granted citizenship. Interestingly enough, the military diploma is said to have been found near Brigetio. It might be speculated that the family returned to the native land of Tutula instead of returning all the way to Lucco's homeland, Britain, perhaps because Tutula remained attached to her tribal community.⁴¹

The common opinion is that soldiers were allowed to cohabit with their partners, the majority of whom originated from areas around military installations or from the provinces in which their husbands served.⁴² The epigraphic evidence also shows that many men in the Roman army were accompanied by families, and that women accompanied their husbands to wherever they were stationed.⁴³ Against this background we should consider the possibility that some British-born women followed their partners to the Continent after they had been recruited into British auxiliary units. We happen to know the names of a few British-born women who accompanied husbands serving in legionary units on the Continent, and archaeology also provides us with evidence of some female army followers of possible British origin.⁴⁴ These are examples of family migration taking place in the context of state-organised mobility.

In Tribe we Trust?

So far it has been assumed that all British auxiliaries who identified themselves as belonging to a particular tribe came from rural areas. It may seem acceptable to equate tribal origin with rural descent since no exact location was typically recorded when tribal designation was given on the military diploma, tombstone, or votive monument. However, many people whose names appear in epigraphic documents, civilians as well as auxiliary soldiers, do name an exact place or region of birth, either using epigraphic formulae specifying an

41 There is a danger in using the find spot of a military diploma as an indication of where a veteran and his family settled down, for as Meyer 2013: 67 points out, "the small size of these tablets made them easy to transport and the value of their bronze as scrap metal has further contributed to their movement". It is, however, generally assumed that the find spot of a diploma is suggestive of where its recipient lived upon discharge. Cf. Roxan 1981 and 1989.

42 Stoll 2006.

43 Allason-Jones 1999: 48; Brandl 2008: 65–69; Haynes 1999b: 167; Derks 2009: 248–250. For wives of soldiers accompanying their husbands, see Foubert 2013b; Greene 2013.

44 For detailed discussion of this topic see Ivleva 2011 and forthcoming b. Examples of British-born wives following legionary soldiers to the Continent include Catonia Baudia (*CIL* 6, 3594), Lollia Bodicca (*CIL* 8, 2877), and Claudia Rufina (Martial 11.53).

individual's *natio*, *domus* or *civitas*, or specifying the province in which their region or town of origin was situated.⁴⁵ Categorising all those auxiliaries mentioning their tribal affiliations as peasants and those who associated their origin with a town as city-dwellers almost certainly understates the complexity of the societies that made up the Roman world. In any case, individual choices and administrative practices appear to have played some part in determining the way in which a soldier's origin was recorded. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest that some soldiers as well as some military administrators deliberately adapted the form in which places of origin were specified.⁴⁶

In the provinces, pseudo-tribes, including the so-called 'emperor's tribes', which were strictly artificial epigraphic formations, are a well-known phenomenon, especially among soldiers originating from Moesia, Dacia or Thrace in the late-second century CE.⁴⁷ For the third century CE there is evidence of Pannonian soldiers serving in the praetorian cohorts providing fictitious origins on military diplomas. "Many of the large number of praetorian recruits from Pannonia were of relatively low social background, in spite of their claims to originate in *coloniae*".⁴⁸ In all likelihood such claims stemmed from the soldiers' desire to associate themselves with cities which were regarded as prestigious.⁴⁹ In his analysis of how soldiers recorded their homes, Speidel indicates that soldiers from the Near East were prone to record their town as their place of origin, but whether they were actually from that town or from nearby rural communities is unknown.⁵⁰

The Batavians represent another interesting case of the malleability of tribal identity. The Romans continuously cultivated links with various collective entities in Germania Inferior, emphasising their militaristic nature. This resulted in the formation of the tribal group named Batavians. Such constant manipulation of this group's military vocations combined with the group's

45 Cf. for instance: on military diplomas *Laerta ex Pamphylia* (RMD 1, 38), *Selinunto ex Cilicia* (RMD 1, 44); on inscriptions: *natione Pannono domo Sirmus* (AE 1990, 990), *natione Italico domo Miseno* (CIL 16, 152), among many others.

46 Not to mention the widespread practice of changing one's name once a soldier was enlisted, Haynes 2013: 101.

47 RMD 3, 193, note 5, where a soldier indicates his origin as *Ulpia*, a pseudo-tribe designation popular in Moesia. On pseudo-tribes, see Benefiel 2001; Topalilov 2013.

48 RMD 3, 188, note 2.

49 Cf. Speidel 1986: 478–479, indicating that sometimes soldiers "chose the most prestigious towns, such as provincial capitals [...] or the colonies."

50 Speidel 1986: 472: "Orientals were felt better defined by their towns." As pointed out by Brunt 1990: 212, legionaries who name cities as their places of origin might have come from the territories of these cities.

own ethnic identity resulted in the formation of a special community centred on the idea of being a Batavian and a soldier.⁵¹ It is notable that Roman demand for professional Batavian soldiers stimulated the community to adopt a new economic strategy. The resulting economic formation was a so-called 'warrior economy', defined by a reliance on pastoralism rather than on arable cultivation.⁵² The Batavians supplied at least eight auxiliary cohorts, although these regiments need not have consisted exclusively of soldiers from the Batavian homeland.⁵³ These troops had the reputation of being highly martial and skilled, and it seems plausible that anyone serving in these units would automatically be regarded as 'Batavian' in spite of originating from territories not belonging officially to the Batavian tribal entity.⁵⁴

Returning to the British auxiliary units, it is vital to assess the evidence regarding their tribal, local or provincial affiliations within the wider context of the use of tribal or other designations by auxiliary soldiers, acknowledging that our data sets are severely limited. Out of 94 soldiers serving in British *auxilia*, only 44 identify themselves by means of *ethnika*, out of which we have 18 instances of tribal designations (e.g. Mucatralis, son of Sita, *natione Bessus*, a Thracian tribe), 25 instances of urban affiliations (e.g. Titus Varius Clemens from the town of *Claudia Celeia* in the province of Noricum), and 1 of provincial origin (e.g. Flavius Aurelianus, *natione Pannonia*).⁵⁵ Within the 25 recorded instances of urban affiliations, high-ranking officials account for slightly more than half (13) of all recorded town origins.

In order to place these figures in a wider perspective I have analysed 187 references to tribal or geographical origins recorded on over 650 published military diplomas.⁵⁶ The pattern which emerges from this larger corpus is broadly similar to that revealed by my analysis of the origins of soldiers serving in the British auxiliary units. The number of soldiers specifying a tribal origin (83) more or less equals the number of urban affiliations (73), while there are 31 instances of provincial designations. The overwhelming majority of those who recorded their urban origin came from towns in the Near East, and at least 28 of these men served in prestigious units, such as the praetorian guard, the

51 van Driel-Murray 2003: 201; Haynes 2001: 68–69; Roymans 2004: 223.

52 Haynes 2001: 69.

53 van Rossum 2004: 128; Roselaar, in this volume.

54 Of course many pseudo-Batavians may have come from neighbouring areas.

55 *AE* 1957, 299; *CIL* 3, 5211; and *AE* 1913, 139 respectively.

56 Over 650 military diplomas were published in the five volumes of *Roman Military Diplomas* by Margaret Roxan and Paul Holder. The total number of all diplomas found is much higher.

urban cohorts or the imperial horse guard stationed in Rome, or in the fleets stationed in Ravenna and Misenum. In short, those who noted their urban origins tended to have high-status positions or to belong to high-status units, while those specifying tribal affiliations were incorporated into the auxiliary units. If we could be certain that those soldiers who name cities as their places of origin really came from these cities rather than from their rural territories, it would be tempting to infer that low-status peasants were often incorporated into low-status units. However, as previously noted, we also have to reckon with the possibility that some recruits who tried to enter more prestigious units provided fictitious origins to hide their rural backgrounds, in the hope of receiving special treatment from recruitment officers. For instance, the British recruit Marcus Ulpus Novantico, son of Adcobrovatus, may have tried to conceal his humble rural origins by claiming that he was from the town of Ratae. On the other hand, we cannot rule out the possibility that this British soldier specified his urban affiliation for personal reasons which had nothing to do with status considerations or career opportunities.

In addition to personal choices, certain general factors appear to have influenced the way the origins of military personnel were recorded. One of these factors was administrative practice. If a soldier was enrolled in a unit while he was already abroad, the native province might have been given as his home. If, on the other hand, he had enrolled in a unit stationed or raised in his own province, his tribe or town might have been specified.⁵⁷ Of course we have to reckon with considerable variations in local customs, but this rule seems to have been valid in many areas.⁵⁸

With so many variables, we should be cautious in using references to the tribal or geographical origins of soldiers as a basis for any conclusions regarding the backgrounds of auxiliary soldiers. Just as not all praetorians were urban dwellers, not all auxiliary soldiers will have been peasants.

Military Communities and Ethnic Sub-Communities

The study of military mobility should be more than an attempt to chart movements of particular units from one part of the Roman empire to another. Recruitment into the Roman army and troop movements across provincial boundaries also profoundly influenced processes of collective and individual identity formation among those who joined the legionary or auxiliary troops.

⁵⁷ Speidel 1986: 467.

⁵⁸ Speidel 1986: 475–476.

As we have seen, there is good evidence for soldiers of rural descent travelling with their units and living in military settlements. Upon entering the Roman army these men became part of what has been termed a 'military community',⁵⁹ bonded by shared experiences and collective identities and based on shared values and social and moral codes. One auxiliary unit was similar to another to the extent that the soldiers wore the same clothes, lived in similar buildings, and used spaces which were similarly structured.⁶⁰ A peasant was no longer seen as a peasant here. Through "drills and instructions in arms; use of Latin language and literacy; [...] religious and social rituals; dress code and other regulations; membership in a designated unit," he became part of a military community, centred on being a soldier of the Roman State, with continuous cultivation and maintenance of the strong sense of regimental and military identity.⁶¹

To understand what it meant for a British-born individual from a rural farming community to become part of such a cohesive community, we must briefly explore some of the basic features of life in the countryside of Roman Britain. In the societies of Late Iron Age and Roman Britain complex sets of relations and networks existed within, and among, the various groups living in hill forts, rural agglomerations and proto-urban and urban centres.⁶² The rural population of the province lived in kin-tied farming communities spread around tribal centres, working the land and producing enough surplus to sustain themselves and support local or regional elites. Living in villages, they worked essentially as family units, primarily with family labour, but also formed part of larger social groupings.⁶³ Of course, not all country-dwellers were working the land on a full-time basis. Some were woodworkers, craftsmen, builders, transport workers, or merchants.⁶⁴ These rural inhabitants formed a complex, multi-layered, and to some extent hierarchical society based in many cases on strong kinship ties. Unfortunately it remains hard to define the nature and relative importance of various affiliations existing within such a society, where peasants may have felt more connected either with powerful individuals, such as chiefs, or with larger social or political groupings, such as village communities, chiefdoms, or tribes.

These networks and kinship associations were all but broken once a person joined the Roman army. In theory, they might have been intentionally

59 Goldsworthy and Haynes 1999; James 1999.

60 Haynes 2013: 12.

61 Collins 2008: 49; Saddington 2009.

62 McCarthy 2013: 124.

63 McCarthy 2013: 7.

64 McCarthy 2013: 7, on non-agricultural employment, see 90–122.

destroyed to construct new networks of power, domination, and soldierly brotherhoods. One can only imagine the level of stress that conscripts recruited from different British agrarian communities must have experienced when they were all put together, not to mention the physical stress of being moved from one unfamiliar place to another.⁶⁵ In all likelihood, most of those coming from rural communities had never had the experience of travelling on large sea-going ships before. Moreover, moving with their units from one province to another, these soldiers encountered a variety of peoples speaking Latin with different accents or a variety of other languages, peoples with strange customs and unfamiliar dress codes. To give just one example, the hair styles and dresses of Ubian women, or those of women from Noricum or Pannonia, must have struck British recruits as being completely different from any they had seen in their regions of origin.⁶⁶ In addition, it should be remembered that each auxiliary unit included recruits of different cultural backgrounds. For instance, between 60 and 70 CE *ala I Brittonum* included a Thracian recruit whose job it might have been to train the British recruits of the newly raised *ala*.⁶⁷ In such contexts of spatial mobility, many individuals are likely to have experienced some form of 'identity stress', ultimately resulting in a redefinition of identity, adjustment in social behaviour and a recombination of identity markers.⁶⁸ To minimise the effect of such stress, recruits affected by mobility might unconsciously have begun to develop certain coping strategies.

Sources suggest that various social networks existed between members of individual units, and that men of common ethnic background banded together.⁶⁹ The continuity of social norms and practices related to the soldiers' cultural and ethnic identities were relatively common features of auxiliary units, despite the gradual regionalisation of these units.⁷⁰ The continuation of cultural identity in the *auxilia* can be traced by looking at various types of group behaviour, such as the continued participation in cults and veneration of deities originating from the soldiers' homelands, or the continued use of

65 Watson 1982: 49: "the [Roman] army had been unpopular with many because of the likelihood of being sent far away from one's kith and kin, to some remote and unheard-of country where there were extremes of heat or cold, or both, of desert or of swamp. The complaint was of hard winters, hardworking summers, bloody war and unprofitable peace." Cf. also Tac. *Ann.* 1.17.

66 Croom 2002; Rothe 2009 on Ubian dress and Rothe 2013 on women's clothing worn in Noricum.

67 Holder 2006: 713.

68 Oltean 2009: 92–93. On various forms of identity of soldiers, see Collins 2008: 47.

69 Haynes 1999b: 167.

70 Haynes 1999a; James 1999.

languages spoken in their regions of origin.⁷¹ For instance, the formation of ethnic communities within a larger, more diverse community is evidenced by three altars erected by members of a unit which was stationed at the Birrens fort near Hadrian's Wall.⁷² The texts inscribed on these altars clearly indicate that each altar was set up by a different ethnic group, suggesting the existence of three different sub-communities within a single regiment.⁷³

When the troops were raised from a particular area through conscription, units would initially have consisted of recruits sharing the same cultural background.⁷⁴ Even in such units, however, social relations may have been shaped by divisions based on rural or urban descent. While it is true that epigraphic and historical evidence for such sub-ethnic networks is almost non-existent, we should at least recognise the possibility that they might have existed.

Conclusion

The evidence relating to peasants serving in the Roman army has been shown to be somewhat ambiguous. Various but inconsistent methods of recruitment and multiple ways of referring to the origins of soldiers were used simultaneously. Further research focusing on the different ways in which soldiers recorded their origin would help to expand our knowledge regarding geographic and chronological variations. The persistent focus on the soldiers of the Roman army as strictly soldiers inhibits the understanding of their social reality: they were participating in much more graded networks involving various forms of interaction. To assess what it meant to be a soldier in the Roman army, we must consider what the life of the soldier looked like before he entered a unit.⁷⁵ The awareness that a high proportion of the soldiers originated from the countryside helps us to achieve a better understanding of the complex, flexible social matrix of Roman military communities.

71 On multilingual (soldiers') families of Roman Britain see Allason-Jones 2004: 276–277. On existence of multilingualism in the Roman army see Clay 2007; on multilingualism in Greco-Roman worlds see Mullen and James 2012.

72 *RIB* 2100, 2107 and 2108; Haynes 1999b: 166.

73 Haynes 1999b: 166.

74 Haynes 1999b: 166.

75 *Pace* Haynes 2013: 4 who suggests that in order to comprehend fully what it meant to be a Roman auxiliary soldier, one needs to pay “closer attention to the soldiers’ own experience between enlistment and retirement.”

Tracing Familial Mobility: Female and Child Migrants in the Roman West*

Christer Bruun

Introduction: Contexts and Models

As recently observed by Greg Woolf, it is particularly challenging to study the migration of women and children in the Roman world, due to the lack of explicit sources.¹ It is assumed that in the Roman world women can be expected to have migrated mainly when accompanying their husbands or when living in slavery, either on their way to a slave market or when following their owner. Yet it is important to remember that the participation of women depends on what kind of migration we are envisaging. In this, comparative evidence can provide useful insights. Human migration represents a major phenomenon in the history of the last several centuries and it has consequently received an enormous amount of attention in modern historical research; theories and methods for studying migration have been developed and continue to be refined.²

It may, for instance, come as a surprise that a detailed study of migration within the United Kingdom in 1885, based on a nationwide census, concluded that “females are more migratory than males”;³ while in more recent times worldwide migration by women has been approaching that of men in numbers, and in countries such as the USA it is occasionally more numerous.⁴ In general, the participation of women (and, as a consequence, of children) depends on the type of migration. Historically, the gender balance in migration flows from rural to urban areas has been largely determined by the structure of the urban labour market.⁵ In many parts of early-modern Europe, where large numbers

* I am most grateful to the editors for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article. Thanks are also due to Alexander Kirby, MA, for stylistic improvements; remaining errors are my own.

1 Woolf 2013a; I am grateful to the author for providing me with a copy.

2 The vast general literature on migration research can obviously only briefly be touched upon here; cf., for instance, the contributions in Lucassen and Lucassen 1997a.

3 Cited by Brettell and Simon 1986: 3; for the original data, see Ravenstein 1885: 196–199.

4 Tyree and Donato 1986: 21–22. On women constituting the majority among Caribbean migrants, see Patterson 1978: 115. In general on modern female migration, see, e.g., Simon and Brettell 1986; several historical cases of strong female migration also in Hin 2013: 228–230.

5 Cf. Garnsey and De Ligt, in this volume.

of women were employed as domestic servants, female migrants tended to outnumber men. In other societies, where cities offered better employment opportunities for freeborn men than for freeborn women, men were normally predominant among voluntary migrants. An extreme example is the gender structure of the immigrant population of California in 1850, some two years into the gold rush, of which only 8% of were female; but obviously this was a highly exceptional case. In other situations, when there is migration into new agricultural land, either unpopulated or inhabited by a population with inferior technology, the conditions are suitable for family migration. Often, the consequence is rapid demographic growth, followed in turn by another round of emigration involving the newcomers or their descendants, as in the Germanic migration eastwards from the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries or the European conquest of North America.⁶

The Roman evidence is unfortunately too sketchy to allow us to make full use of the sophisticated models that students of more recent migratory movements have created. Here, one thinks in particular of the scheme presented by Charles Tilly and refined in later studies, according to which human migration can conveniently be divided in four large categories: local, circular, chain, and career migration.⁷

When evidence for non-locals turns up in a certain locality, Roman historians are often unable to establish whether we are dealing with a permanent or a temporary move, or whether the evidence may even refer to a simple visit. A rare and explicit example of the latter case is provided by an inscription from Beroia in Roman Macedonia. It mentions two young women, Maccusa and Victoria, also known as Valerio[*l*]a, aged 22 and 14, who travelled *ab ultima Gallia* (presumably from somewhere in modern France) all the way to Beroia in northern Greece, in order to visit their uncle, the *vir perfectissimus* and *comes* Flavius Gemellus.⁸ Considering the status of the uncle, one should of course not assume that they made their way alone, but regardless of how many servants accompanied them, it was no small journey, and mostly over land. Their case offers an interesting testimony of Roman female mobility, although

6 California 1850: Tyree and Donato 1986: 21; German migration: Livi Bacci 2000: 22–29.

7 Tilly 1978: esp. 51; for a brief survey of later studies see De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume; for applications to the Roman world, see Zerbini's contribution.

8 *bonae memoriae Maccusae Muceris ann(or)um xxii et Victoria sive Valerio[*l*]ae ann(or)um xiiii quae ob desiderium avunculi eorum Fl(av)i Gemelli v(iri) p(er)fectissimi comitis ab ultima Gallia per diversa loca provinciarum ad provinciam Macedoniam venerunt ibidemq(ue) post amplexum eius et completa cupiditate amoris in civitat[e] E]dessensi fati munus complerunt. quibus memoratus vir laudabilis ut cognosceretur iussit eis memoriam fieri* (CIL 3, 14406 = ILS 8454 = AE 1902, 155; fourth century CE).

the epigraphic memorial reminds us of the sad fact that the young women died soon after having encountered their uncle.

For the present study it would be important to be able to separate mobility in the sense of 'travel', which is above all a cultural phenomenon, from more permanent migration which has demographic and even genetic consequences, but it is often difficult to establish this distinction.⁹

An Italian Case: Migration at Vardagate

In 1942, an interesting but little known inscription from Roman Vardagate (or Vardacate) in the ninth Augustan region in Northern Italy (modern Casale Monferrato in Piemonte)¹⁰ was presented by V. Arangio-Ruiz and A. Vogliano. Today, it is normally given in the form cited here:¹¹

[*Imp. Nerva?*] *Caesar Augu[stus]/Clodio Secundo suo salutem/liberti eorum qui secundum voluntatem suam cooptati m[u]/nicipes Va[r]dacati(?) alterius condicionis sunt quam patroni nisi si et/ipsi coopt[ari] volunt et utroque loco munere f[u]ngi id est in eo in quo c[o]/o[ptati] sun[t et] in eo ex quo patroni eorum oriundi sunt/pecunia[e q]uae sine decurionum decreto erogatae sunt ab iis restitui rei/publicae oportet qui eas dederunt su[a] sponte ita ut petitio eis sit adversu[s]/eos quibus crediderunt/magistratus qui parum idoneos pra(e)des acceperunt cum cavendum esset rei/publicae ipsi obligati sunt quod si praedes tunc quidem idonei fuerunt cum/acciperentur postea v[ero] aliqua ex caussa minuerunt faculta[te]s non e[st]/fortuna praedum magistratibus imputanda vale.*

[The emperor Nerva?] Caesar Augustus sends a greeting to his loyal Clodius Secundus. The freedmen of those who according to their own wish have been coopted as citizens of Vardagate, have a different status than their patrons unless they themselves want to be coopted and to perform civic duties in both places, that is, in the place where they have been

9 This is also the reason why some recent studies have made no attempt at separating these two phenomena, which to be sure are connected to a certain degree, as seen in the works of Wierschowski 1995, 2001, Kakoschke 2002, 2004, and Handley 2011. Yet, on a fundamental level, 'travel and communication in the Roman world' and 'migration in the Roman world' are different topics.

10 For the location, see Talbert *et al.* 2000: 39 C3.

11 *Suppl.It.* 13, 5, Vardacate no. 1 = AE 1947, 44 = AE 1949, 24 = AE 1981, 390 = AE 2000, 586.

coopted and in the place from which their patron originates. The money, which has been expended without a decision of the Town Council (the *decuriones*), ought to be paid back to the community by those who gave it out on their own volition so that they have a claim for it against those to whom they gave it. Magistrates who accepted a less than sufficient security, although it was necessary to safeguard the community, have themselves incurred an obligation (to pay back), but if the security at that time when it was received seemed sufficient, but the value for some reason was reduced afterwards, the (cost of) the changing fortune of the security should not be attributed to the magistrates. Farewell.

The text cites a letter by an emperor (who might be Nerva, as argued by Harris, although earlier scholars have proposed other rulers, from Augustus to the Flavians)¹² to an otherwise unknown person named Clodius Secundus. We are therefore dealing with an *epistula* or a rescript (an official imperial reply). The first paragraph brings up the phenomenon of migration. No numbers and no details are given, but it is clear that the Roman authorities, both centrally in Rome, including the emperor, and locally, in the *curia*, were aware that movements of people from one place to another took place. Following here the short but lucid interpretation of Emilio Gabba, the inscription from Vardagate above all seems to exemplify local migration, one of the typical forms that students of human migration have identified. Vardagate, situated far upstream on the river Po, was a small community in an agricultural region distant from major centres. It seems unlikely that it could have attracted many migrants from farther away, although the community evidently had admitted some freeborn newcomers, presumably from the surrounding region, who must have found it advantageous to change their residence.¹³

The same inscription brings up another interesting feature: namely, the significance of social status for Roman migration. The letter from the Roman emperor (which had legal force) reveals that after some *patroni* had migrated to Vardagate and had received citizenship there, the same option was open to their freedmen only if the latter committed to performing civic duties (*munera*) both in their old and their new place of residence.¹⁴

12 Gabba 2000: 457–458, basically supports Harris 1981: 338–346. For earlier dating proposals, see Thomas 1996: 75.

13 Gabba 2000: 459–461.

14 On this passage, see Harris 1981: 348–349; Jacques 1984: 647–650; Thomas 1996: 56, 74–76; Gabba 2000: 459–461. It must be assumed that the *patroni* already were expected to perform *munera* in both places, but apparently there was some uncertainty about whether

Greg Woolf has drawn attention to the concept of “social caging” or “the extent to which particular configurations of social power limit or permit social and geographical mobility”.¹⁵ Such factors obviously had a major effect on the mobility of women and children in the Roman world, considering both the impact of *patria potestas* (among Roman citizens) and the restricted opportunities for employment that were available for free women, and perhaps for children too. While comparative material from early industrialised nations and modern third-world countries shows that under-age youths may migrate in considerable numbers, it is uncertain whether this feature existed and can be documented in the Roman world (see further below).

The scenario at Vardagate reminds us of the situation during the Roman Republic, several centuries earlier, when allied communities and individuals who had Latin rights brought up the issue of *migratio*, another instance of a specifically Roman form of ‘social caging’. The most significant example occurs in Livy’s account of events in the year 177 BCE (Liv. 41.8.6–12). The Italic communities complained that thousands of their citizens had migrated to Rome – here indeed, as we might expect, Rome was the primary destination of this migration, although the Samnites and Paeligni were also worried because four thousand of their compatriots had moved to Fregellae (41.8.8) – where they were able to gain Roman citizenship as long as they left a descendant behind in their old community (*qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent*, 41.8.9). According to Livy there had been serious attempts at circumventing the purpose of this requirement, and the Roman authorities took various measures to address this, leading to the expulsion of non-citizens. This was done at the insistence of the Italic communities, who were worried that their population numbers would suffer, a concern that Rome shared.¹⁶

Motives and Opportunities for Migration in the Roman World

The motives that lead to human migration are fundamentally universal, although different historical contexts lead to different patterns and results.

the generally important ties of patronage would automatically guarantee the freedmen full rights in their patron’s new place of residence. This was not the case. The nature of the *munera* is unknown, and for freedmen it was obviously not a question of participating in the town’s government.

¹⁵ Woolf 2013a: 353.

¹⁶ Sherwin-White 1973: 110–111, and Brunt 1971: 72–73, 85, discuss the concept of *ius migratio-nis* during the Republic. Doubts are convincingly thrown on the existence of such a ‘right’ by Laffi 1995: esp. 76–77, and the reassessment is continued by Broadhead 2001. Coşkun

Surveying the most common factors that caused migration in the Roman world is one way of detecting situations when female and family migration may have been particularly common during the Principate.

The Stationing of Legions and Other Army Units

Hundreds of thousands of soldiers served in the legions and in the auxiliary units during the Principate, and thousands of inscriptions reveal certain patterns here. Considerable changes took place during the transition from the Republic to the imperial period and the formation of a standing army. The creation of permanent military camps primarily along the frontiers of the empire meant that soldiers stayed away from home for decades; often, they were able to create a new life for themselves in the province where they had been serving. J.C. Mann's work on legionary recruitment and veteran settlement shows how it became more and more common for veterans to remain in the vicinity of their point of service, instead of returning home.¹⁷ The same goes for auxiliary soldiers, although it is true that some returned home, as probably is shown by the many military diplomas found in the Balkans, an important recruiting area for soldiers throughout the Principate.¹⁸ Recent scholarship has continued to illuminate this phenomenon.¹⁹ Although the formalities and practicalities of soldiers' forming lasting relations with their female partners were complicated (both for those who experienced it, and for modern scholars), there is no doubt that women accompanied the military units and that families were formed.²⁰ An example is provided by a recent study of inscriptions relating to soldiers from the *classis praetoria Misenensis* seconded to service at Hadrian's famous villa at Tivoli from their base on the Gulf of Naples. One soldier erected a funerary monument for a female slave of his, while another did the same for his *liberta* Secunda, in both cases probably their companions.²¹

Government Colonisation and Resettlement Projects

A more organised movement of army veterans took place in connection with the founding of so-called veteran colonies. This is an activity which occurred mainly

2009: 168–193 and *passim*, discusses the issue extensively and does not harbour the same doubts.

17 Mann 1983, and Roselaar, in this volume. Cf. note 20 below.

18 On military diplomas, see Speidel 2015, *passim*, with further bibliography.

19 Cristofori 2013.

20 Phang 2001; Woolf 2013a: 356, gives references to work on families among the auxiliaries.

21 See Granino Cecere and Ricci 2006: 238–239.

up until the Augustan period, of which there are some famous examples in Italy, notably Augusta Praetoria, modern Aosta in NW Italy, or Augusta Taurinorum, modern Turin. But the founding of veteran *coloniae* continued under later emperors for another century. Claudius created military colonies in Britain and Mauretania, the Flavians along the middle Danube, and Trajan in Dacia and along the lower Danube.²² Here we are looking at massive migrations of men, and undoubtedly of women too, insofar as the soldiers had been able to form partnerships during their service. In this context we can therefore assume female migration as well.

If one were to cover the whole Roman period (here the focus is on the Principate), one would find at an even earlier stage the outright creation of both citizen colonies and Latin colonies by the authorities of the Roman Republic: while these were situated in Italy and the distances travelled were not always very great, they obviously represent migration on a very considerable scale.²³ In these cases we can be sure that women and children accompanied those men who had families.

Commercial Motives (Traders)

The point about trade and traders is an obvious one, and it is a phenomenon which has been ongoing in the Mediterranean since Homeric times, and before; undoubtedly the beginning of trading goes way back into prehistory. Trade has everything to do with *mobility*, but not necessarily much with migration. When looking for evidence for *migration*, we mostly depend on inscriptions, because just looking at imported artefacts does not tell us whether they were imported by locals or sold by traders who had come from abroad and settled down. Traders from Italy roamed the Mediterranean widely already during the Late Republic; the Italic presence at the commercial node of Delos is well known,²⁴ as is the presence of traders in the North African city of Cirta during the Iugurthine war. The massacre of Romans in Asia Minor by Mithridates VI in 89 BCE at the outbreak of the first Mithridatic war indicates the presence of a fairly large community hailing from Italy, although the numbers of the victims in our

22 Salmon 1969: 138–144 (Augustus), 145–150 (Claudius to Trajan), 158–164 (list of all colonies). Cf. Keppie 1983 for veteran settlement of the triumviral and part of the Augustan period, and Todisco 1999 for the settlement of veterans during the first and second centuries CE. Later emperors focused on bestowing the status of *colonia* on existing towns, see Salmon 1969: 152–157.

23 See, e.g., Brunt 1971: 72–73, 84–85; Lomas 2004: 207–213; Scheidel 2004: 10–11; de Ligt 2012, *passim*.

24 Hatzfeld 1912.

sources are likely much exaggerated,²⁵ and it is not known to what extent we are dealing with permanent migration of families.

Focusing on an example from the Principate, a recent study by Gian Luca Gregori concerning the presence of individuals from the Gallic port of Narbo in Sicily, at Syracuse, *Thermae Himeraeae* and *Panhormus*, highlights the significance of commerce and government service for the mobility of individuals.²⁶ In one inscription from *Thermae Himeraeae* (*AE* 1976, 265) which cites five individuals belonging to the local elite, two freeborn women, [-]a L.f. *Procula* and [-]a L.f. *Longina*, feature prominently. They seem to have been part of a group that had arrived in this Sicilian town and apparently represent family migration.²⁷ There was obviously also a movement towards Italy, as traders from all over the Mediterranean had their sight set on the capital and its ports. The best known case consists of the merchants from Tyre in Phoenicia, who were well-organised and had one base (*statio*) in Puteoli and another in Rome.²⁸ Still, we lack detailed information about those who joined these *stationes* and are unable to say whether they were accompanied by family members.

Individuals in Search of Work (Land) and/or Change and/or Adventure

Migration for the purpose of finding a better life, whether it means better work or a more exciting and rewarding life, operates on different premises than embarking on a trading tour or a sales trip. People will act based on rumours and whatever information they have, and large metropoleis are likely to attract the most attention. In an important discussion of the 'structure of migration', David Anthony argues that migration will take place when there are attractions to a specific well known location (pull factors), reasons to leave (push factors) and when the costs of relocation are affordable.²⁹ This is obviously correct, but with the important proviso that 'attractiveness', 'reasons to leave', and even 'affordable costs' are often matters of subjective perception.

'Betterment migration' has involved hundreds of millions over the past centuries and continues to be a very common phenomenon. The question is: how do we detect traces of such migrants in the ancient world? Turning again to the rich epigraphic evidence from Roman Ostia, a recently highlighted text

25 On the number of Romans and Italians in Asia Minor before the Mithridatic wars, see the discussion in Brunt 1971: 224–227; cf. Müller and Hasenohr 2002 on the Greek East.

26 Gregori 2012.

27 Gregori 2012: 315–317.

28 Sosin 1999; Terpstra 2013: 70–79.

29 Anthony 1990, 899–905; cf. Woolf, in this volume.

contains a list of some ninety members of a professional association, likely the *fabri navales* (shipwrights).³⁰ For seven of these individuals it can be established that they must have been newcomers in Rome's harbour town (others may have belonged to this category as well, but we lack any information in this regard). The members are normally registered with their *tria nomina*, i.e. *praenomen*, *gentilicium*, and *cognomen*, and sometimes also with filiation, as in *T(iti)filius*. There are also a few who adopt a very different onomastic formula, namely, men who do not use a *gentilicium* but only carry one name, and then a patronymic, a reference to their father: [Euc]haristus Demetr[i]f(ilius)],³¹ Sapas Dionysi f(ilius), Ostiensis Isidori f(ilius), Serapio Alexandri f(ilius), Zoilus Demetri f(ilius), Tyrannus Dionysi f(ilius), and Isidorus Metrodori f(ilius). The only possible explanation for why these seven men are named in this way is that they are not Roman citizens, nor even Latin citizens (who were able to 'upgrade' their status to full citizenship by fulfilling certain requirements). Since they each name their father, they are free men lacking citizenship or, with a Latin term, *peregrini*. Apart from the Junian Latins, ex-slaves who used the *tria nomina* after they had been freed informally or before the age of 30,³² there were no indigenous free non-citizens in Italy during the Principate. Therefore we must be dealing with immigrants from abroad. We cannot say precisely when the move to Ostia took place, and in the case of the man called Ostiensis Isidori f(ilius) the name might even suggest that this person was born after his *peregrinus* father had arrived at Ostia. In any case these names reveal migration, and the Greek *cognomina* (six out of seven) also indicate that the movement of people to Italy took place from eastern regions, where Greek was spoken.³³ These men must have migrated westward in search of job opportunities. The general assumption is that these *fabri navales* were not the unskilled labourers in the shipyards, but more well-to-do carpenters who probably employed others. Such men may have been moving with their families, although at present we have no evidence for it.

There are several other groups of 'trained professionals' in the Roman world about which it is assumed that they frequently travelled around looking for favourable employment conditions. Intellectuals and artists of various kinds belong in this group. At first sight the epigraphic record offers weak support for the view that such people must have been particularly mobile. A study of

30 Thus Cébeillac-Gervasoni and Zevi 2010: 163–164.

31 The name is likely *Eucharistus*, not *Eu(h)aristus*; cf. Solin 2003, vol. 2: 420, 413.

32 Cf. Garnsey and De Ligt, in this volume.

33 Only *Sapas* is not a Greek name, but probably a Semitic one, normally spelled 'Sabas'; for *Sabas* and several similar Semitic names in Rome, see Solin 1996: 614.

grammatici, advanced teachers and tutors, referred to in inscriptions dating to between the first century BCE and the fourth century CE, has shown that migration can be documented for only a handful of epigraphically attested *grammatici*.³⁴ In interpreting these inscriptions we must, however, pay close attention to the cultural context in which they appear. Among the around thirty fairly brief and formulaic inscriptions from the West, almost always in Latin, less than a handful expressly reveal migration, while in some fifteen texts from the Greek East, which are often much longer, migration is frequently mentioned.³⁵ It is not unreasonable to assume that mobility and migration was equally common in the western part of the Empire. Of fifty *grammatici*, only one is female, Volusia Tertullina from Caesarea in Mauretania.³⁶

Escaping Natural Disasters or Warfare

When natural disasters or war make a locality uninhabitable or less attractive, migration will result. We know that during the final stages of the volcanic eruption of 79 CE, people in Pompeii and all around Mt. Vesuvius tried to escape, many in vain. The same probably happened elsewhere too, in the wake of floodings, earthquakes, and other traumatic natural disasters. Such events may have given at least part of the population the impetus to leave. Thus, according to the philosopher Seneca, after the earthquake of 62 CE in Campania many people decided to move away from the region.³⁷ Warfare can have a similar impact, raids by the enemy or civil war may force families who have lost everything and fear losing even more, to move away. Detecting traces of such events is almost impossible without written evidence, which is almost non-existent.

Persecution

Persecution on religious or political grounds is a common reason for migration today and one which has influenced migratory behaviour since at least since the Middle Ages. Religious migration in the western hemisphere became more widespread after the protestant reformation: the various groups who escaped to North America from the 1500s onwards come to mind. For the late-medieval

34 Augusta-Boularot 1994.

35 Augusta-Boularot 1994: 662–690 (esp. nos. 5, 23, 29, 30), 690–709 (Greek East).

36 Augusta-Boularot 1994: 709–712 (*AE* 1994, 1903 = *AE* 1996, 1903).

37 Sen. *Nat.* 6.1.10, referring to *qui Campaniae renuntiaverunt quique post hunc casum emigraverunt negantque ipsos umquam in illam regionem accessuros*; the case is mentioned in Jones 2014: 55. For much information about earthquakes and efforts to mitigate their effects during the Roman Principate, see Jones 2014: esp. 64: “the shift of habitation away from the Troad when a long period of seismic activity set in”. Thommen 2012: 114–115 is very brief and lacks details.

period one may point to the Jewish migration to Poland during the persecutions following the outbreak of the Black Death in Europe in the mid-14th century.³⁸ Migration for political reasons has been more common since the 19th century.

In the Roman world, there was not much of this ideologically driven migration. When the Christians were actively persecuted, which did not happen very frequently,³⁹ where in the Roman Empire could they go? The Roman authorities were supposed to be equally zealous everywhere. The solution was probably either to retire to a remote area,⁴⁰ or to cross the border into Barbaricum (or to lapse in faith). These are the forms which migration for religious reasons would take in the case of Christian persecutions. Among adherents to other faiths, the Jewish diaspora must be mentioned; after the Bar Kochba revolt (132–135) some further migration took place.⁴¹

In general, whenever persecutions in the Roman world caused flight by part of the population, we can assume that the movement was accompanied by the migration of women and children.

Enslavement

The situation of the Jews in Palestine introduces the possibly most common form of migration in the Roman world: enslavement.⁴² There is no doubt that the transport of slaves from one region to another represented a major migratory phenomenon, which began well back in the Republican era and continued throughout the Principate. But how can one identify and/or quantify this process? To mention but one example: what about the enslaved prisoners from the Jewish war of Vespasian and Titus? We read in Flavius Josephus that 97,000 Jewish prisoners were brought to Rome and were used for building the Colosseum

38 Harrison 2000: 259–260.

39 Barnes 1968.

40 In late-Roman Egypt the Dakhleh oasis seems to have attracted followers of Manichaeism, attempting to escape both pagan and Christian persecution; see Gardner and Lieu 2004: 35.

41 On the aftermath of the revolt, see Schäfer 2003: 158–160, 163.

42 The extent to which the reproduction of the slave population in the Roman world depended on migration depends to some extent on the number of house-bred slaves, the *vernae*, although it is of course also the case that *vernae* could be sold and brought to other localities. The proportion of *vernae* in the Roman slave population played a role in the late 1990s in the ‘Harris – Scheidel debate’ on the sources of Roman slaves. While high numbers of *vernae* were estimated by Scheidel 1997 and 2005: 75, lower figures were proposed by Harris 1999. Support for lower numbers, based on additional arguments, in Bruun 2013: 33–34.

(Jos. BJ 6.418). However, historians have been able to identify only one of these enslaved Jews, who in fact happens to be a woman: Claudia Aster *Hierosolymitana captiva*, 'a captive from Jerusalem' (CIL 10, 1971 = ILS 8193 = AE 1999, 455; Puteoli).⁴³ Why is this? The main reason is that we need names, Semitic-Jewish names, that might identify those bearing them as former inhabitants of Judaea who were enslaved in the early 70s CE during and after the war, since the inscription from Puteoli just quoted is unique. However, slaves in Rome were regularly given Greek names, and sometimes Latin ones, while very few received or were allowed to keep non-Greco-Roman (for convenience known as 'barbarian') names. In Solin's *Sklavennamen* bearers of 'barbarian' names represent less than two percent of the persons identifiable as slaves in the city of Rome.⁴⁴ Thus, the epigraphic evidence does not allow us to identify Jewish slaves in Rome, and it is equally problematic to identify, anywhere in the Roman world, other slaves who had their origin among subjugated peoples, such as Dacians or, to cite a more obscure case, members of the otherwise unknown people of the *Bavares Mesegneitises* in Mauretania Caesariensis. During the second half of the third century, the Roman governor of that province thanked the gods in an inscription, *ob prostratam gentem Bavarum Mesegneitisium praedasque omnes ac familias eorum abductas*, "on account of the tribe of the Bavares Mesegneitises having been crushed and his having carried off all the booty and brought their families into captivity" (CIL 8, 21486 = ILS 4495). One notes the reference to the fate of the families of these unfortunate enemies of the Roman Empire.

Identifying Migration: Epigraphy and Onomastics

When identifying individuals who have migrated, names obviously play a crucial role. Inscriptions are particularly important here, since even if some information can be found in literary sources – Cicero's account of the life of Archias the Greek intellectual, who migrated from his native Antioch via Asia Minor and Greece to Southern Italy and Rome, comes to mind here (Cic., *Arch.* 4–5) – there is always the danger of exaggeration and literary topoi are common, as in Juvenal's famous saying that the Syrian Orontes has begun to pour into the Tiber (*Sat.* 3.62: *iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim fluxit Orontes*).

Among our written sources, inscriptions play a crucial role, but they are rarely particularly explicit. Only between one and two per cent of all ancient

43 I owe this reference to Birgit van der Lans.

44 Solin 1996: vol. 3, 601–616 for the collection of individuals; Solin 2001: 309 for the proportion of the total.

inscriptions are so-called *carmina epigraphica*, verse inscriptions,⁴⁵ which are longer than usual and may contain attempts at mini-biographies. These poems represent some of the best written evidence also for migratory movements, relatively few though they are. A recent study of traces of migration in the *carmina* of North Africa turned up twenty funerary epigrams which refer to migration.⁴⁶ Interestingly enough, seven of them concern women. The author, Christine Hamdoune, assigns the types of migration revealed by the poems to four different categories, of which two are most relevant here, namely one consisting of a long absence leading to permanent residence and death elsewhere (type 3), and another (type 4) described as “changement total de patrie” including the foundation of a new family. Female migrants account for half of the cases making up categories 3–4, but whenever a motive for the migration can be established, the women accompanied a male family member. Thus, Minicia Prima, born in Rome, accompanied her spouse, an imperial freedman (*CIL* 8, 12792), Arruntia Sperata was the daughter of a veteran who hailed from North Italy (*CIL* 8, 23417), while Iulia Paula had migrated with her father, who was Greek (*graiugenus*; *ILAFr* 158 = *CLE* 1996).⁴⁷

Much epigraphic evidence has been studied carefully by recent scholarship. One thinks here of the work by Lothar Wierschowski on migration to and from Gaul,⁴⁸ David Noy’s work on the city of Rome and Britain,⁴⁹ the many studies by Cecilia Ricci on foreigners in Rome,⁵⁰ and of Mark Handley’s study of travel and mobility in the late-antique West.⁵¹ Of the various criteria that have been used in studies that focus on evidence for individuals, the most important ones can be summarised as follows:⁵²

- (1) The explicit indication of foreign origin, as in formulations such as *domo Laudicia ex Suria* (a praetorian soldier, *CIL* 6, 2627 = *ILS* 2063) or *natione Hispana* (Caecilia Graecula, *CIL* 6, 13820) in Rome, *domo Roma* in an inscription from Cagliari in Sardinia,⁵³ or the more loquacious expressions

45 Schmidt 2015: 762. Cf. the contribution by Tacoma and Tybout, in this volume.

46 Hamdoune 2006.

47 Hamdoune 2006: 1015–1020.

48 Wierschowski 1995 and 2001.

49 Noy 2000 and 2010.

50 Ricci 2005 and 2006 (preceded by many individual studies).

51 Handley 2011: esp. 117–138 with a list of 567 inscriptions recording foreigners and travellers in the West, excluding Rome.

52 Cf. Wierschowski 1995: 24–25 for a very extensive list, with a somewhat different emphasis in some cases; also Noy 2010: 13–28 lists a number of criteria.

53 Bruun 1992.

used in some of the verse inscriptions from North Africa just mentioned. It is mostly soldiers who are found using such expressions.

- (2) A more or less explicit mention of an origin elsewhere, such as the use of the term *incola* (meaning a 'resident', someone not born in the place where he or she lived), also shows migration. A *cognomen* referring to a foreign ethnicity, such as *Africanus* or *Attica*, is normally not a very useful indication, as can be seen from the case of Caecilia Graecula mentioned above, who was of Hispanic rather than Greek origin.
- (3) A Greek filiation, i.e. a Greek patronymic, in the West reveals migration, as we have seen in our discussion of the Ostian *fabri navales*.
- (4) The use of names which are neither Greek nor Latin, when they appear outside of their natural linguistic area, indicate migration. We are either dealing with a 'barbarian' name born by a free immigrant or with slaves being allowed to keep or having been given names reflecting their origin. Not only Semitic names belong here, but also African (e.g., *Ibbu*, *CIL* 6, 25497), Gallic (e.g., *Busca*, *CIL* 6, 14837) and Illyrian ones (e.g., *Liccaea*, *CIL* 6, 28955), as well as various other region-specific names (e.g., *Anna*, *CIL* 6, 22377, a name from Asia Minor).⁵⁴
- (5) When a person is registered in a *tribus* (voting tribe) other than that to which a particular settlement belongs, it is a justified inference that he or an immediate ancestor migrated to the locality. Unfortunately, relatively few individuals mention their *tribus*, and women were not registered in the tribes at all, as they lacked the right to vote.
- (6) When a person appears in inscriptions from two or more places, or clearly has ties to more than one community, it stands to reason that he or she is at home in only one of these places and a newcomer in the other locality or localities.⁵⁵
- (7) When inscriptions in the West are written in non-local languages, one might suspect that the individuals mentioned are immigrants. This is often likely when we are dealing with inscriptions in eastern languages found in the West, although in some parts of Italy Greek was a local language centuries before the Roman Principate. It is, for instance, not persuasive to talk about immigration if we find someone erecting a Greek

54 These instances, all female, were chosen from among the 'barbarian' names listed in Solin 1996: vol. 3, 601–616. Among the fairly numerous individuals who bear a Thracian name, no women appear. For Semitic names, see Solin 1983.

55 Such individuals are not common; see Wierschowski 1995: 242 (*decuriones*) and 250 (*Augustales*), and Gregori 2012.

inscription in Naples in the second century CE, because we know that Neapolis was an old Greek colony and that Greek continued to be used by locals for centuries.⁵⁶

- (8) Combinations of certain unusual elements in an inscription (we are usually dealing with epitaphs), such as formulae that are common elsewhere, or iconographic representations that point to a foreign culture, can also be important in determining whether the person is an immigrant.
- (9) There is one further and little known method worth mentioning here, namely, the 'onomastic profile' of a place, a method employed by Olli Salomies in his survey of the population of Ostia.⁵⁷ It is a method which does not always allow the secure identification of individual migrants, but it can point to probabilities and sometimes makes it possible to identify trends. The 'onomastic profile' of a locality can be defined as the distribution of family names (much more rarely also the *cognomina*) there, and an important role is played by the most common family names. When carrying out an onomastic inventory of Italian towns it turns out that certain *gentilicia* are more common in some towns than in others, or even conspicuously common somewhere. For Ostia, the names *Egrilius*, *Combarisius*, *Ostiensis*, as well as some others, are particularly typical. The name *Cantanaeus*, which appears in the inscription of the Ostian *fabri navales* referred to above is in fact unique for Ostia in the Roman world.⁵⁸

When typically Ostian names, such as *Egrilius* or *Ostiensis*, are found elsewhere, it is worth considering the hypothesis that the bearers (or possibly their ancestors) might have migrated. When analysing the onomastic material from Ostia, Salomies detected the presence of migration from the Sabine territory, and also from much farther away, such as Northern Italy, Dalmatia, and North Africa.⁵⁹ A few years before the publication of Salomies's article, Mireille Cébeillac-Gervasoni had found onomastic indications of a massive influx of persons from North Africa, even talking about an "African takeover".⁶⁰

56 Leiwo 1994. The same can be said for the use of Greek in and around Marseille in S. France, see Wierschowski 1995: 29. See also the cases from Ostia discussed in the next section.

57 Salomies 2002: 137–140. There is a hint in this direction also in Wierschowski 1995: 24 no. 13, while Salomies elaborates more substantially.

58 Cébeillac-Gervasoni and Zevi 2010: 163–164, col. 2, 26; cf. Salomies 2002: 144.

59 Salomies 2002: 150–153.

60 Cébeillac-Gervasoni 1996.

Unlike the search for expressions such as *domo* or *natione*, which tend to be used overwhelmingly by soldiers, the method of 'onomastic profiling' is gender neutral, and it will reveal women, and sometimes children too, in so far as they appear in inscriptions. Yet, as always, there are many reasons causing men to be better represented than women in the epigraphic evidence, while children are practically only recorded in funerary inscriptions, never as actors of any kind. One inscription containing the name of a possible female migrant runs as follows: *Dis Man(ibus) C. Valerius Hermer(os) et Cyperia Heuresis fec(erunt) C. Valerio Proclo / filio vix(it) ann(os) VIII men(ses) IX*, "To the Spirits of the Underworld. C. Valerius Hermeros and Cyperia Heuresis made (this monument) for their son C. Valerius Proclus. He lived nine years and nine months" (*CIL* 14, 5159). According to Salomies, the name *Cuperius* points to an origin in Etruria.⁶¹ Without additional information it is, however, impossible to say anything further in this individual case, and we cannot know whether Cuperia herself had migrated from Etruria, or if it was a male ancestor who did so.

Thinking about how she might have ended up in Ostia, some might also want to draw attention to the fact that Cuperia is the bearer of a Greek *cognomen*, Heuresis. Since a Greek *cognomen* in Rome and most parts of Italy is commonly considered to be an indication of 'servile descent', if not proof that the person him/herself is a slave or ex-slave,⁶² we may ask whether Cuperia Heuresis was a freedwoman, in which case she might be a slave from almost anywhere (of course also a house-born slave, a *verna*). This leads us to the more general problem of how to interpret the occurrence of a Greek *cognomen*, and what it might mean for the study of migration. I will confine myself to a few summary observations. While in the early 20th century the possession of a Greek *cognomen* in Rome and most of Italy was taken to indicate provenance from the eastern Mediterranean, the current standard view, which was firmly established in the early 1970s, is that a Greek *cognomen* in the West is an indication of servile descent (whatever the exact meaning of that term might be),⁶³ but not of an *origin* in the Greek speaking parts of the Empire.⁶⁴ It would thus

61 Salomies 2002: 151.

62 This view will be discussed in what follows.

63 I consider the term 'servile descent' (and other similarly vague expressions) problematic, as it has now become very common to attach it to any person found bearing a Greek *cognomen* in the West. Onomastic studies have shown that freeborn individuals were also given Greek *cognomina*, and to talk about 'servile descent' (and the implications of forced migration that adhere to this term) in every instance is surely not meaningful. It is also often unclear how many generations into the past scholars are situating the slave status; cf. Bruun 2013 for some considerations on this topic.

64 The point was made emphatically in Solin 1971.

appear that the occurrence of Greek *cognomina* in the West normally is something that is not of direct concern to students of human migration.⁶⁵ However, my own study of the naming of *vernae*, house-born slaves, in Rome and Italy, shows that Greek names were less common than Latin ones. At the same time slaves bearing Greek names account for the majority of all slaves. If we combine these observations, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that a larger proportion of slaves bearing Greek names than is commonly thought must have come from elsewhere, as involuntary migrants.⁶⁶

Identifying Migration: Archaeology

Material culture and archaeological sources of every kind are essential for Roman history, but when discussing human migration, traditional archaeology is only of limited importance. It is only when physical anthropology comes into play that archaeological excavations can make a significant contribution to migration studies in the Roman world.

When studying non-human archaeological evidence, it is important to determine whether material remains were left behind by people who were residents or not. Foreign cultural practices, including religious rituals, and foreign objects may have entered simply as the result of travel and trade. Studying such forms of mobility is not the same as studying migration.⁶⁷

For instance, if we find a temple of the god Zeus Helios Sarapis in Ostia, this is obviously proof of foreign influence, but epigraphic evidence for worshippers does not always provide evidence of immigration, although it may do so. Its relevance for our study depends on the persons who appear in the dedications mentioning such foreign divinities. If the worshippers are clearly locals from Ostia, it merely shows cultural influence. On a marble base from Portus, Ostia's deep-sea harbour, inscribed in Greek and containing a vow for the health of the emperor Septimius Severus and his family, a certain C. Valerius Serenus styles himself *neokoros* (warden) of Great Sarapis and *curator* (*epimeletes*) of

65 Indeed, its significance for identifying migration movements was rightly downplayed by, for instance, Webster 2010: 50–51.

66 Bruun 2013, including a brief comment on the so-called 'Harris-Scheidel' debate on the sources of Roman slaves. In a future paper I intend to discuss the problem of the relative proportion of house-born slaves and bought slaves among those slaves bearing Greek names in more detailed fashion.

67 Cf. Cool 2010: 27, 39; and the discussion in Fulford 2010: esp. 77; Pearce 2010.

the whole Alexandrinian (grain) fleet.⁶⁸ Despite his Roman name (including the Latin *cognomen*), Valerius Serenus may be a foreigner at Ostia, but even if that is the case we cannot know whether he had settled down at Ostia for good or whether he was only stationed there while carrying out his mission. The situation is somewhat different in the case of a monumental Greek inscription, also from Portus, containing a dedication to Zeus Helios Megalos Sarapis and recording a contribution to the god's temple made by one T. Aelius Felicissimus and, interestingly enough, his wife and children (mentioned but not named).⁶⁹ Felicissimus may have been a successful businessman originating from somewhere in the eastern Mediterranean who had emigrated to Ostia with his whole family. His name, though, contains nothing that hints at a non-Italic origin, and instead of a voluntary migrant, he might, for instance, have been an imperial freedman (manumitted by Antoninus Pius) or the descendant of such a freedman.

However, among the rich material that archaeologists uncover are also human remains, and this aspect leads to the final topic of this paper: the contribution that physical anthropology can bring.

Anthropological Methods for Identifying Migration, Especially of Women and Children

There are various ways in which the natural sciences can contribute to the historical study of migration. One is the analysis of mitochondrial DNA, which is found in human cells. The mitochondrial DNA is inherited only on the mother's side, and the pattern of human mitochondrial DNA distribution in today's world has enabled scholars to determine the ultimate origin of these strands. 95% of modern native Europeans belong to seven 'clans' or haplogroups, which in current scholarship are identified by the letters H, J, K, T, X, U, and V.⁷⁰ By looking at mutations one can estimate when the first mother of each of these strands lived, and one can form some idea of the region in which they originated. Mother U is by far the oldest with 45,000 years, the origin of 'clan' X goes back 25,000 years, mother H is deemed to have lived 20,000 years ago, mother T some 17,000 years ago, and so on.⁷¹ Although the time-spans that are presented

68 Bricault 2005: 595 no. 503/1207 = *IGR* 1, 380 = *I. Porto* 3. On the temple and cult of Sarapis at Ostia, cf. also Meiggs 1973: 367–368.

69 Bricault 2005: 592 no. 503/1201 = *SEG* 33, 776 = *I. Porto* 12.

70 Sykes 2006: 105.

71 Sykes 2006: 106.

are very wide, it is obvious that these theories and findings are relevant for the question of migration, and they are obviously equally important for the issue of how common it was for women to migrate.

A few years ago the Oxford scholar Bryan Sykes published a fascinating study in which he mapped the origin of the British population.⁷² This is not the place for an account of his findings, but it deserves to be highlighted that Sykes detected certain fairly minor traces of foreign influence that he traced back to demographic movements of the Roman period, i.e. to an influx of individuals from regions to the south of the British Isles in those centuries.⁷³ This conclusion tallies well with what we know from other sources about the Roman conquest of Britain, although in situations such as this one has to be aware of the danger of a circular argument: since some defined immigration is known to have taken place, there may be the temptation to interpret the results precisely in this light.

Roman archaeologists have also begun to work with mitochondrial DNA. A team led by Tracy Prowse recently analysed mtDNA from ten individuals on a site in southern Italy, where Canadian teams have been digging for a long time, and found that one individual, an adult female, belonged to haplogroup D, indicating East-Asian descent, while an adult male belonged to haplogroup L, which is common in sub-Saharan Africa.⁷⁴ This is again interesting information, but it does not tell us much in detail about migration, since every individual's mtDNA has been inherited from a long line of women. Without further information we cannot say when the individual in question or a female ancestor moved away from the area originally inhabited by the haplogroup.

A second approach employing scientific methods sets out from chemical elements that can be used to identify the place(s) where a person lived during the early stages of his/her life. The natural environment in which humans live contains traces of certain chemical components that are deposited and retained in our teeth and bones throughout our lives. Physical anthropology is primarily interested in traces of oxygen (chemical designator O) and strontium (Sr). Scientists can measure the ratio of certain isotopes (the form in which these elements appear in nature) to determine the area where an individual lived during certain phases when these deposits in (especially) the teeth were formed, namely, the ratios of ¹⁸O to ¹⁶O and ⁸⁷Sr to ⁸⁶Sr. These ratios are labelled $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ and $\delta^{87}\text{Sr}$, respectively.⁷⁵

72 Sykes 2006.

73 Sykes 2006: 254, 286–287, with 246–254 on the Roman period.

74 Prowse *et al.* 2010: 189; cf. Prowse, in this volume.

75 For an explanation by experts in the field, directed at historians, see Killgrove 2010b: 162–163 and Prowse, in this volume.

Four isotopes of lead (Pb) can also be used, although there are certain problems with accurately determining the geographical origin of an individual when this method is employed.⁷⁶ In a now fairly famous case from Britain it has been possible to show that a young upper class woman buried in London in the early 4th century was not of local origin, and the lead content in her body may indicate an origin from the environs of Rome.⁷⁷

The study of oxygen isotopes has played a particularly important role in the migration debate of the past few years. In 2007 an interesting article by Tracy Prowse and her team of scholars appeared in the renowned *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, claiming that their analysis of oxygen isotope ratios contained in dental material from Ostia had produced evidence of ‘family migration’ to that city. According to the authors, “this study demonstrates that migration was not limited to predominantly single adult males, as suggested by historical sources, but rather [was] a complex phenomenon involving families.”⁷⁸

This is an interesting statement not just for students of human migration and of the part played by women therein, but also for someone who, like the author of this paper, is engaged in a study of Ostian social life and “civic identity”.⁷⁹ This is what prompted my engagement with physical anthropology and isotopic analyses.⁸⁰ It is clear that the analysis of dental enamel and of skeletal remains can contribute to identifying non-local individuals. Oxygen isotopes are being deposited in the dental enamel at various times of a person’s life. The dental enamel of the first molar, M₁, absorbs isotopes from the environment during the first years of childhood (until 2.5 – 3 years of age) and preserves them through an individual’s life, enabling scholars to establish a value for $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ for the first years of a person’s life.⁸¹ The third molar, M₃, records the value for $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ in later childhood up until about age 17.⁸²

76 Montgomery et al. 2010: 211–212.

77 Montgomery et al. 2010: 217–219. Her grave was found in the Spitalfields cemetery.

78 The quote is from the abstract in Prowse et al. 2007: 510. The claim is repeated in similar wordings on p. 517 and p. 518.

79 See Bruun 2009, 2012, 2013 and 2014.

80 Bruun 2010, on which cf. Killgrove 2010c (the author was not the target of any critical comments, but she contributed a ‘response’ in which she for the most part was in agreement with the central point of my article, concerning the absence of ‘family migration’). In her study of migration during the Republic, Hin 2013: 219–220, refers to the isotopic research discussed in the following, acknowledging that the material is from the imperial period but unaware of the inherent methodological problems; again emphasising the importance of the results for the republican period on pp. 234–237.

81 For a more detailed discussion of this topic, see Prowse’s contribution to this volume. The chemical composition of dental enamel is not affected by external influences after a person’s death, an important aspect when scholars are studying material that is thousands of years old.

82 Cf. note 75; Bruun 2010: 111–112, with further references to standard works.

In order to be able to use the data on the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values of a past population for the study of migration a few conditions have to be met:

- (a) the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ value of the place where the remains of an individual were found must be determined, in order for us to be able to determine if the person lived somewhere else in his/her youth. Prowse and her team estimated that the value in antiquity at Ostia-Portus was between -6.0‰ and -4.0‰ . Kristina Killgrove, in her unpublished PhD thesis, preferred a slightly revised range of between -5.8‰ and -3.7‰ .⁸³ For maximum inclusion the range between -6.0‰ and -3.7‰ will be considered below.
- (b) If a reliable chart of various $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values in the Mediterranean could be established, one might be able to determine where the original home of the newcomers to a certain locality was. Such a chart would be a valuable tool, and much work has gone into creating this map of the modern Mediterranean (the local $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values, which ultimately are influenced by meteoric water, i.e. rain and snow, and by environmental water, such as rivers, are supposed to have remained the same over time), although there are a few inherent problems connected to this project. To a certain extent the local $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ value depends on how high above sea level a place is situated. Thus, for instance, much of the Italian coast has the same $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ value as Ostia, and values falling within the Ostian range are to be found in many other coastal localities throughout the Mediterranean.⁸⁴

More importantly – as far as concerns the migration of *children* – it is obviously not enough to show that a person lived elsewhere when young (that applies to all types of migration, including that of adults). The important thing is to be able to show that the person migrated before he/she had reached adulthood, which in Rome would be about 16 years for males and could be even younger for women, who married earlier. Therefore, it must also be demonstrated that

- (c) a person whose first molar (M_1) shows a $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ value that is foreign to Ostia-Portus while the third molar (M_3) fits the parameters of the region, died there at some point during his or her upper teens.

In total, Tracy Prowse's team analysed the dental enamel of 61 individuals who had been buried in the Isola Sacra cemetery between Ostia proper and the

83 Killgrove 2010a: 249; cf. Prowse et al. 2007: 515, based on an analysis of dental enamel from modern Rome.

84 See Longanelli and Selmo 2003, quoted both by Bruun 2010: 114 and Killgrove 2010c: 163.

deep sea harbour of Portus. Of these individuals, four were of undetermined sex, thirty were men and twenty-seven were women. There were eleven cases among the 61 (shown in Table 9.1) of individuals who died young. For the reasons just stated only these cases might serve the purpose of proving childhood migration to Ostia-Portus, but there is just one possible case that might satisfy criterion (c) above.

Of these eleven cases, there is only one individual, no. 360, who shows such $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values that it seems likely that he lived elsewhere in his earliest youth and then moved to Ostia.⁸⁵

Prowse’s team reasoned differently, however, reporting as they did that fourteen cases represented childhood migration (which in turn is important for

TABLE 9.1 $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values for individuals who might represent childhood migration to Ostia^a

Individual	Estimated age at death, sex	First molar M1	Third molar M3	Comment: valid inference or not?
166	12–13 (U)	–6.0	–5.0	within Ostian parameters
290	12–13 (U)	–4.5	–3.9	within Ostian parameters
050	12–14 (U)	–4.9	–4.0	within Ostian parameters
029	14–15 (U)	–4.7	–3.6	away from Ostia in later youth?
058	15–20 (M)	–4.7	–4.9	within Ostian parameters
149	16–17 (M)	–5.6	–5.6	within Ostian parameters
138	16–18 (M)	–7.6	–6.7	no sign of residence at Ostia before age 17
354	17–18 (M)	–5.1	–5.3	within Ostian parameters
310	17–19 (M)	–7.0	–7.6	no sign of residence at Ostia before age 17
360	17–19 (M)	–7.3	–5.4	may have moved to Ostia before age 17–19
563	17–19 (M)	–5.2	–5.3	within Ostian parameters

a Values outside the extended Ostian range of –6.0 to –3.7 are in bold

U = undetermined sex, M = male.

85 Strictly speaking, the value of 5.4 could have been generated in many other places along Italy’s coast, for instance, somewhere in Campania. Therefore many other scenarios are possible, although not equally probable. The young man may have lived in, for instance, Puteoli, and then moved to Ostia just before he died, at age 18.

establishing family migration), that is, almost a quarter of all the individuals analysed would, according to the team, have moved to Ostia as children.⁸⁶ The data on which they based their view are shown in Table 9.2.

As already mentioned, Killgrove set the Ostian parameters between -5.8 and -3.7 ,⁸⁷ which would not add any new individual from among the 61 tested, but would remove cases 215 and 510 from the list, still leaving 12 instances or about 20 % of 61, which could be translated into the historical claim that “one fifth of the population of Ostia-Portus had migrated to the town as children”, if one were to adopt the premises of Prowse and her team. In an article published in 2010 I have expressed my reservations about the validity of this line of reasoning. The main problem is that for individuals like no. 084, for whom we only know that they were not at Ostia-Portus in their earliest childhood but demonstrably were so when they died there aged between 40 and 50, we cannot be sure that they already were at Ostia-Portus when their third molar (M_3) was formed in their late teens, for the simple reason that there are so many other areas in Italy and the Mediterranean where the $\delta^{18}O$ value of -4.9 could have originated. The example I gave was of someone “who grew up in the mountainous interior of Spain or North Africa, moved down to the coast at 13...and only took ship to Ostia as an adult”.⁸⁸ Killgrove was less convinced by this alternative explanatory scenario for the Ostian data, suggesting that we should use ‘Ockham’s razor’, which means starting from the assumption that the explanation which lies closest at hand is the correct one.⁸⁹ Since the data for the third

TABLE 9.2 $\delta^{18}O$ for individuals who according to Prowse et al. 2007 migrated to Ostia-Portus in childhood, i.e. before the third molar (M_3) had formed^a

Individual	059	084	133	142	161	174	193	215	221	320	360	406	435	510
M1 value	-6.9	-6.3	-6.9	-6.5	-3.6	-6.1	-6.3	-6.2	-6.3	-7.5	-7.3	-6.8	-6.9	-3.7
M2 value	-5.1	-4.9	-5.3	-5.8	-5.2	-5.8	-4.0	-5.9	-5.8	-5.1	-5.4	-4.9	-4.9	-4.1
Age	35– 40	40– 50	20– 21	30– 35	30– 40	30– 40	25– 30	35– 40	40– 45	20– 25	17– 19	18– 20	40– 45	30– 40

a The numbers are the ones used in Prowse et al. 2007. All the 61 individuals and the data related to them are given in Bruun 2010: 131–132.

86 Prowse et al. 2007: 515–516, but without identifying the individuals; see the elaboration of their statement in Bruun 2010: 119.
87 Killgrove 2010a: 249.
88 Bruun 2010: 120.
89 Killgrove 2010c: 135.

molar fits the Ostian parameter and these individuals were found at Ostia, we should assume that is where they had been living for a longer or shorter period and where the third molar developed.

This is definitely a valid point of view, and *a priori* I am willing to believe that the 'Spanish' or 'North African' scenario which I envisaged can reasonably only apply in a minority of cases (although we must not forget Ostia's intense commercial connections to Spain and North Africa; my alternative examples were not randomly chosen). The main point of my previous contribution was, however, of a methodological nature, and has to do with the division between scholars who work in the humanities and scholars who present scientific data. Scientific processes and formulae can be bewildering for non-scientists and historical claims based on them, when bolstered by precise and absolute numbers, can easily take on the air of unquestionable truths. That this is the case can also be seen from the reception given to the claim of 'family migration to Ostia-Portus'.⁹⁰ My point was to show the amount of interpretation inherent even in work that adopts cutting-edge scientific methodologies.

There is one further problem with arguing for 'family migration' at Ostia-Portus from the evidence derived from the analysis of $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ in dental enamel. One word nowhere mentioned in the 2007 article by Prowse and her team is 'slavery'. The fact that slavery was so common in the Roman world complicates matters and creates important differences with other historical times and places. An analysis of the dental enamel cannot tell us whether a pre-teen child who came to Ostia from somewhere else was a happy little creature accompanied by his/her parents or a young slave brought there by a callous merchant or by his/her owner. Furthermore, even if we believe that a certain number of individuals assumed to have arrived at Ostia-Portus at a young age cannot have been slaves but came of their own free will, there is still the issue of whether such presumed young migrants were part of a process of 'family migration'. The question is to what extent youths in imperial Italy can be assumed to have moved around on their own in order to look for work. A wide range of historical parallels for this phenomenon could be adduced, for instance concerning seasonal migration.⁹¹ In all this we should keep in mind

90 See, for instance, Killgrove 2010b: 163; Woolf 2013a: 361. My *JRA* article appeared too late for it to have practically any impact on the contributions in Eckart 2010; Hin 2013: 219, 234–237 is unaware of the critical arguments advanced in Bruun 2010.

91 This aspect was briefly touched upon in Bruun 2010: 121. There is no doubt that children, even small ones, were required or expected to work, whether they were slaves or free, as already shown by Bradley 1991; see now Herrmann-Otto 2012: esp. 184–186. But the extent to which poor freeborn children roamed around in search of work remains unclear.

that certain ‘caging’ factors (cf. Section 2) may have been operating in the Roman world.

For all these reasons the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ analysis of the dental enamel from 61 individuals found at Ostia-Portus does not support the claim that there was family migration to the site, although it undoubtedly shows that some young people migrated there. Other scientific methods may yield additional data allowing the formulation of more specific historical claims. In particular, strontium analysis adds another variable, since “strontium isotope ratios vary roughly N to S owing to volcanic geology of a large part of the [Italian] peninsula”,⁹² thus allowing us to pinpoint the locality where individuals spent their youth with greater precision. In her own work, Kristina Killgrove included values for $\delta^{87}\text{Sr}$ in analysing dental enamel from 105 individuals from the two Roman-times cemeteries at Casal Bertone and Castellaccio Europarco. In total, seven individuals can be shown to have been immigrants to Rome or the *suburbium* (c. 6.7%); four of these skeletons were of adult men and three of children (whose sex could not be determined).⁹³ It was, however, not possible to identify the area or origin for these immigrants with any certainty.⁹⁴ No immigrant women could thus be identified in these two Roman cemeteries using $\delta^{87}\text{Sr}$ isotopic analysis.

At Ostia-Portus, 27 women were examined by Prowse and her team using $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ isotopic analysis. As far as their possible movements are concerned, the results look as shown in Table 9.3 (for details, see the Appendix, Table 9.4).

In thirteen cases there is no proof of residence elsewhere, although one must remember that the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values that look ‘Ostian’ need not have been generated in Ostia. Fourteen women appear to have resided elsewhere either when very young or when their third molar was formed. Seven women clearly

TABLE 9.3 *Women from Ostia-Portus in Prowse et al. 2007*

Both M1 and M3 within Ostian parameters	M1: at Ostia or in a region similar to Ostia M3: away from Ostia	M1: away from Ostia M3: at Ostia or in a region similar to Ostia	M1 and M3 away from Ostia
13	5	7	2

92 Killgrove 2010b: 163.
93 Killgrove 2010b: 163–164.
94 Killgrove 2010b: 168.

spent their early childhood elsewhere and came to Ostia or a region like Ostia at some point. Five women first lived at Ostia (or in a region with similar $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values) and then were absent for a while. Two women came to Ostia from elsewhere. In total, a maximum of nine women, making up one third of this small group, were newcomers to Ostia while the overall level of mobility was considerably higher: 14 women, or over 50 %, demonstrably migrated at some point during their lives. This result is quite interesting in every sense, although it does not, without further information, allow us to postulate 'family migration'.

It is also useful to situate this result within a large historical context. Modern scholars speak of the 'urban graveyard effect', i.e. they hold that in Roman cities mortality was regularly higher than natural reproduction. According to this theory, steady and regular migration from rural areas to cities was necessary to keep society functioning.⁹⁵ One might have some slight doubts as to whether the reality was so grim even at the height of Roman civilisation, when the exceptional water supply might have had a favourable impact on sanitary conditions in at least some places.⁹⁶ But regardless of this objection, it has to be said that of all places in the Roman world, Ostia-Portus in the century and a half after Claudius built the first deep-sea harbour, was a boomtown, unlike any other place in the Roman world as far as growth was concerned. Where if not at Ostia would scholars expect to find a significant population that had grown up elsewhere?

That isotopic analysis supports this aprioristic assumption is obviously heartening, and further refinement of the various methods is undoubtedly to be expected. In conjunction with more traditional historical methods this will allow scholars to reach a better understanding of the migration of women and children in the Roman world.

Conclusion

Human migration continues unabatedly to put its stamp on modern societies, and it is to be expected that the topic will continue to engage Roman historians as well. An incomparably richer source material, which can be complemented by contemporary studies of human behaviour and motivations, has allowed historians of later periods to reach greater certitude in many cases and to present models of various kinds.

95 Scheidel 2004: 15–17.

96 Cf. Lo Cascio, in this volume.

When insights gained from later periods are applied to the Roman world, outlines of similar patterns of various kinds of migration can be seen, such as local or long-distance movements. This is true for the causes of migration as well, although the relative lack of sources often forces Roman historians to operate with only a handful of examples and with what could be called anecdotal evidence. While much of what is found corresponds to *a priori* expectations, it appears that migration for religious or ideological reasons was less common than in many other periods, while the ubiquitous presence of slavery caused an involuntary migration on a massive scale that has few parallels elsewhere in history.

Within this general framework, it is occasionally possible to identify, or at least roughly outline, the presence of women and children. The latter is the case when we are dealing with migratory movements that are bound to include existing families, such as the sending out of colonists by the Roman government, or the settling of military veterans. Sometimes vanquished enemy combatants were summarily executed, while women and children were carried off into slavery.⁹⁷ In other instances we depend on individual evidence for the presence of women and children, evidence which in its nature is overwhelmingly epigraphic outside of Egypt. Except for funerary inscriptions, children are notoriously underrepresented in Roman inscriptions, and women are also almost completely absent from many types of texts.⁹⁸

When analysing the epigraphic evidence for women and children, it is of critical importance to be able to identify those individuals who have a non-local *origo*. A series of criteria were outlined above, many of them closely connected to the study of Roman onomastics. Few methods provide ironclad proof, and scholars are eager for additional evidence. In this study, I have on purpose paid little attention to archaeological evidence, the rationale being that foreign artefacts as such only tell us about cultural exchange, and that there is a difference between commercial travel and migration (although one can lead to the other). Archaeology alone is not able to differentiate between these two phenomena.

Although certain general migratory trends of women and children are known or can be hypothesised, it would be highly desirable to gain access to more factual data. Such data might reveal, for instance, anomalies in the

97 Andreau and Descat 2006: 278 n.17 referring to a study of Roman war booty carried out by Michel Tarpin.

98 Texts in which women rarely are mentioned concern Roman government on all levels, the military, public works, and manufacture. They are not often mentioned in honorific inscriptions and in euergetic inscriptions appear much less frequently than men.

gender distribution in a certain population of migrants, or even just confirm current assumptions. There is an increasing interest in moving beyond the literary and epigraphic evidence to including results from human anthropology in the discussion. When it comes to the contribution of this field to the study of Roman migration, it seems fair to say that the discipline is still in its infancy. Some exciting findings have been presented, but historians have to ask what the contribution in each case amounts to, in regard to the existing general picture. At present, it does not seem that there are results available that would bring a particularly significant contribution either to the study of female or to that of child migration, even though scholars are usually able to determine both the sex and the approximate age of the individuals they study. It goes without saying that one also needs to be alert to the debate among the practitioners of human anthropology concerning the data presented. This said, every new piece of evidence is welcome as a building block for Roman historians, like every new inscription that records the one-time existence of a woman or child in the Roman world adds to our knowledge and has the potential to reveal something about migration.

In general, we can be confident that the methods of human anthropology will become ever more refined (for instance, by adding the analysis of strontium isotopes to the study of oxygen isotopes), so as to allow for much greater precision when it comes to mapping an individual's origin and travels. As more and more data builds up, hope grows of finding new insights into the migratory patterns of women and children, and moving away from the temptation to generalise from individual findings. Now as before, Roman history remains an interdisciplinary field, and real progress will be achieved only when all the different kinds of sources are evaluated using a well informed methodology.

Appendix

TABLE 9.4 *Women from the Isola Sacra cemetery at Ostia-Portus^a*

No	Age	M1	M3	Comment
055	40–45	5.7	5.5	stationary
059	35–40	6.9	5.1	moved to Ostia
067	45–50	5.4	5.4	stationary
068	20–30	5.3	7.1	moved away as teenager (and back later)
069	30–40	5.4	4.3	stationary
084	40–50	6.3	4.9	moved to Ostia

TABLE 9.4 *Women from the Isola Sacra cemetery at Ostia-Portus (cont.)*

No	Age	M ₁	M ₃	Comment
148	40–50	5.1	4.9	stationary
150	40–50	4.8	5.1	stationary
159	40–50	6.6	6.1	came later
161	30–40	3.6	5.2	moved to Ostia
169	20–30	4.9	4.2	stationary
193	25–30	6.3	4.0	moved to Ostia
194	40–45	4.7	4.0	stationary
199	35–40	4.8	3.6	moved away as teenager (and back later)
201	35–40	4.1	5.4	stationary
245	35–40	5.3	4.4	stationary
305	20–25	7.0	3.2	came later
306	20–25	5.0	5.5	stationary
320	20–25	7.5	5.1	moved to Ostia
406	18–20	6.8	4.9	moved to Ostia
426	25–30	4.7	2.8	moved away when teenager (and back later)
437	50±	5.4	6.6	moved away when teenager (and back later)
444	18–20	4.7	4.8	stationary
479	30–40	5.1	5.1	stationary
510	30–40	3.7	4.1	moved to Ostia
568	25–30	4.7	3.8	moved away when teenager (and back later)
711	40–50	5.1	4.5	stationary

a Data from Prowse *et al.* 2007.

Isotopes and Mobility in the Ancient Roman World

Tracy L. Prowse

Introduction

Stable isotopes are routinely used in anthropology to investigate diet and mobility in past human populations. Anthropological research using isotopes started in the mid-1980s when archaeologists and biological anthropologists began to use them to investigate migration in prehistoric and historic human populations.¹ There has been a consistent increase in isotopic research on human remains in the past 30 years, but the results of these studies have remained largely confined to anthropological audiences through selective publication in specialised journals.² It has only been within the last 15 years that interdisciplinary research has started to encompass time periods and geographic regions not typically studied by anthropologists, such as the ancient Roman world. In this paper, I maintain that integration of isotopic evidence with historical, epigraphic and archaeological evidence provides a new opportunity for exploring human mobility, at both the individual and population levels, and can contribute to a more nuanced picture of mobility in the past. Isotopes can give us information on who was moving within a specific population and provide information on where they may have come from. What we cannot gather from the remains is why they moved (e.g. slavery, tourism, pilgrimage, wars, trade) and that is where historical, archaeological, and epigraphic evidence can enrich our understanding of the motives for human movement. I argue that these are complementary, not contradictory, lines of evidence. Sometimes the various lines of evidence may not agree, but this does not mean that one source of information is right or wrong, and a more constructive way forward is to explore how, and perhaps why, these different lines of evidence tell a different story about the past.

The first part of this paper reviews isotopic studies that have explored mobility in different regions of the Roman Empire to highlight the breadth of

¹ E.g. Ericson 1985; Schwarcz et al. 1991; Price et al. 1994a, 1994b.

² Research using isotopes to investigate human mobility in past populations is typically published in the following journals, among others: the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, the *Journal of Archaeological Sciences*, *Applied Geochemistry*, *Archaeometry*, and the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*.

research that has been conducted, and the contributions this research makes to understanding mobility in the Roman world. The discussion then turns to concerns raised by Christer Bruun about the use of oxygen isotopes to explore mobility in Roman Italy, specifically at the site of Isola Sacra near Rome, including a discussion of the recognised limitations of isotopic evidence.³ Finally, a case study is presented from the Roman Imperial (1st–4th c. CE) site of Vagnari in southern Italy to investigate questions concerning geographic origins, mobility and identity in this rural Roman cemetery, and how the evidence can contribute to our understanding of Roman expansion in the region.

The Use of Oxygen and Strontium Isotopes to Study Human Mobility in the Roman World

Isotopes are variants of natural elements (e.g. carbon, nitrogen, oxygen) that differ slightly from each other due to the presence of a different number of neutrons. The isotopes of an element will react in a similar manner in chemical reactions, but slight differences in atomic weight will affect the rate of chemical reactions. Isotopes are categorised as stable or unstable, and the stable isotopes of elements do not decay over time. One of the most widely known elements is carbon, which has three isotopes; two stable (^{12}C , ^{13}C) and one unstable (^{14}C). The unstable isotope of carbon decays at a known rate, and is widely used for dating organic material from archaeological sites, known as carbon-14 dating. Stable isotopes do not decay over time, so the ‘signal’ formed during life is preserved in the bone or tooth. Oxygen has three stable isotopes: ^{16}O , ^{17}O , and ^{18}O . Stable isotopes are typically represented by the delta symbol (δ), which represents the ratio of a heavier to lighter isotope in relation to a recognised international standard ($\delta^{18}\text{O} = ^{18}\text{O}/^{16}\text{O}$). Unlike oxygen, strontium is not typically reported using delta (δ) values, but rather as a ratio of the two isotopes ($^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$).⁴ The variation in these ratios is very small, so the results are reported in parts per thousand (‘per mil’ or ‰).

The two isotopes used to study mobility in the past are oxygen and strontium. The oxygen isotopes found in bones and teeth are derived primarily from water consumed during life, whereas strontium isotopes are obtained mainly from the diet. Although some variability in oxygen isotope values may be due

³ Bruun 2010; id., in this volume.

⁴ The isotope ^{87}Sr is a radiogenic isotope that is the decay product of rubidium (^{87}Rb). Rocks that are very old (>100 mya) have higher $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ values, whereas relatively younger rocks (<1–10 mya) have lower values (Bentley 2006: 139).

to diet, the values seen in bones and teeth are largely determined by the oxygen in local precipitation.⁵ Oxygen values in rain vary in relation to local air temperature, humidity, distance from coastlines, latitude and elevation.⁶ In general, this means that oxygen values decrease further inland, with increased elevation and latitude, and with decreased temperature of rainfall. The $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ of precipitation varies across the globe in a regular fashion, and both global and regional maps of annual average $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ in modern precipitation have been developed.⁷ Oxygen isotopes go through a metabolic process called fractionation as they are incorporated into body water, and eventually into skeletal and dental tissues, which means that the oxygen signal obtained from these tissues is slightly different than the signal of the water consumed. Oxygen values from human remains need to be converted to drinking water values using equations for comparison with regional rainwater $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values. A number of equations have been developed to make these conversions.⁸

In contrast, strontium undergoes very little change as it is incorporated into body tissues. Strontium enters the body through the diet, and the isotopic composition of the foods consumed is related to the $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ values in the soils that produced the food, although environmental factors can cause variability in strontium values in soils (e.g. due to sediment drift).⁹ To control for this, isotope studies use 'bioavailable' $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ values from non-migratory animals or modern plant remains from the same region to act as local values.¹⁰ It is assumed that these values reflect the average $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ values of food available to humans in the region.

Teeth and bones are the materials used to obtain isotopic information from skeletal remains. If a researcher is trying to learn about place of birth, then tooth enamel is the ideal material to use, because it forms early in life and, once formed, its isotopic signal remains unchanged throughout the lifetime of an individual. This means that tooth enamel is a record of infancy and childhood, regardless of the age at which an individual dies. In contrast, bone goes through a period of growth and development during childhood and adolescence, and once growth is complete bone continues to remodel at a relatively constant rate throughout life, although research has shown that bone turnover decreases

5 Luz and Kolodny 1989; Longinelli 1984.

6 Yurtsever and Gat 1981; Gat 1996.

7 Bowen 2010.

8 Pollard et al. 2011a; Chenery et al. 2012.

9 Chenery et al. 2011.

10 Evans et al. 2010; Chenery et al. 2011; Nafplioti 2011; Bataille and Bowen 2012.

with advanced age.¹¹ Isotopic signals in bone, therefore, are an average of the last few decades of an individual's life, although strontium cannot be measured in archaeological bone due to exchange with strontium in the soil after burial.¹²

The use of oxygen isotopes to explore past human mobility began with a seminal study by Schwarcz and colleagues on the geographic origins of soldiers from the War of 1812 in Canada.¹³ Researchers in many fields now regularly use both strontium (Sr) and oxygen (O) isotopic data to study geographic origins and migration of both animals and humans, past and present, with the majority of the human studies concentrated on skeletal material from the Americas and western Europe. Isotopic analysis of samples from various parts of the Roman world has been growing steadily since 2001. A number of studies on material from Roman Britain have investigated the complex relationship between geographic origins and identity (e.g. gender, ethnicity, status) as revealed through burial practices.¹⁴ These and other studies from the Roman world are reviewed, below.

One of the first Romano-British studies examined nine 'immigrant' burials in the late Roman cemetery (c. 4th century CE) at Lankhills, Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*), and found evidence for diverse geographic origins of some of the individuals analysed.¹⁵ The immigrants were identified based on personal ornaments found in the burials suggesting origins in Roman *Pannonia* (modern Hungary), along with the absence of 'local' burial rites seen in the majority of other burials at the site.¹⁶ The strontium and oxygen isotope data indicated that five of the nine individuals were not from southern Britain, and were likely from different regions of central and southern Europe (i.e. not exclusively from one location in eastern Europe). The remaining four individuals clustered isotopically with the locals, suggesting that these may have been second generation immigrants born in the region, but whose cultural identity was expressed and maintained through burial ritual. Thus, the integration of archaeological and isotopic evidence can provide more detailed information about specific individuals identified archaeologically as 'immigrants' and can also address

11 Hedges et al. 2007.

12 Snoeck et al. 2015, however, recently reported that calcined (i.e. cremated) bone is more resistant to post-mortem exchange and in vivo strontium values are retained. This opens up the possibility of analysing cremated bone for strontium isotopes.

13 Schwarcz et al. 1991.

14 E.g. Budd et al. 2004; Chenery et al. 2010, 2011; Eckardt et al. 2009, 2010, 2014; Evans et al. 2006; Leach et al. 2009, 2010; Montgomery et al. 2010, 2011.

15 Evans et al. 2006.

16 'Local' burial practices included the presence of a coin in the mouth and burial with hob-nailed footwear (Evans et al. 2006: 267).

issues of cultural identity in diaspora communities. A later study analysed strontium and oxygen isotopes in an additional 40 individuals from the same Lankhills cemetery and found that at least one-quarter of the sample was composed of immigrants, but only 11 individuals were likely from outside Britain, possibly from the Hungarian Basin and the southern Mediterranean region.¹⁷ Moreover, three individuals with the highest oxygen values were females, suggesting that both men and women were migrating, and the authors raised the possibility of intermarriage and economic factors as explanations for the mobility of women.¹⁸

Eckardt used the concept of diaspora as an organisational framework for her edited volume on mobility in the Roman Empire, and her co-authored paper in the volume discussed evidence for the presence of foreigners in Roman Britain, integrating evidence from epigraphy, material culture and stable isotope analysis.¹⁹ A recent re-examination of previously published isotopic data from Roman Britain explored the relationship between burial practices, grave goods and isotopic indicators of geographic origin.²⁰ Unsurprisingly, this analysis showed that people can appear 'local' based on grave goods or burial customs while appearing 'foreign' isotopically. The opposite was also true, with cases of burial rites that appeared to suggest non-local origins of the deceased and childhood isotopic values consistent with local origins. This evidence was discussed within the framework of diaspora theory, and the relationship between biological origins and the use of burials and grave goods as evidence of cultural identity.

Leach and co-workers analysed skeletal material from Roman York (*Eboracum*), integrating oxygen and strontium analysis with cranial measurements to examine population diversity and geographic origins.²¹ The craniometric analysis revealed that just over 10% of individuals in two samples studied displayed biological affinities with populations from North Africa. The oxygen data identified

¹⁷ Eckardt et al. 2009.

¹⁸ Eckardt et al. 2009: 2823 suggested that the movement of people to Roman Winchester may have been related to its status as a *civitas* capital in southern England, along with the possible presence of an imperial weaving workshop in the area.

¹⁹ Diaspora theory refers to the idea that dispersed communities can create new identities and maintain cultural continuity with homelands at the same time (Eckardt 2010; Eckardt et al. 2010). The chapter summarised isotopic research by Eckardt and colleagues on Roman period samples from York, Catterick, Gloucester, and Winchester. The theme of diaspora in the ancient world has also been recently discussed by Woolf 2013b.

²⁰ Eckardt et al. 2014.

²¹ Leach et al. 2009.

four non-locals (out of 43 individuals), three of whom likely came from warmer climates. According to the authors, their presence can be explained through military and economic activities at York that created a diverse and multi-ethnic centre. A subsequent study on the 4th century CE 'Lady of York' used the same combination of craniometrics and isotopic evidence to investigate the possible origins of a wealthy woman from York.²² The authors found that the woman had cranial features indicating mixed ancestry, possibly with some African heritage, although her isotopic values placed her geographic origins in western Britain or along coastal areas of western Europe. They concluded that their study helps to dispel stereotypes about who were migrants (i.e. low status and male) and that people of African descent were typically slaves.

Another Roman period cemetery excavated in York revealed a predominantly all-male skeletal sample, more than half of whom (46/80) were decapitated with the cranium deposited between the knees or at the feet.²³ Many of the individuals also showed evidence of trauma, suggesting that these were soldiers, slaves, gladiators, or high-status executions. The researchers used a combination of strontium, oxygen, carbon and nitrogen isotopes to investigate this unusual skeletal sample, and the isotopic evidence indicated that these men came from much more diverse geographic origins than seen in other Roman cemeteries at York, although there was no consistent pattern between geographic origin and whether or not the individual was decapitated.²⁴ The authors concluded that this was likely a military cemetery, given the age and sex distribution of the skeletons, the presence of trauma and the diverse geographic origins of the sample. A similar multi-isotopic analysis was undertaken on skeletons from Roman Catterick (*Cataractonium*), a small fort town in North Yorkshire, and the results were compared to more cosmopolitan Roman settlements in Britain.²⁵ Epigraphic and archaeological evidence attests to the presence of Greek, Italian, Germanic, and/or Danubian immigrants in the area, yet the combined strontium and oxygen data on 29 individuals indicated that all but two of these people were born within Britain, so this was a much more homogeneous population than seen in the larger towns of Gloucester, Winchester and York.

22 The burial included a wide variety of high status grave goods, including some that appear to have come from 'exotic' locales, such as numerous ivory bracelets (Leach et al. 2010: 134).

23 Müldner et al. 2011; Montgomery et al. 2011.

24 Müldner et al. 2011.

25 Chenery et al. 2011. The results from this study were compared to those in Leach et al. 2009, 2010; and Müldner et al. 2011.

Remains from a mass grave detected in a 2nd century CE cemetery in Gloucester (*Glevum*) were analysed to investigate geographic origins of this catastrophic skeletal sample, which were likely the remains of individuals who died from epidemic disease.²⁶ The isotopic values of the individuals in the mass grave were compared to those from 'regular' interments in a nearby cemetery, in order to investigate whether or not individuals in the mass grave were isotopically distinct. The results showed that there was diversity of origins in both the mass grave and regular interments, indicating a diverse population living and dying at Gloucester. At least six of the 21 individuals analysed (28%) were immigrants who likely came from an area of Europe with a warmer, and more coastal, climate than Britain.²⁷

Comparatively fewer studies have done mobility research on skeletal samples from other parts of the Roman world, with a small number of isotopic studies on material from Roman Egypt, the Middle East and mainland Europe. A study of variability in oxygen values in Roman period skeletons (c. 250 CE) from the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt, found that all but two individuals (out of 34) consumed local water.²⁸ The two male outliers had isotopic values that were consistent with samples from ancient Nubia analysed in an earlier study, and one of the non-local individuals was diagnosed with leprosy (based on skeletal lesions). The authors suggested that he may have been sent to the oasis because of this illness.²⁹ The integration of isotopic data with palaeopathological evidence to investigate motives for mobility and the possible differential health of migrants is a promising area of future research.

Geographic origins and mobility were investigated at Roman (1st–3rd c. CE) and Byzantine period (4th–7th c. CE) sites in southern Jordan. The teeth of 12 adults from the 2nd century CE site of Khirbet edh-Dharih were analysed for strontium isotopes, and results of this study indicated that one adult male was not local to the area and likely came from an area further to the North in Jordan or southern Syria.³⁰ Strontium and oxygen isotope analysis of 31 individuals buried at the mining camp of Phaeno revealed that only one male had isotopic values indicating a non-local origin, suggesting that this mine was run by

26 Chenery et al. 2010.

27 Chenery et al. 2010: 158. Ten individuals were from the main cemetery, and 11 were from the mass grave.

28 Dupras and Schwarcz 2001.

29 Dupras and Schwarcz 2001 compared their results to research conducted by Iacumin et al. 1996, which used oxygen, carbon and nitrogen isotopes to explore patterns of diet and climate change in the Nile Valley over time (5000 BCE–250 CE).

30 Perry et al. 2008.

locals, in contrast to historical sources that suggested the mines were staffed by outsiders and/or criminals sent to the mines.³¹

Strontium analysis of bone and tooth pairs from the site of Neuburg/Donau (330–400 CE), Germany, associated with the late Roman fortress of Venaxamodurum revealed that 56% of females and 37% of males were non-local; the highest number of non-locals were females between the ages of 20 and 40 years.³² Individuals identified as non-locals based on their grave goods also had non-local isotope values, but the strontium isotopes detected an additional 11 individuals who were not identified as immigrants due to the lack of graves goods in the burials. The authors concluded that all of the immigrants originated from areas to the NE of the Danube river, and that the relatively high percentage of female immigrants was best explained by exogamy.³³

Turning to the centre of the Roman Empire, one of the first studies to examine oxygen isotopes in Italy analysed the teeth of 61 people buried in the necropolis of Isola Sacra (1st–3rd c. CE). This study concluded that approximately one-third of the individuals studied came from outside Rome, and a comparison of $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values between 1st and 3rd molars from the same individuals suggested that some of these immigrants were women and children.³⁴ This was interpreted within the historical context of population growth and replacement in the Roman period, and the relatively high proportion of ‘outsiders’ in the sample was not surprising given the multinational nature of port cities (e.g. Portus and Ostia) along Italy’s western coast.

A subsequent analysis of strontium isotopes in 105 Imperial period skeletons from the suburbs of Rome found that five of the people buried in the Casal Bertone cemetery were non-local, while only two people from Castellaccio Europarco were born outside of Rome, suggesting a lower rate of mobility in these samples.³⁵ This study did not find evidence of female migration into the capital of the Roman Empire, and those migrants who were identified likely came short distances (i.e. within Italy). The combined analysis of strontium and oxygen isotopes reported in Killgrove’s PhD dissertation suggested higher levels of mobility. At Casal Bertone 15 immigrants were identified. Two of these were women and a third individual was identified as a ‘probable female’. At Castellaccio Europarco 4 out of 14 individuals who were subjected to strontium and oxygen (and carbon) isotope analysis appeared to be of non-local origin.

31 Perry et al. 2009, 2011.

32 Females 10/18 and males 17/41. See Schweissing and Grupe 2003: 1377.

33 Schweissing and Grupe 2003.

34 Prowse et al. 2007. See the subsequent critique by Bruun 2010, discussed further below.

35 Killgrove 2010b: 164.

Two of the non-local individuals were men, another was identified as a 'probable male'; the sex of the fourth individual could not be determined. Based on these findings, the rate of immigration was 37% at Casal Bertone and 29% at Catellaccio Europarco.³⁶

More recently, oxygen and strontium data from a small ($n = 10$) Republican period sample from Castellaccio Europarco found another single individual who appeared to be an immigrant to Rome.³⁷ Like other isotopic studies, the precise geographic origins of these individuals could not be determined because there can be more than one location with similar isotopic profiles. This study suggests relatively small-scale mobility during the Republican period, although the sample size is small. These studies from in and around the city of Rome demonstrate that mobility into the centre of the Roman Empire was complex, and that there was no standard pattern of migration, although it appears that there was a greater level of movement to the Roman capital during the Imperial period.

One of the only studies to-date to combine stable isotope and ancient DNA (aDNA) analysis was a preliminary study on a rural Roman (1st–3rd c. CE) skeletal sample from the site of Vagnari in southern Italy. One of the questions about this population is the source of the workers who lived on this imperial estate – were they local labourers or non-locals brought in to work on this estate? Oxygen isotope analysis on 23 individuals revealed that six people were not born locally, and two of ten individuals analysed for aDNA showed evidence of biological ancestry with populations from sub-Saharan Africa and Asia.³⁸ An expanded analysis of oxygen isotopes from this site is discussed below.

Concerns about Stable Isotopes and Migration

In 2007, my colleagues and I published a paper in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* on stable isotope evidence for migration to the city of *Portus Romae*. The skeletal sample used in this study was from the necropolis of Isola Sacra, a site that was excavated at various times starting in 1925.³⁹ The

36 Killgrove 2010a: 276–277. Note that the sex of 8 out of 15 immigrants at Casal Bertone could not be determined.

37 Killgrove 2013.

38 Prowse et al. 2010.

39 The cemetery was first excavated between 1925 and 1940 by Calza, who uncovered some of the large monumental tombs. Between 1973 and 1982, the Archaeological Superintendency

results of our study suggested that there were a number of people buried in the necropolis who were not local to the area (discussed above), and through the analysis of teeth that form during infancy and adolescence we concluded that a number of these individuals likely came to Portus as children.⁴⁰

In 2010, Bruun published a critique of our article in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, bringing much needed attention to the use of stable isotopes in the investigation of mobility in the ancient Roman world, but in which he raised a number of concerns on the use of oxygen isotopes to investigate past human mobility. One of Bruun's concerns dealt with the methodology surrounding stable isotope analysis, stating that he hoped the analyses were conducted "at a time when laboratory techniques had reached a sufficient level of reliability, and without any negative effects caused by unfortunate circumstances or human weakness."⁴¹ Isotopic analysis of human remains has been used in biological anthropology for well over 30 years, and decades earlier in other scientific fields, so concerns about the reliability of the method are likely due to a lack of familiarity with the methods and their widespread scientific applications. This is not intended to be a criticism, but rather a recognition of the fact that stable isotope studies have largely remained in their respective academic 'silos', so it is not surprising that there is a concern outside of these fields that isotopic research has not yet reached an acceptable level of reliability. This apprehension can be put to rest.

Stable isotope analysis is a destructive method, but only a small amount of tooth enamel or bone is required.⁴² Each lab follows a standardised procedure that is published with the results, and uses the same international standards as reference samples on their equipment so that results can be compared between different laboratories.⁴³ There is some evidence for variability in

of Ostia, the University of Rome 'La Sapienza', and the University Institute of Oriental Studies of Naples undertook excavations at the site. This work focused on the restoration of the tombs, as well as the recovery of human skeletal remains excavated by Calza that had been haphazardly dumped back into the tombs once his excavations were completed (Baldassare 1984, 1990; Baldassare et al. 1985, 1996). Systematic descriptions were published by Baldassare et al. 1985 and Angelucci et al. 1990. Excavations at Isola Sacra in 1988 and 1989 focused on the areas between the monumental tombs and over 600 additional single and multiple burials were uncovered (Baldassare 1990).

⁴⁰ Prowse et al. 2007.

⁴¹ Bruun 2010: 5; id., in this volume.

⁴² Approximately 20 mg of tooth enamel is required for oxygen isotope analysis.

⁴³ The standards used for oxygen isotopes are VSMOW (Vienna Standard Mean Ocean Water) and VPDB (Vienna Pee Dee Belemnite). The relative proportion of each isotope is measured using an isotope ratio mass spectrometer.

oxygen isotopes linked to laboratory methods and standardisation, so it is important that the methods used are made available.⁴⁴ The relative proportions of each isotope are measured using an isotope ratio mass spectrometer (IRMS).⁴⁵ Thus 'human error' is minimised, and there is often a portion of the sample left intact in the event that samples need to be reanalysed in the future, thus samples are not permanently 'lost'.

One of the issues with using oxygen isotopes is that often $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values cannot pinpoint a specific geographic location, because $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values of precipitation ($\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{ppt}}$) are similar in different regions of the world.⁴⁶ Longinelli and Selmo published a contour map of Italy showing the weighted annual average of $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values in modern precipitation, which was used in our 2007 study.⁴⁷ In order to contend with the issue of multiple locations having similar isotopic values, a local signature can be established using other lines of evidence. In our study, the 'local' range for the area in and around Rome was estimated based on oxygen values from a modern sample of deciduous teeth from school children in Rome. These teeth were originally collected for a modern weaning study and the remaining parts of the teeth were later used for isotopic analysis. The majority of the modern oxygen data fell within a 2‰ range, which was used to represent the local range.⁴⁸ Some of the modern values fell outside this range, and Bruun took issue with our contention that modern data falling outside the 2‰ range represented variability due to dietary factors, or due to maternal influences while the deciduous teeth were forming, since birth records indicated that the children were born in Rome. If analyses are conducted on teeth that form during fetal development, then the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values in those teeth reflect maternal water consumption, not the individual being analysed.

An important point that we did not emphasise sufficiently in our article is that the distribution of the modern data fell on both the heavier and lighter side of the proposed local range, whereas all but one the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values of the proposed 'outsiders' from Isola Sacra were lighter (i.e. more negative), so the distribution of the data is clearly different between the historic and modern sample. This suggests that different factors were influencing the two sets of data. The teeth of these modern children were forming at a time when they were still breastfeeding, so they were registering an isotopic signal related to

44 Chenery et al. 2012.

45 For further details on analytical methods and mass spectrometry, see Katzenberg 2008, Pollard et al. 2007, and Sharp 2007.

46 Cf. Bruun, in this volume.

47 Longinelli and Selmo 2003; see Prowse et al. 2007: 513.

48 Prowse et al. 2007: 515 (Figure 10.3).

the mother's water consumption, which likely introduced some variability in the results.

Bruun was correct in arguing that there are a number of places in the Mediterranean region that share similar isotopic values, and this is one limitation of using $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values, as mentioned above. We presented some possible regions where these outsiders might have come from, but the main point of the article was that people were moving and, we argued, they were moving at a young age. Bruun argued that there are many possible scenarios and motivations for the movement of people, which is true, as human mobility is a complex phenomenon that is not uni-directional. I would argue, however, that without additional evidence the most parsimonious explanation is the best one, that is, that the shift in $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values between 1st molars (that form at birth) and 3rd molars (that form during adolescence) represents movement to Rome from another location. How and when a person moved between the time the 3rd molar formed and his/her death cannot be determined from the teeth alone (we can examine the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ in bone to get a value closer to the time of death), but we know that person ended up buried in the necropolis of Isola Sacra. Bruun argued that only 11 of the 61 individuals in the sample can "possibly be relevant to the question of childhood migration to Portus", because they died and were buried at Isola Sacra at an age of 19 years or younger.⁴⁹ He assumed that childhood mobility cannot be investigated in the remaining older individuals (i.e. those over 20 years of age), but this is not true. Teeth act as a permanent archive of what was happening during infancy and childhood when the teeth formed, regardless of what happened to that individual as an adult, where he or she travelled, and where death ultimately occurred. His exclusive focus on only a small portion of the sample excludes individuals who, isotopically, showed clear evidence of movement during the ages when those teeth were forming (i.e. during childhood). Further, Bruun incorrectly assumed that young children living near seawater would ingest sufficient vapour through inhalation to change their isotopic signals.⁵⁰ It is clear that isotopic signals in the bones and teeth are derived mainly from drinking water, so sea spray would have no significant effect on body isotope values.⁵¹

Bruun also discussed a 'missed opportunity' in not considering the epigraphic evidence in conjunction with the isotopic evidence, along with a consideration of Roman slavery and marriage practices. This is a valid point, but the epigraphic record only records the origins of individuals in a small number

49 Bruun 2010: 121; id., in this volume.

50 Bruun 2010: 122.

51 See also the response by Killgrove 2010c.

of cases, usually elite males. Since only those who could afford inscriptions are represented, this is a small subset of the people who were buried at Isola Sacra.

Further, there were a number of obstacles in attempting to connect inscriptions from the cemetery to specific skeletons in the collection. The first is that Calza's excavations in the 1920s reportedly removed all of the skeletons from the tombs, which were then haphazardly dumped back into the tombs once the excavations were complete.⁵² We cannot be certain that the skeletons recovered from the tombs were the people who were originally interred there. Second, the only information that could be obtained at the time of writing was the type of tomb structure and the general location of the burial in the necropolis. It was, therefore, not clear if an inscription could be matched to a particular burial, particularly for those burials found in the areas around the monumental tombs.

I agree with Bruun that there was large-scale immigration to Portus; however, he argued that the "data from the dental enamel is still crude compared with the information offered by inscriptions".⁵³ He is correct that isotopes can only provide broad indications of where people may have come from; however, given the inability to connect specific individuals with specific funerary inscriptions the human remains provide an opportunity to explore the mobility of some of the people buried in the necropolis. Not everyone buried at Isola Sacra could afford an inscription, and these inscriptions are not necessarily representative of all the people buried there, whereas their skeletons do represent a rich record of individual lives. This means that we can actually learn about people who couldn't necessarily afford an inscription, which is the vast majority of the Roman population. I also agree with Bruun's concluding statement that 'soft data' make 'hard data' meaningful, but I think this creates a false dichotomy between historical/epigraphic evidence on the one hand and skeletal/isotopic evidence on the other. I contend that these are simply different, not conflicting, types of analyses.

Finally, isotopic variability may reflect geographic variation, but this does not necessarily correspond to cultural variation.⁵⁴ Similarly, two neighbouring regions may be isotopically indistinguishable, but represent two distinct societies, so isotopic analyses on their own may not be able to discern complex social relationships. A related criticism was raised by Bruun, in which he argued that isotopic evidence for migration at the Portus could not explain whether the presence of children at the site was the result of families migrating, or from

52 Baldassare 1984 and 1990.

53 Bruun 2010: 126.

54 Meiggs and Freiwald 2014.

other factors such as slavery, young brides, or children who died while traveling with merchant fathers.⁵⁵ All of these are plausible interpretations that can be made based on Roman textual accounts and epigraphic evidence, and the isotopic data alone may not be able to differentiate these scenarios. These ideas were elaborated further by Killgrove, who discussed the limitations of isotopic data in addressing issues related to issues of identity, ethnicity and social integration.⁵⁶ We can determine if someone appears to have been born in a location different than where he or she was buried, but without other types of contextual evidence we may not be able to assess his or her role(s) in society associated with mobility. It is therefore necessary to use multiple lines of evidence when available (e.g. mortuary context, artifacts, palaeopathological evidence, historical records, epigraphic evidence, etc....) to not only discern non-locals within a sample, but to explore the 'lived experience' of both locals and migrants.

Some Limitations of Isotopic Data

While stable isotope analysis can provide invaluable information about human mobility in the past, the limitations of the method need to be recognised. One of the main limitations of isotopic evidence is that the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ and $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ values are not necessarily unique to a particular region, so in some cases there may be more than one possible location where an individual came from. In other words, we can identify the presence of migrants in a skeletal sample, but not always their places of origin, so it is a problem of 'resolution'.⁵⁷ Researchers have called for more comparable human isotope data from all geographic areas, as well as more information on local drinking water values (for oxygen) and biogenic strontium isotopic signatures from local plants and animals in order to refine the ranges for specific geographic areas.⁵⁸ Another way forward is through the integration of dietary (C, N) and mobility (O, Sr) isotopic data, which may help to further clarify the geographic origins of individuals.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Bruun 2010.

⁵⁶ Killgrove 2010a and 2010b.

⁵⁷ Budd et al. 2004.

⁵⁸ Daux et al. 2008; Chenery et al. 2010.

⁵⁹ Pollard et al. 2011b used carbon, oxygen and strontium isotopes to clarify the life history of a Roman period skeleton from Kent that appeared to be 'foreign' based on a relatively uncommon carbon value for the UK (i.e. indicating the consumption of C₄ plants such as millet), whereas the oxygen and strontium values indicated local origins. This study also demonstrated that archaeological context is essential for interpreting isotopic data.

Isotopic studies are also limited in their ability to account for short-term residency or repeated movement. Humans do not necessarily move only once in a lifetime, and often will live in multiple locations prior to death. This may not have been quite as widespread in antiquity, but humans have always been on the move. Most isotopic studies examine residence at birth (or childhood) and at a period prior to death, thus implicitly assuming a one-time migration event. This can be dealt with, in part, by analysing multiple tooth and bone samples from the same individual that represent different periods of formation during life.

Finally, the complexity of human behaviour in the past can introduce variability into the isotopic results. Recent work examined behavioural factors that might cause a person to consume water that is not isotopically the same as local precipitation (e.g. water coming from other areas via aqueducts), and demonstrated that researchers need to consider the range of potential sources of drinking water when conducting isotopic research.⁶⁰ Similarly, culturally defined food preparation activities, such as brewing, boiling, stewing, can cause a slight shift in $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values of liquids consumed by people, and ultimately affect their tooth enamel values.⁶¹ Researchers need to be aware of the potential sources of variability in isotopic data, and the more we learn about the factors that impact isotopic values, the better we are able to interpret our results. This provides the opportunity to explore issues of potential interest, including socially mediated access to resources, food and drink preparation techniques, and other anthropogenic effects on isotopic values.

Case Study: Geographic Origins of a Roman Imperial Workforce

A significant amount of isotopic research has been conducted at sites where population mobility is likely, such as much of the work done on Romano-British skeletal samples, and there has been a call for additional studies on rural populations where we would expect a comparatively lower level of mobility and a more local diet (vs. a bustling urban centre or military outpost).⁶² The case study presented here explores geographic origins in a skeletal sample from a Roman imperial estate located in the region of Puglia in southern Italy. A preliminary isotope and aDNA study on this skeletal sample found oxygen ($n = 23$) and aDNA ($n = 10$) evidence for the presence of a small number of

60 Lightfoot et al. 2014.

61 Brettell et al. 2012. This was also noted by Killgrove 2010c.

62 Chenery et al. 2010: 159.

immigrants in the cemetery.⁶³ For the present study, a further 30 individuals excavated between 2006 and 2009 were analysed, and the oxygen isotope data are examined in relation to historical evidence for social and economic change with the expanding Roman empire. The question to be investigated is whether the people who lived and worked on this imperial estate were local to the area, or if they moved to the region (or were brought there by the manager(s) of the estate). I also examine the relationship between the stable isotope values of the people who are identified isotopically as non-local and the quality and quantity of grave goods in their burials to see if there is any evidence of differential burial treatment of people who were not born in the area.⁶⁴

The site of Vagnari is located in the Basentello valley near the modern city of Gravina in Puglia, Italy (Figure 10.1). Excavations at Vagnari since 2001 indicated that a small settlement was present between the 4th and 1st centuries BCE.⁶⁵ Extensive field survey in the region showed that local Iron Age

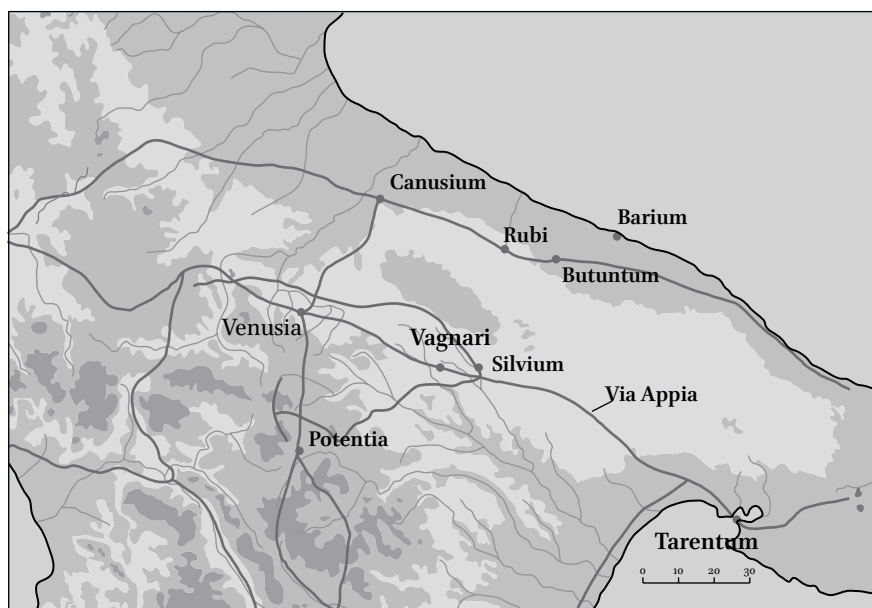


FIGURE 10.1 *Map of southern Italy showing the location of Vagnari*

63 Prowse et al. 2010.

64 For details on the preparation of the tooth samples for stable isotope analysis see Prowse et al. 2010: 183. The tooth samples were prepared at McMaster University and sent to the G.G. Hatch Stable Isotope Laboratory in Ottawa, Ontario, for analysis.

65 Small and Small 2005.

settlements in Apulia fell into decline in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, and most were eventually abandoned by the 1st century BCE.⁶⁶ This is consistent with historical evidence for repeated political and social upheaval in central and southern Italy during the Samnite wars (4th–3rd centuries BCE), the Pyrrhic war (280–275 BCE), and the 2nd Punic war (218–202 BCE). The consequences for local populations after these wars was that many were enslaved and their land was confiscated by the Romans and became public land.⁶⁷

A revival occurred in the region around Vagnari during the 1st century CE, the site expanded considerably between the late 1st and 3rd centuries and remained occupied through the 6th century CE.⁶⁸ This suggests that after the 1st century CE, political and economic stability in the area permitted rapid growth and development in the region until the eventual decline of the Roman Empire.

Archaeological evidence reveals a substantial settlement (3.5 hectares) on the site, likely a village (*vicus*), as well as an industrial zone with multiple kilns and iron working areas, which suggests that a substantial labour force was needed to work on this estate.⁶⁹ The site was likely located near the *via Appia*, a major trade route connecting the city of Rome to the southern coast, and stamped tiles recovered from the site and other locations in the region support the argument that this site and the surrounding territory belonged to the Roman state (*ager publicus*).⁷⁰ This raises the question of where this workforce came from. Were these locals who worked on this estate, or was this a (possibly enslaved) workforce that was brought to the region by the manager of the estate? Some inscribed gravestones of imperial slaves and freedmen have been found in the southern Italian countryside, but the human remains associated with them have not been preserved.⁷¹ None of the burials at Vagnari have produced funerary inscriptions.

A total of 108 burials have been excavated to date, the majority of which date between the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, although a small number of burials date

66 Small (2011: 16–17) noted that a number of Iron Age settlements in the region around Vagnari (e.g. Silvium and San Felice) and in Lucania and central Apulia (e.g. Monte Sannace) show evidence of decline and eventual abandonment during this period.

67 Small (2011: 17) reported estimates by Livy of 60,000 people enslaved during the Samnite wars and 30,000 people enslaved after the fall of Tarentum in 209 BCE; cf. Roselaar 2014.

68 Favia et al. 2005; Small and Small 2005 and 2007a.

69 Small 2011: 22.

70 A tile with the stamp 'GRA[ti].../CAES[aris]' (Gratus, slave of Caesar) was found in the topsoil above a kiln on the North part of the site. According to Small (2011: 21), slaves of the emperor did not work for private estates, so the entire area likely belonged to the emperor.

71 Russi 1975; Manacorda 1995.

to the 1st and 4th centuries CE.⁷² Most of the burials at Vagnari are ‘*a cappuccina*’, characterised by large *tegulae* (roof tiles) covering the deceased in an inverted ‘V’ shape. Within the burial, the deceased was laid out on a series of *tegulae* or interred in a simple unlined pit. Evidence of coffin use is rare at the site, although a small number of infant and child burials had traces of wood and small iron nails around the skeleton, indicating burial in a wooden container. The deceased was typically buried in an extended position with grave goods placed near the feet. A second type of burial found at Vagnari is a ‘libation’ tomb, consisting of pit burials covered with *tegulae* and a funnel made of two curved tiles inserted vertically above the burial, which was likely visible on the ground surface and used for making offerings to the deceased.⁷³ Other types of burial found at Vagnari include a small number of cremation burials ($n = 3$) and simple pit burials often containing the remains of infants and young children.⁷⁴

Nearly all of the burials contained one or more grave goods, most commonly a broken plain ware or painted ceramic vessel.⁷⁵ The highest number of grave goods comes from the burial of an adult male from the 3rd century CE (F213) who had 23 grave goods deposited in his burial. Two infants and two adults had no grave goods. Other items typically found in the burials include lamps, coins, glass vessels, tools, as well as personal items, including bone pins, fibulae and iron hobnails (found at the feet). Only a small number of graves contained jewellery, often in bronze alloy or iron (e.g. pendants, fibulae, rings, bracelets). Table 10.1 shows the percentage of grave goods, by category and sex, in the burials ($n = 54$) used in this study.⁷⁶ The majority of burials (85.2%) contained at least one ceramic vessel (often broken and incomplete), whereas items made

72 The date of each burial was established using pottery, coins and lamps, when possible. Not all burials could be assigned a specific date (Small and Small 2007b; Prowse and Small 2009).

73 Toynbee 1971.

74 In the current sample there were 36 cappuccina, 7 libation, 4 pit, and 7 disturbed/tile burials.

75 ‘Grave good’ refers to any item that was intentionally included with the deceased, including items of clothing (e.g. footwear). An analysis of the burials and their contents up to 2012 found that 91% of the burials contained grave goods, with an average of five items in the burial (Brent and Prowse 2014). This study also found that the number of grave goods increased with age-at-death, so older individuals had (on average) more grave goods than infants and children, and males tended to have a higher number of grave goods, including ‘luxury’ items, such as bronze alloy vessels (Brent and Prowse 2014: 106–108). This suggests that status may have been gender and age-related.

76 This includes burials excavated between 2001 and 2009.

TABLE 10.1 *Grave goods deposited in Vagnari burials* (n = 54 individuals)

	N	%	Male %	Female %
Buried with ceramic vessels	46	85.2	95.0	80.0
Buried with bronze items	10	18.5	20.0	20.0
Buried with glass	17	31.5	30.0	26.7
Buried with lamp	23	42.6	25.0	60.0
Buried with coin	14	25.9	25.0	26.7
Buried with 'other'	16	29.6	35.0	33.3
Buried with iron nail	23	42.6	60.0	40.0
Buried with metal	15	27.8	50.0	20.0
Buried with hobnails	16	29.6	55.0	26.7
Buried with gold	2	3.7	5.0	6.7

of precious metal (e.g. gold) were rarely present (3.7%). It is not clear whether the items placed in the burials were items belonging to the deceased during life, gifts deposited by the commemorators to reflect the role of the deceased during life, or a combination of both. There is evidence of charring on some vessels and lamp nozzles, but again it is not clear if this was due to regular use or if the charring occurred as part of the burial ritual.⁷⁷

When the distribution of grave goods was explored by sex (Figure 10.2), male burials more frequently contained large iron nails (often bent), metal implements (usually knives or blades) and hobnails at the feet indicating that they were buried with footwear. In contrast, females tended to be buried more often with lamps (60%). Male burials contained an average of 6.5 items, whereas female burials contained an average of 5.4 items, and individuals of unknown sex (i.e. subadults under the age of 14 years) had, on average, 4.3 items. This suggests some association between gender, age and the quantity of grave goods. There is, however, no significant difference between the sexes in terms of the number of grave goods in each burial, nor is there a significant difference in the number of grave goods in association with age-at-death.⁷⁸

The isotopic data were analysed to see if there was variability in $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values in association with burial type, the number of grave goods, or with the presence

77 Toynbee 1971 suggested that Romans believed the grave represented the houses of the dead and that grave goods were for their use after death.

78 Mann–Whitney *U*-test ($p < 0.05$)

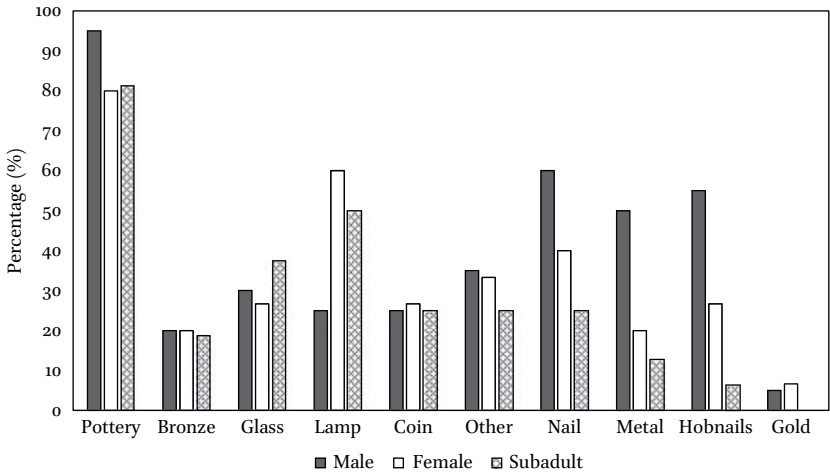


FIGURE 10.2 *Percentage of grave goods deposited in burials, by sex*
Note: subadult = <14 years of age

of certain types of grave goods (i.e. ceramic vessels, bronze items, glass vessels, coins, lamps, nails, metal implements, gold items, hobnails, or ‘other’ items).⁷⁹ There were no statistically significant differences in $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values in association with any of these variables.

Geographic Origins

The 23 teeth previously analysed in 2010 were resampled, and all 54 enamel samples were sent to the G.G. Hatch lab, Ottawa, for analysis, thus ensuring that any observed variability is due to actual differences in the teeth and not due to analytical technique.⁸⁰ The majority of the sample was composed of permanent 1st molars ($n = 43$), which form during infancy and early childhood while the infant is still likely breastfeeding. Breast milk is enriched in ^{18}O in relation to the water consumed by the mother, so this means that teeth forming during infancy will have higher (i.e. less negative) $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values (by $\sim 0.7\text{‰}$).⁸¹

79 ‘Other’ items included: bone needles and pins, glass paste beads, worked stone, and animal teeth.

80 As noted elsewhere in this contribution (at n. 44), there is evidence for slight variability in oxygen isotope results linked to laboratory methods and standardisation. Analytical precision is $\pm 0.1\text{‰}$. Six duplicate samples were run to determine precision.

81 Roberts et al. 1998; Wright and Schwarcz 1998.

The $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values of the 1st molars were systematically adjusted by 0.7‰ in this study to compensate for this effect, so the adjusted average $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ value of the 1st molar samples analysed is -4.6‰ (± 0.7) (VPDB).⁸² When all teeth are combined, the average is -4.5‰ (± 0.8). Statistical analysis of the data reveals that there is no significant difference in $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values between chronological time periods (i.e. 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries CE), so the data are combined together for further analysis.⁸³

In order to compare the tooth $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values to regional precipitation maps, the data have been converted to drinking water values. In the past, $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{c}}$ (carbonate) values were converted to $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{p}}$ (phosphate) values and then to $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$ (drinking water) values, thus introducing a greater degree of error in the final estimates of the expected signal for drinking water. Chenery and colleagues recently refined the conversion equations to calculate estimated drinking water values directly from $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values, thus minimising the conversion error.⁸⁴ When all the $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ data are converted to drinking water values, the average $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$ is -7.0‰ (± 1.5) (VSMOW).⁸⁵ The range of $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ of modern precipitation in this region of southern Italy is between -6 to -8‰ , so the average from the Vagnari sample is within the expected range for the region (Figure 10.3).⁸⁶

These results are presented, however, with the qualification that the values obtained from these conversions should only be used as general indicators of the drinking water values in the region and not as precise values due to the error introduced through these conversions.⁸⁷

The (unconverted) $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{c}}$ data are plotted in Figure 10.4, with the mean indicated by the solid black line and the dashed lines indicating a 1‰ standard deviation from the mean.⁸⁸

Sedentary populations with a consistent water supply display only slight variation in their $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values by around 1‰.⁸⁹ Figure 10.4 shows that all but

82 After White et al. 2000. The unadjusted average is $-4.0 \pm 0.8\text{‰}$. The 2nd and 3rd molars ($n = 5$) have an average of -4.0‰ (± 0.3), and the 6 deciduous molars analysed have an average of -3.8‰ (± 0.3).

83 The data are normally distributed, so the one way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used ($p < 0.05$).

84 Chenery et al. 2012 refined the equations developed by Daux et al. 2008.

85 The estimated $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$ average for the 1st molar values alone is -7.3‰ (± 1.5).

86 The precipitation $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ estimates were obtained from Longinelli and Selmo (2003: 80). To calculate drinking water values, the adjusted $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ data were first converted from VPDB to VSMOW, and then the drinking water values were calculating using the formula developed by Chenery et al. (2012: 316), derived from Daux et al. 2008, Equation 6.

87 Chenery et al. 2012: 315.

88 The data are presented in Table 10.3 (see the appendix at the end of this contribution).

89 Budd et al. 2004; Bentley et al. 2007.

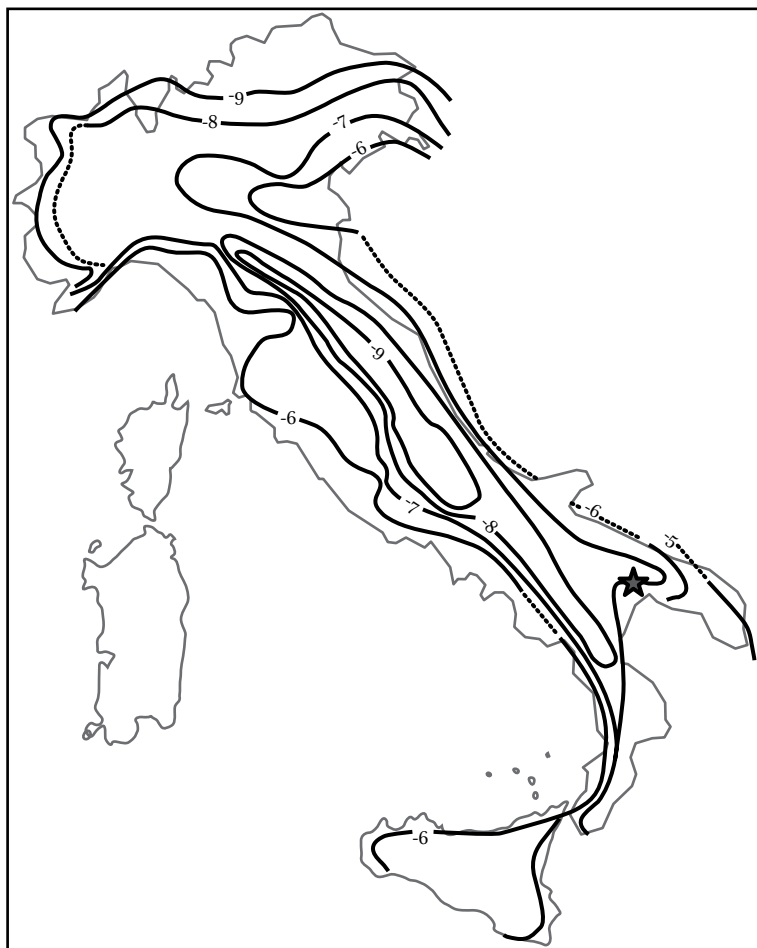


FIGURE 10.3 *Contour map of weighted annual average $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (vs. SMOW) of meteoric precipitation in Italy*

Note: Modified version of map from Longinelli and Selmo 2003.

The location of Vagnari is indicated with a star.

five individuals (F49, F130, F131, F225, F226) have $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values within the estimated 'local' range, indicating that 91% of the sample (49/54 teeth) were likely born in and around the region of Vagnari. There are three individuals who have $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values that are on the upper limit of the local range (-3.5‰), and five with values at or below the lower limit of the local range (-5.5‰), but since the precision of analysis is $\pm 0.1\text{‰}$ I have conservatively placed them in the 'local' category. The original pilot study found that 17/23 (74%) of the 1st molars analysed indicated local origins, so the current, enlarged sample indicates that an even higher proportion of individuals were local to the area. Three individuals identified as non-locals in the pilot study (F49, F130, F131) were re-analysed and

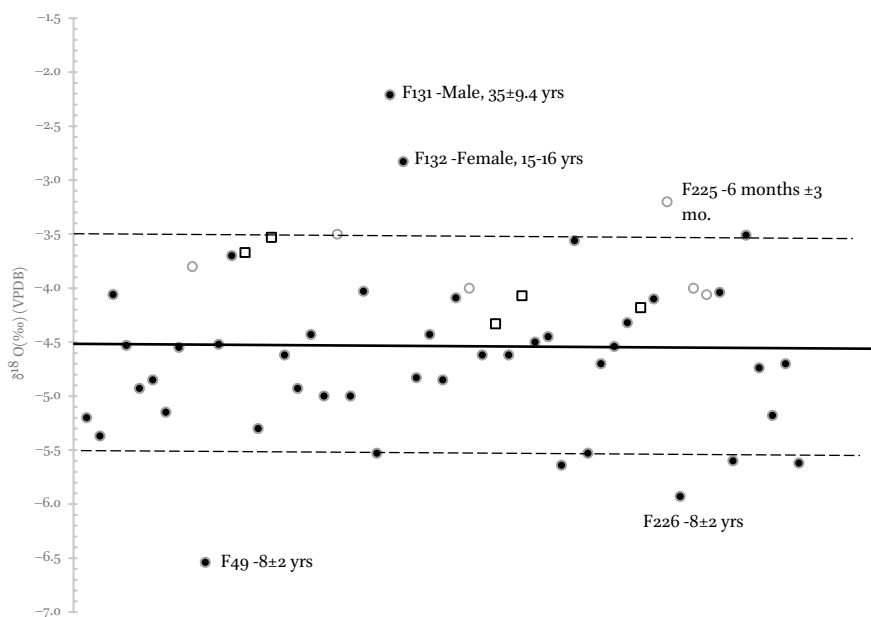


FIGURE 10.4 *Plot of $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values*

Note: The average (-4.5‰) is indicated by the solid black line and 1 standard deviation on either side of the mean indicated by the dashed lines. First molars are the black dots, deciduous teeth are the circles, and 2nd/3rd molars are the squares. Potential non-locals are labelled.

were also identified as non-local in the present research, so the results are consistent between the two studies.

These results have significance for understanding the consequences of Roman subjugation of the area after the 3rd century BCE. The isotopic results suggest that the workforce on this imperial estate was mainly composed of local inhabitants, and not an imported workforce of slaves or freedmen from other parts of the Roman Empire. This suggests that although the historical evidence clearly indicates that large segments of the population in southern Italy were enslaved, and the archaeological evidence indicates that there was a decline in settlement size and density after the 2nd century BCE, there were still pockets of local residents who likely continued to live in the area and whose descendants formed the workforce of this imperial estate. Again, one limitation of only having the oxygen isotope data is that it is possible that some of these people came from other areas of Italy with similar isotopic ranges (see Figure 10.3), but the most parsimonious explanation is that they came from this area.

There are five individuals whose $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values lay outside the estimated local range. Two are children aged 8 years (± 2 years), and they both have $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values indicating that they came from areas further inland and possibly at a

higher altitude due to their lower $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values (see Figure 10.3 and Table 10.2).⁹⁰ The youngest individual (F225) has a deciduous tooth $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ value that is just outside the local range (-3.2‰). Since the tooth was forming during fetal development, this signal more accurately reflects the water consumption of the mother, so this infant may not actually be non-local, but his/her mother may have been born elsewhere. The presence of at least two children in the cemetery with non-local isotopic signals is consistent with the idea that mobility also involved children. As Bruun has previously pointed out, there is no evidence to indicate whether these children came to Vagnari as slaves or accompanied family members, so without further historical or archaeological information we cannot determine the motivation for their movement.

The two adults with higher $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ values are an adult male (F131) and an older adult female (F132), with values that are outside the expected range of $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$ for Italy (see Table 10.2 and Figure 10.3).⁹¹ Heavier isotopic values such as these could indicate geographic origins along coastal regions of North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean region which suggests that these two people were not born in Italy.⁹² The grave goods found in each of these non-local burials are presented in Table 10.2. Both adults were buried with grave goods consistent with the type, quality and quantity of grave goods placed in the majority of burials at Vagnari – pottery, lamps, glass vessels, a coin in the female burial, and hobnails in the male burial. What this suggests is that even though these individuals were not born in the area around Vagnari, at the time of their death they were treated the same as any other member of the community. We do not know precisely when they came to Vagnari, except that it was sometime after early childhood, so the adults could have been living in the region for decades before death and may have been well and fully integrated into the community.

In terms of the location of the graves, the two adult burials are located in the NW corner of the cemetery, and the burial of the older adult female (F132) is somewhat separated from the rest of the burials (Figure 10.5), although it is not clear if the western edge of the cemetery has been reached.

The remaining three burials of the subadults are all located in a central part of the cemetery, so there does not seem to be a clear pattern associated with the location of the burials, again suggesting that socially these individuals were all integrated into the community at Vagnari.

90 Age estimation was assessed using dental development and eruption (based on Gustafson and Koch 1974).

91 These two individuals were analysed in the earlier pilot study (Prowse et al. 2010) and were also identified as non-locals likely coming from another part of the Mediterranean region.

92 See Badertscher et al. 2011: 237 for a map of annual oxygen isotope values for the Mediterranean region.

TABLE 10.2 *Oxygen isotope values ($\delta^{18}\text{O}_c$) and calculated drinking water values ($\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$) for each burial identified as a potential outsider, along with information on age, sex, chronology and grave goods*

ID	Sex	Age	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_c$ (VPDB)	Calculated $\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{DW}}$ (VSMOW)	Burial type	Burial Date	Grave goods
F49	U	8 years (± 2 years)	-6.5‰	-10.1‰	Cappuccina	Pre-3rd cent. CE	Ovoid jar (3/4); part of a bronze fibula. ⁹³
F132	F	Old Adult	-2.8‰	-4.1‰	Disturbed	2nd cent. CE	Bronze alloy coin (Faustina II), lamp; three ceramic bowls; fragments of a two-handled jar; two glass vessels (<i>unquentaria</i>).
F131	M	35 years (± 9.4 years)	-2.2‰	-3.1‰	Libation	2nd cent. CE	Lamp; globular beaker; glass vessel; iron pruning knife; large iron nail; 23 hobnails at feet.
F225	U	6 months (± 3 months)	-3.2‰	-4.6‰	Cappuccina	No date	No grave goods.
F226	U	8 years (± 2 years)	-5.9‰	-9.1‰	Cappuccina	2nd cent. CE	Lamp; fragments of pottery.

Conclusions

Discussions around mobility in the ancient Mediterranean region have, in the past, focused on the movement of men in association with colonisation, trade or military activities, and it was often assumed that women and children came along. Stable isotope analysis of human skeletal remains provides an opportunity

93 See Small and Small 2007b: 200–201.

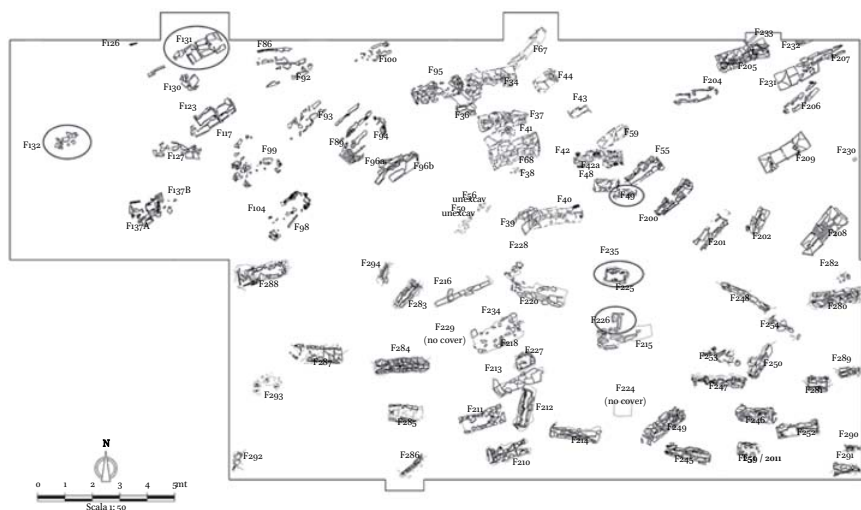


FIGURE 10.5 *Map of the Vagnari necropolis (2002–2009) showing the location of the 5 possible non-local burials*

MAP PREPARED BY C. SMALL AND F. TACCOGNA

to identify individuals of all ages and sexes who may have moved from one place to another during life. This gives researchers an opportunity to use the literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence to discuss the motives and reasons for mobility in the ancient Mediterranean, which the stable isotope data cannot tell us. These separate lines of evidence have their own advantages and disadvantages, and they may not integrate together seamlessly, but part of the motivation to conduct isotopic analyses on the people from Vagnari and other skeletal samples is to gain further information about the people who actually lived at that time, particularly if we do not have clear archaeological or epigraphic information about their origins.

What stable isotope analysis does is provide the opportunity to test hypotheses about human movement in relation to archaeological and historical evidence. Our isotopic research has contributed to the growing discussion of the mobility of women, children and families in the Roman world, instead of assuming that women and children migrated simply because men did. It is therefore essential to try and integrate these disparate lines of evidence. Moving forward, it is important to aim for greater integration of the work of bioarchaeologists, classicists, historians and archaeologists in order to learn the most we can about life and death in the ancient Roman world.

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Appendix

TABLE 10.3 *Burial information and stable isotope data*
M1 = 1st molar, M2 = 2nd molar, M3 = 3rd molar

Sample ID	Date	Burial Type	Age-at-Death	Sex	Tooth	Number of Grave Goods	δ ¹⁸ O (‰) (VPDB)	Adjusted M1 δ ¹⁸ O (‰)
F34	3rd c AD	cappuccina	adult	M	M1	5	-4.5	-5.2
F35	2nd c AD	libation	adult	M	M1	14	-4.7	-5.4
F39	3rd c AD	cappuccina	3 yrs ± 12 mo.	U	molar crown	2	-3.4	-4.1
F40	2nd c AD	cappuccina	15–17 yrs	F	M1	0	-3.8	-4.5
F41	2nd c AD	libation	2 yrs ± 12 mo.	U	molar crown	9	-4.2	-4.9
F42	4th c AD	cappuccina	28.7 yrs ± 6.5	M	M1	8	-4.2	-4.9
F42a	3rd c AD	disturbed	adult	M	M1	4	-4.5	-5.2
F43	2nd c AD	cappuccina	2 yrs ± 8 mo.	U	M1	3	-3.9	-4.6
F44	2nd c AD	libation	2 yrs ± 8 mo.	U	deciduous molar	5	-3.8	
F49	pre 3rd c AD	cappuccina	8 yrs ± 2 yrs	U	M1	2	-5.8	-6.5
F55	2nd c AD	cappuccina	5–6 yrs	U	M1	8+	-3.7	-4.4

TABLE 10.3 *Burial information and stable isotope data (cont.)*

Sample ID	Date	Burial Type	Age-at-Death	Sex	Tooth	Number of Grave Goods	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) (VPDB)	Adjusted M1 $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰)
F59	2nd c AD	libation	5 yrs ± 6 mo.	U	M1	7	-3.8	-4.5
F62	no date	pit	adult	M	M3	0	-3.7	
F67	2nd c AD	cappuccina	19-21 yrs	M	M1	9	-3.0	-3.7
Fg2	3rd c AD	cappuccina	old adult	M	M1	3	-4.6	-5.3
Fg2 (same)	3rd c AD	cappuccina	old adult	M	M3	3	-3.5	
Fg3	2nd c AD	cappuccina	adult	F	M1	6	-3.9	-4.6
Fg5	4th c AD	cappuccina	young adult	F	M1	6	-4.2	-4.9
Fg6a	2nd c AD	disturbed	adult	M	M1	1	-3.7	-4.4
F117	2nd c AD	cappuccina	20-25	F	M1	22	-4.3	-5.0
F123	post 2nd c AD	cappuccina	1.5 yrs ± 6 mo.	U	deciduous molar	2	-3.5	
F126	no date	cappuccina	20-25 yrs	M	M1	3	-4.3	-5.0
F127	2nd c AD	disturbed	15-20 yrs	F	M1	1	-3.3	-4.0
F130	no date	disturbed	old adult	F	M1	1	-4.8	-5.5
F131	2nd c AD	libation	35.2 ± 9.4	M	M1	6	-1.5	-2.2
F132	2nd c AD	disturbed	15-16 yrs	F	M1	7+	-2.1	-2.8
F137A	post 2nd c AD	tile	21-24 yrs	M?	M1	0	-4.1	-4.8
F137B	2nd c AD	disturbed	adult	U	M1	6	-4.2	-4.9
F200	2nd c AD	cappuccina	old adult	M?	M2	8+	-4.1	
F202	2nd c AD	cappuccina	9 mo. ± 3 mo	U	deciduous m1	5	-4.0	
F204	2nd c AD	cappuccina	39.4 ± 9.1	F	M1	5	-3.9	-4.6
F205	2nd c AD	cappuccina	young adult	F	M3	5	-4.3	
F206	2nd c AD	cappuccina	old adult	F	M1	3	-3.9	-4.6
F207	no date	cappuccina	young adult	M	M1	5+	-3.4	-4.1
F208	1st c AD	cappuccina	12-14.5 yrs	F?	M1	5	-3.8	-4.5

Sample ID	Date	Burial Type	Age-at-Death	Sex	Tooth	Number of Grave Goods	$\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰) (VPDB)	Adjusted $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (‰)
F209	no date	libation	14–16 yrs	F	M1	15+	-3.8	-4.5
F210	3rd c AD	cappuccina	9 yrs $\pm$ 24 mo	U	M1	10	-4.9	-5.6
F211	no date	cappuccina	young adult	F	M1	1+	-2.9	-3.6
F212	no date	cappuccina	adult	U	M1	2	-4.8	-5.5
F214	2nd c AD	cappuccina	45–59 yrs	M	M1	4+	-4.0	-4.7
F215	no date	cappuccina	38.2 $\pm$ 10.9	F	M1	4+	-3.8	-4.5
F216	3rd c AD	cappuccina	35.2 $\pm$ 9.4	M	M1	23+	-3.6	-4.3
F220	no date	cappuccina	40–44 yrs	M	M2	9+	-4.2	
F221	no date	pit	9 mo. $\pm$ 3 mo	U	deciduous m1	0	-4.1	
F225	no date	cappuccina	6 mo. $\pm$ 3 mo	U	deciduous m2	0	-3.2	
F226	2nd c AD	cappuccina	8.0 yrs	U	M1	3+	-5.2	-5.9
F227	no date	pit	0–6 mo.	U	deciduous m1	1	-4.0	
F228	3rd c AD	cappuccina	1 yr $\pm$ 4 mo	U	M1	9+	-3.4	-4.1
F231	2nd c AD	libation	adult	M	M1	13+	-3.3	-4.0
F234	2nd c AD	cappuccina	35.2 $\pm$ 9.4	M	M1	4	-4.9	-5.6
F235	no date	pit	50 yrs $\pm$ 12.6	M	M1	2	-2.8	-3.5
F245	2nd c AD	cappuccina	19–22 yrs	F	M1	10+	-4.0	-4.7
F249	1st – 2nd c AD?	cappuccina	adult	M?	M1	5	-4.5	-5.2
F250	no date	cappuccina	35–39 years	M	M1	2	-4.0	-4.7
F252	no date	cappuccina	17–22.5 yrs	F	M1	1	-4.9	-5.6

Revisiting Urban Graveyard Theory: Migrant Flows in Hellenistic and Roman Athens*

Saskia Hin

Introduction

Foreigners in Athens formed a fluctuating but sizeable group. How many ‘metics’ or free foreigners exactly lived in the city and surrounding area, we will never be able to establish. A very rough indication of the size of this body of inhabitants of the city suffices, however, to set the stage for this paper on the demographic characteristics of Athenian immigrants. Current estimates hold that free migrants and their descendants formed anywhere between 15% to about a third of the total population of the city. With a (very roughly) estimated total population size of about 300,000 in the fifth century BCE and 200–250,000 in the fourth century BCE for the whole of Attica, of whom about 50,000 might have been slaves, this would imply a minimum of around 30,000 metics residing in Attica in the classical period.¹ Many of them might have lived in the harbour town of the Piraeus, or in the surrounding countryside rather than in the city of Athens itself, which housed less than half of the total population of Attica.² Mobility in the Hellenistic period, so it has been argued, accelerated between 350 and 250 BCE.³ Whether increased levels of mobility in the Greek East coincided with an increase in the share of foreign residents in Athens cannot be confirmed. But the fact that Athens displayed greater openness towards foreigners in the Hellenistic period has been well recognised.⁴

* The author thanks the editors of this volume for their helpful comments. Thanks are also due to Elena Isayev, Johan Strubbe and Walter Scheidel for their comments on an earlier draft, to Christelle Fischer-Bovet, and to Graham Oliver for clarifying the *status quo* of research on non-migrant gravestones from Athens.

1 200–300,000: Garland 1987: 58. 300,000 for the fifth century BCE: Akrigg 2006: 86. 200,000–250,000 for the fourth century BCE: Hansen 2000: 93. Akrigg 2006: 86 suggests that 50–60,000 slaves are likely for the fifth century. Number of metics: e.g. Garland 1987: 61 (fifth century BCE).

2 Less than half of the total for Attica residing in Athens: Hansen 1986: 67–68.

3 Reger 2007: 461.

4 Oliver 2010.

The city remained an attractive destination for migrants, even though it had lost its position as the centre of the Greek East, and significantly declined in population size.

Given its reduced population size, it is not evident whether or not post-classical Athens would have counted among the so-called 'urban graveyard' cities, in which population size and population density created elevated mortality levels. That the city declined in numbers during post-classical times was a logical corollary of its reduced political importance and economic strength. Yet how much smaller Athens became after the end of the Classical period is not all that evident: there are few estimates, and the evidential base on which these rest seems very flimsy. Morris held that by 150 BCE, Athens had declined to less than 10,000 inhabitants, a figure falling below De Vries' and Sharlin's minimum threshold for the urban graveyard effect to operate.⁵ Others, however, hold that 10,000 is too low an estimate, and suggest that Athens in Roman times may have had up to 20,000 inhabitants. Hence post-classical Athens is an indeterminate case when it comes to the question of density-driven elevation of mortality rates.

In classical urban graveyard theory, as first presented by John Graunt in 1662 and subsequently elaborated on by Petty, Malthus, Süssmilch, and Wrigley, elevated mortality rates induced by crowding were key. The demographic role of migrants to urban centres was to fill the gaps left by those who died prematurely from infectious disease.⁶ Immigrants kept cities going that would otherwise be running out of people. The need for migrants to maintain population size in urban centres was, on this same view, perpetual. They were needed as a compensation for high death rates.

In 1978 Sharlin gave a new twist to urban graveyard theory. He placed the demographic characteristics of temporary migrants (sex, age, marriage and fertility behaviour) in the spotlight. According to Sharlin, it was *migrants*, not permanent residents, who played a key role in creating the surplus of deaths over births in the bookkeeping of urban areas. These migrants strongly contributed to the observed urban graveyard effect because they boosted death

5 Morris 2006: 48. 10,000 inhabitants as a minimum threshold for the urban graveyard effect: Sharlin 1978: 128.

6 For a neat overview of the urban graveyard theory as first set out by John Graunt in 1662 and subsequently elaborated on by Petty, Malthus, Süssmilch and Wrigley, see Puschmann et al. 2013. The hypothesis rested on comparing deaths to births – a method that does not take the effect of migration itself into account. Among ancient historians, comparative studies drawing on this method are still being used; see Lo Cascio 2006: 54 and Hin 2013: 221–228 for critical remarks.

rates through their migration, but hardly contributed to birth rates. The reason behind their low fertility lay in their unbalanced demographic profile, their economic roles in the cities, and the obstacles to marriage they faced as a result of their position. Urban migrants were relatively young and often single to begin with; the sex ratio among them tended to be unbalanced; marriage rates were much lower than among permanent residents (importantly, the economic role as servants they often fulfilled did not permit them to do so); and they hardly produced any offspring.⁷

In this revised form of urban graveyard theory, differences in demographic behaviour between temporary migrants and non-migrants became the centre of attention. While the role of large concentrations of people in generating elevated mortality rates through easy spread of microbes is not denied,⁸ Sharlin's model of urban migration revolves strongly around a reproduction argument that is independent of city size. Rather, it is connected to the economic functions of migrants in an urban environment. According to Sharlin, "what distinguished urban from rural areas was not a radical discrepancy in mortality conditions, but differences in the proportions married, generated by distinct migration and occupational patterns".⁹

Discussions on the demographic functioning of large ancient cities have likewise pointed to demographic unbalances among non-citizen subpopulations. Migrants who came to live in Greco-Roman cities were predominantly men – or so it has been thought. Women tended not to migrate except in a family context, because city environments, on this view, had little to offer them in terms of employment opportunities. What jobs might be available for women would not be advertised, but carried out by enslaved women, not by free women. Both mobility and migration to urban centres were, in other words, largely the domain of free men and slaves. Likewise, children did not form part of migration processes towards cities, unless they were slaves. Resulting high sex ratios among the migrant population led to concomitantly low fertility rates and the need for a continuous inflow of migrants to replace previous generations of migrants.¹⁰

⁷ Sharlin 1978.

⁸ Sharlin's model does "call into question the conventional assumption of a very large mortality differential between city and country". Sharlin 1978: 127.

⁹ Sharlin 1978: 128.

¹⁰ See Noy 2000: 60–3 and Ch.5 for the notion that urban pull factors attracted more men than women, and that women migrated mostly along with their families. Morley 1996: 37 holds that sex ratios among recent migrants in large cities were high, and contrasted with more even sex ratios among the resident urban population. Scheidel's quantitative model

In recent years, criticism of this traditional view of migration and mobility has started to emerge. Thus far, it has focused in particular on the city of Rome, which was by far the largest city in the ancient Mediterranean. In this context, the demographic characteristics of migrant flows have been studied with the help of new anthropological evidence. As a result, the old paradigm which holds that migrants were overwhelmingly young adult men has been criticised.¹¹ Theoretical perspectives as well as comparative evidence previously drawn upon to buttress the urban graveyard model have likewise been questioned.¹²

For the Greek world, by contrast, few studies have looked into the question of how migrant flows were demographically composed. Yet, despite the difficulties involved, epigraphic evidence from Athens may help us shed light on exactly this question. Fortune has it that migrants are identifiable by their *ethnikon* on gravestones. This ethnic refers to the city from which migrants originated and in which they held citizenship. While issues concerning epigraphic habits limit the use of this material, it does form a unique set of evidence to study the question how migrant flows in Athens were composed, and what migrants' marriage and reproductive behaviour looked like. Because it provides this kind of information, the Athenian migrant inscriptions allow us to empirically test whether Sharlin's argument on the fertility side of the urban graveyard effect holds in an ancient setting.¹³ Sharlin himself predicted that his theory would be valid across Europe: "there is little reason to believe that the argument does not apply to Europe as a whole".¹⁴

Due to the presence of slave labour, the structure of the labour market in Athens diverged markedly from that of Sharlin's test cases. The presence of slavery meant that domestic service was not available as a segment of the labour market or as a stage of life for young, unmarried free people. Marriage

of migration in Roman republican Italy (Scheidel 2004) works under the assumption that migrants were predominantly young adult males (see esp. 17–19).

11 Prowse et al. 2007 with subsequent discussion in Bruun 2010; Killgrove 2010a: 285, 287.

12 Theoretical perspectives: see Hin 2013 and Erdkamp 2008 for the prevalence of non-permanent types of migration and reasons why these types of migration have a more limited demographic impact. Comparative evidence: see Hin 2013: 221–228, discussing the reasons why the demographic regime of early-modern London cannot be used as a model for ancient Rome.

13 This paper, in other words, explicitly focuses on the fertility side of the urban graveyard model, leaving arguments concerning the mortality and disease aspects of this model for what they are. For a discussion of density-related excess mortality in urban environments, see Hin 2013: 124–128 and 221–228.

14 Sharlin 1978: 129.

patterns, moreover, seem to have diverged strongly from those in the cities Sharlin looked at: for all we know, female marriage in the Greek world was early (in the teens or early twenties) and widespread,¹⁵ while in the case of Germany, Austria, and England marriage for women took place substantially later, and rates of celibacy were distinctly higher – with more than 50% of the 20–39 age group unmarried in the large Austrian cities.¹⁶ The contrast in social structures between the two European settings – ancient Athens and the (early) modern Central and North-western European cities – makes for an interesting test case to investigate Sharlin's model of urban migration and its claim to universality across Europe. Because of the limitations of the surviving evidence, the characteristics of migrants rather than their numbers take central place in the current paper, and set the scope of the argument that follows.

Identifying Migrants

This paper concentrates on migrants with a foreign *ethnikon* to the exclusion of migrants from within Attica with a *demotikon* referring to a rural *deme*. The *ethnikon*, in the definition of Fraser's *Greek ethnic terminology*, was an "adjective used to denote 'nationality' or origin, from the outset used almost exclusively as a means of external identification outside the individual polis or other unit to which the ethnic and its bearer belonged".¹⁷ For metics and foreigners in Attica, their city-ethnic became part of their name, and was commonly used in addition to the 'first name' and patronymic on funerary inscriptions.¹⁸ The possession and recording of an ethnic allow us to identify an individual as a migrant from outside of Athens. In addition to this, the use of an ethnic normally indicates that its holder is a free individual. Consequently, the focus on migrants with an *ethnikon* limits this study to a selected group of migrants – and excludes those who ended up in Athens because they were forced to move there as slaves. According to Osborne and Byrne, the use of the *ethnikon* also signifies that the individuals concerned "presumably could still claim the

15 Note that the evidence on marriage ages in Athens comes from literary sources such as the famous passage in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* 7.4–7 (in which Ischomachus tells Socrates his wife was not yet fifteen at the time of their marriage) rather than from epigraphic evidence, and might be biased towards the upper classes.

16 Sharlin 1978: 79 (Table 11.3).

17 Fraser 2009: 61. See also Hansen 1996, where he pleads for refining this terminology by distinguishing between 'regional ethnics' and 'city-ethnics'.

18 Fraser 2009; Hansen 1996: esp. 178.

privileges of citizenship in their ‘home city’”.¹⁹ While this may be true, it is likely that among the foreigners who can thus be identified, several were not first generation immigrants, but the offspring of parents who had migrated to Athens, or even of a generation of lifetime immigrants before that. In the Athenian context, in other words, we cannot distinguish between first and second or subsequent generations of immigrants. In what follows the term ‘migrant’ is used to cover both first and subsequent generations of immigrants, except where the concept is explicitly defined more narrowly.

In this study only those individuals sporting a foreign *ethnikon* are taken into account. Limiting the sample to migrants with a foreign *ethnikon* excludes migrants from within Attica, but helps us to exclude immigrants who did not live in Athens for a substantial period of time. Among immigrants with a foreign *ethnikon*, there may be individual cases in which someone born outside Attica was buried there because of general ties with the city or because of other reasons that were unrelated to residence. But given travel times and the obstacles to transportation in antiquity (certainly to transportation of the physical remains of the deceased),²⁰ it seems reasonable to assume that in the majority of cases, someone with an *ethnikon* pertaining to a place outside Attica was buried in Athens because he or she lived there at the time of death.²¹ In the case of possible migrants with a *demotikon* referring to a rural deme matters are different. While these individuals might have migrated to the city of Athens from the surrounding countryside or from smaller communities in Attica, their identification as (first or subsequent generation) migrants is much less secure. A key factor in this is that membership of a deme was hereditary from 508 BCE (Kleisthenes’ reform) until the Roman period. As a result, by the fourth century BCE, “many – perhaps most – of the Athenian *politai* living in a particular area were actually affiliated with demes that were located elsewhere”.²² Moreover, as other researchers have pointed out, many of the residents of Attica would have occasionally visited Athens for political reasons or for business purposes,²³ and we may certainly add visits for private matters and religious reasons. Citizens from rural demes in Attica, in other words, may also have

19 Osborne and Byrne 1996: xxv.

20 For instances of such repatriation of human remains (almost invariably ashes and bones) over longer distances, see Tybout, in this volume. The educated and the cultured are strongly overrepresented among the identified cases.

21 See Osborne and Byrne 1996: xxix.

22 Cohen 2000: 113–114. See also Whitehead 1986: 67–68 and Damsgaard-Madsen 1988. Deme membership is thought to have continued to be hereditary until about 300 CE: see Rubinstein et al. 1991: 139.

23 See Taylor 2011: 119–121.

been buried in Athens because of familial connections, or because of a desire to be buried in the centre of the region, at a prestigious and more visible location.²⁴ Location of burial, in other words, need not equal location of residence. The connections between Athens and its direct 'hinterland' Attica were too complex and too multidimensional to take an individual born in a rural deme but buried in the city as a rural–urban migrant without further contextual evidence.

Dataset Characteristics and Methods

The dataset used for this study is derived from Michael J. Osborne and Sean Byrne's *The Foreign Residents of Athens. An Annex to the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names in Attica* (1996). Their work consists of a comprehensive list of 8,209 individuals whom they believed to be foreigners residing in Athens.²⁵ For the purposes of this paper, I created a subsample of their list on the basis of a number of criteria.

To begin with, in order to allow for the identification of places of origin, the subsample excludes 819 migrants of unknown provenance and/or non-free status for whom no ethnic was present or legible. Individuals other than the person for whom the inscription was set up were excluded as well (see below for a justification). Thirdly, migrants identified through literary sources and documentary sources other than gravestones were not taken into consideration. Doing so served the interests of analysis and interpretation, which are aided by a sample that is as homogeneous as possible. Applying this criterion also avoided inclusion of honorific inscriptions and ephebic lists that are, unlike the post-classical Athenian grave inscriptions, notoriously biased towards men, and would have perturbed demographic investigations.²⁶ As a corollary of the focus on gravestones, visitors as well as those who dwelled in the city for a shorter period of time are hardly represented in the selected dataset: they had a low risk of dying in Athens. The current paper, in other words, primarily considers migration that turned into what is often classified as 'permanent migration'. Although the intention of the migrants under investigation might not have been at all to settle in Athens permanently, their fate was to end up buried in the city.

24 Osborne 1991: 239–246 and Engels 1992: 447–449 discuss evidence and methodological issues concerning the investigation of migration within Attica. See also Taylor 2011: 122 and De Ligt 2013: 151.

25 Osborne and Byrne 1996.

26 For ephebic lists, see Hin 2007. Although Osborne and Byrne include ephebes of foreign backgrounds among their lists of migrants, it is unlikely that they were first generation immigrants themselves. Rather, they were probably the sons of resident metics.

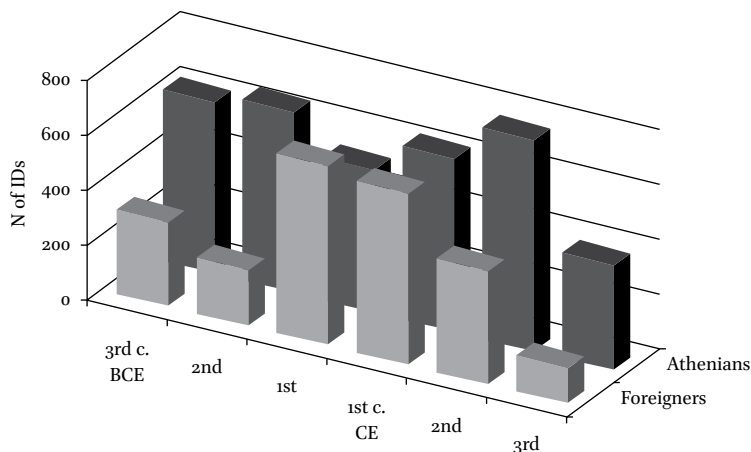


FIGURE 11.1 *Distribution of attested migrants and Athenians over time (grave inscriptions, Athens, 3rd c. BCE – 3rd c. CE)*

Note: N of migrants for the entire period = 2,352. N of citizens = 3,588. Data for Athenians are derived from Meyer 1993: 100, Figure 11.2, and include both individuals with a *demotikon* and those without (i.e. all individuals without an *ethnikon*). Note that, as numbers were derived from her compact graph, they are approximate rather than exact. The total N of migrants does not amount to the 2,709 individuals in the sample dataset (see below) because the individuals dated to the late fourth century BCE and those dated to the fourth century CE are not displayed here. Their numbers could not be meaningfully compared with Meyer's series. For foreigner inscriptions which were dated to a time range rather than a point in time, I followed Meyer's method of distributing their totals evenly over the periods to which they have been dated, so as to keep the comparison with her dataset methodologically sound.

My chronological focus is on the Hellenistic and Roman periods. For these periods, the total number of migrants attested on gravestones amounts to 2,352. While in absolute numbers this might still not seem all that impressive, this sample size makes migrants in Athens better documented than their counterparts in the city of Rome. From the third century BCE to the third century CE about 40% of all identified deceased individuals had a migrant background, based on the current count of Athenian grave inscriptions. By comparison, for Rome that percentage falls short of 2%.²⁷ In Figure 11.1 the

27 The percentage for Athens is based on Figure 11.1 (with note), in which the number of attested migrant grave inscriptions is based on my analysis of Osborne and Byrne 1996. The number of attested non-migrant grave inscriptions is based on Meyer 1993: 100 Figure 11.2 with Appendix. Meyer based herself on a systematic investigation of all gravestones published in *IG 2-3², 5228-13247; Mittheilungen des deutschen archaologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung 67; Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu*

distribution of attested migrants over time is plotted against the number of non-migrants identified on Athenian grave inscriptions.

The two time series follow markedly divergent trajectories. The number of migrants that can be identified on gravestones displays a dramatic peak during the period from 100 BCE to 100 CE. During these two centuries, the number of people with a foreign ethnic appearing in funerary inscriptions approaches or even exceeds the number of Athenians. Before and after, attested numbers of foreigners are dramatically lower. This pattern ought not to be taken to accurately reflect real life patterns of rises and falls in subpopulations. The distributions are likely affected by change over time in epigraphic habits, which could be related to changes in burial costs, to changes in cultural practice, or to changes regarding the importance of attesting one's citizen status.²⁸ The aim of presenting Figure 11.1 is to emphasise that skews in the distribution of the evidence must be borne in mind when interpreting trends and patterns, e.g. relating to marriage patterns (cf. below).

Typically, post-classical Athenian gravestones were plain and simple, and so are those for foreign residents. This trend in modesty of monuments on graves was enforced by Demetrios of Phaleron's sumptuary laws in 317 BCE. He wanted to promote uniformity in the way people were commemorated, possibly to underline the equality of citizens, and after a time lag he was quite successful in achieving this aim.²⁹ In most cases, the gravestones are of the *kioniskos* type and do not include more than the name of the deceased, his or her father's name, and the *ethnikon* of the deceased. A representative example is IG 2², 9005:

Kallisto daughter of Kallikrates from Keos.³⁰

The contextual information provided by the *kioniskoi* making up the bulk of this dataset is minimal. The persons who are commemorating the deceased are not mentioned – in marked contrast to the Latin epitaphs from the western Roman world. Neither praise nor lamentations for the dead find their way onto these inscriptions. The only numerically noteworthy exceptions to this pattern are mentions of the names of husbands and wives. Occasionally, however, a more elaborate and more costly inscription is found among the monuments for the deceased foreigners.

Berlin 1956.3, 1–67; Bradeen 1974 and *SEG*, vols 11–35. For Rome, the percentage is based on a total of around 1,000 foreigner inscriptions in Noy 2000 (Appendix), and an estimated total of 60,000–100,000 grave inscriptions.

28 Oliver 2000; Meyer 1993; Grigoropoulos 2009: 168.

29 Hedrick 1999: 402–403.

30 Original text: Καλλιστῶ Καλλικράτου Κήα.

Application of the selection criteria described above results in a sample consisting of 2,709 migrants. In the remainder of this paper the results of my analysis of various characteristics of the migrants in this sample will be presented.³¹ I will begin with a discussion of patterns of geographic origin and then proceed with an examination of marriage patterns and sex ratios. The latter two demographic indicators may help us understand whether and to what extent migrants contributed to the 'urban graveyard' effect. Finally, I will discuss the implications of my findings for the urban graveyard model, and ask how unique post-classical Athens was when it comes to the demographic composition of its migrant body.

Patterns of Geographic Origin

Most attested free immigrants in Athens did not come from very far afield. As Figure 11.2 makes clear, the Greek mainland and the coastal cities of Asia Minor

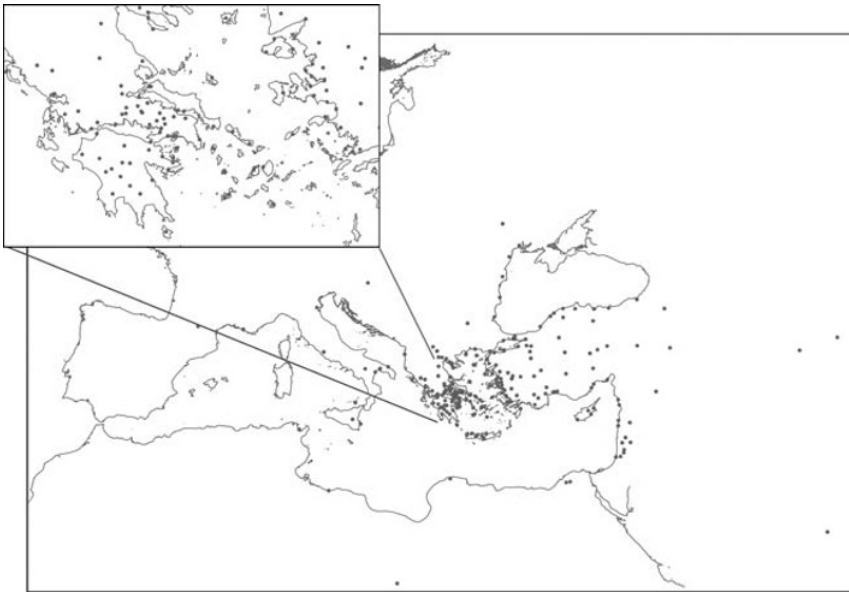


FIGURE 11.2 *Locations of origin of migrants buried in Athens (N = 1,762)*

³¹ Note that the actual number of inscriptions investigated varies across my sections, depending on whether the relevant information was available for a specific question. Graphs and tables specify included Ns.

produced most of the men and women who came to live in Athens as foreign residents.

This map does not include all immigrants for whom a place of origin is attested. Several cities from which migrants came to Athens did not have unique names (e.g. Alexandria and Herakleia [attested across various regions]; Argos and Demetrias [attested more than once within Greece]). In other cases all we know about a place is that it existed and was located somewhere outside of Greece. Table 11.1 provides a full overview of the distribution of all migrants by region of origin, including those locations which could not be plotted on a map because they are too unspecific.

The static imagery of this map and table is not able to capture changes over time in the geographic composition of the attested migrant body. That there

TABLE 11.1 *Regions of origin of migrants buried in Athens^a*

Region of origin	N	Percent	Cumulative %
<i>Specifiable</i>			
Asia Minor	1,045	38.58	38.58
Greece	493	18.19	56.77
Black Sea	108	3.99	60.76
Near East	74	2.73	63.49
Balkans	66	2.44	65.93
Western Mediterranean	60	2.21	68.14
Africa	24	0.89	69.03
<i>Non-specifiable</i>			
Outside of Attica (possibly Greek, possibly non-Greek)	440	16.24	85.27
Outside of Greece	399	14.73	100
Total	2,709	100	

a The category 'outside of Attica' includes all attested migrants whose place of origin certainly lies outside of Attica, but may either be another Greek city, or a non-Greek city. E.g. *IG* 2², 8804 (= Osborne and Byrne 1996, no. 2231) from Herakleia, a city attested in Greece, Macedonia, Asia Minor and Syria. The category 'outside of Greece' includes migrants who certainly came from a non-Greek location of origin, but whose city of origin could not exactly be determined. E.g. *IG* 2², 10120 (= Osborne and Byrne 1996, no. 6184) from Ptolemais: a city attested in Egypt, but also in Asia Minor, Libya and Israel.

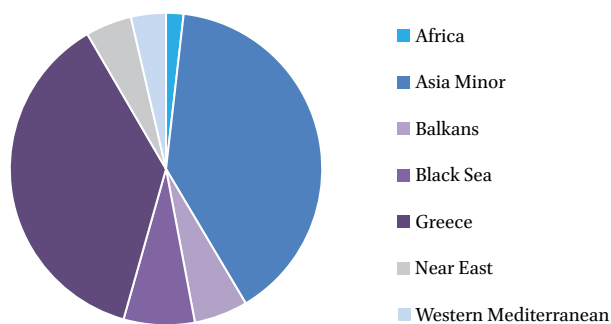


FIGURE 11.3A *Locations of origin of migrants: Hellenistic period (N = 774)*
 Note: Legend reads clockwise, with Africa starting at noon.

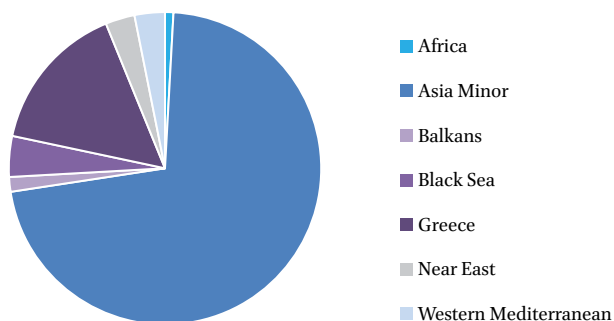


FIGURE 11.3B *Locations of origin of migrants: Roman period (N = 923)*
 Note: Legend reads clockwise, with Africa starting at noon.

were such changes is highlighted by the contrast between Figures 11.3a and 11.3b. Whereas during the Hellenistic period immigrants from other parts of Greece are attested in approximately equal numbers to immigrants from the cities of Asia Minor, this balance shifts in the Roman period. Migrants coming from Asia Minor are much more frequently attested in this period.

Much of this change is driven by the arrival of the Milesians, who formed a large community in Athens (532 of the Roman period foreigner inscriptions pertain to Milesians). It is worth investigating whether the trend of more migrants from Asia Minor and fewer from Greece still holds independently of the Milesian immigrants. After all, there is an ongoing debate about who the Milesians were, and why they appear in the epigraphic record in such large numbers. While scholars have been inclined to accept that specific historical conditions lie behind their apparent dominance among immigrants, it has also been suggested that Milesians formed a separate juridical category (so not an

ethnic but a juridical status group).³² A third possibility is that distinctive epigraphic habits among this group led to an overrepresentation of Milesians in the evidence.³³ The uncertainty surrounding the questions who exactly the Milesians were, and whether or not their epigraphic habits were distinctive compared to those of other groups makes our understanding of the trend in the distribution of migrant origins vulnerable to distortion. This problem is circumvented by excluding the Milesians from the analysis.

Doing so diminishes the intensity of the trend, but does not eliminate it: in this scenario the share of Greeks³⁴ among immigrants in Athens still diminishes by 20%, while the share of migrants from Asia Minor increases by 27%.

One can only speculate about the reasons underlying this changing pattern in the epigraphic material. Perhaps the use of *ethnika* by Greeks originating from beyond Attica followed a pattern similar to that attested for Greeks from within Attica, who were increasingly less likely to mention a *demotikon* on their grave-stones, and by the third century CE altogether discontinued their practice of attaching this marker to a person's name.³⁵ In that case, the trend may be a spurious one created by epigraphic habit. But such a hypothesis does not find confirmation in the evidence. Fraser demonstrates that the practice of using an *ethnikon* declined by the Late Empire, but “retained its traditional role as the main element in the identification of a member of a Greek polis” under Roman administration, “even if the polis had lost...its political independence”.³⁶ Therefore, since the overwhelming majority of Imperial inscriptions in our dataset belong to the first two centuries of the Empire (see Figure 11.1), it is unlikely that a decrease in the use of the *ethnikon* limited to Greece explains the trend.

By contrast, the drop in attested migrants from Greece itself tallies well with the scenario of population decline that is thought to have characterised Greece – especially the countryside and many small cities – from about 200 BCE until well into the early Empire, a decline that went hand in hand with its loss

32 Milesians as a juridical category containing bastards, other foreigners and enfranchised people: Baslez 1989: 26. Vestergaard 2000: 89–90 argues that “prosopographical and onomastic research does not reveal any large proportion of barbarians, slaves or freedmen within the group of Milesians in Attica”, and sees the Milesians as an ethnic group whose size was exceptionally large as a result of specific historical conditions.

33 Cf. Grigoropoulos 2009.

34 Note that in the following “Greeks” are defined as Greeks from within the current territory of Greece, thus excluding Greeks from Asia Minor, the Balkans etc. whose origins are specified respectively as “from Asia Minor”, from “the Balkans”, etc.

35 Vestergaard et al. 1992: 5; Meyer 1993: 115. The discontinuation of this practice is thought to be connected to the decreasing value of citizenship in Athens.

36 Fraser 2009: 225–237. Quote from p. 225.

of political and economic dominance.³⁷ In this mixture of developments, we find a historical explanation for the shift in geographic origin of migrants that has considerable appeal. Yet it must be emphasised that the state of the current survey evidence on Asia Minor does not permit reconstruction of population trends in the region, so that we cannot tell whether or not the population base in Asia Minor grew relative to that in Greece.³⁸ Whether shifting population bases indeed intertwined with changes in relative political and economic power to explain the changing geographic origins of migrants therefore remains to be seen.

On any view, the wide range of geographic origins of migrants points to the continued attraction of Athens as a destination city. Undoubtedly, foreigners headed for Athens with similarly heterogeneous motivations as those discussed by various scholars for other times and places.³⁹ With respect to our understanding of push and pull factors towards migration, the current evidence underlines the importance of connectivity. The visual pattern generated by the dots on Map 1 clearly shows that most migrants either came from an overland destination that was not too far away from Athens (usually from within Greece), or from coastal locations. This observation is also valid for various locations that at first sight seem to reflect migration over land. A cursory investigation of the inland places of origin of migrants revealed that many of these places were located on or very near rivers. In line with theoretical predictions, the possibility to use cheaper and faster waterways seems to have had a profound impact on the mobility of individuals living further away from Athens. In short, Horden and Purcell's statement that water is a core element in connectivity in the Mediterranean finds further confirmation in these data.⁴⁰

Did the small cities that dotted the empire suffer equally from the supposed urban deficit and were they restocked by immigrants, or should they be seen as sender cities? The inscriptional evidence suggests the latter: many of the locations

37 On the archaeological and literary evidence suggesting such decline, see Reger 2007: 462 and Alcock 1993: esp. 24–32, 53–55, 71–80. Alcock convincingly argues that population decline in Greece was “less devastating than is normally accepted”.

38 Reger 2007.

39 E.g. Noy 2000, Erdkamp 2008 and Hin 2013 on Roman Italy; Alcock 1993 on the Greek world and Taylor 2011 on migration within Attica.

40 Of course though, this statement needs to be read bearing in mind that the distribution of population over the territory itself was very much affected by the same processes, so that the population base from which migrants were drawn concentrated more heavily at locations near waterways. Horden and Purcell 2000: esp. 123–143 can by now be classified as a classic on the theme of water as a core element in connectivity. See also the Orbis project by Stanford at <http://orbis.stanford.edu> for estimations of travel costs and travel time by means of transportation.

on Map 1 from which migrants came to Athens were small cities. Needless to say, it is notoriously difficult to estimate the sizes of ancient cities. An impression of the role played by smaller communities among the sending cities, however, can also be gained by looking at the total number of cities that contributed only a few migrants each. Of the 279 different cities from which migrants are known to have originated, a total of 239 (86%) did not contribute more than 10 migrants to the dataset. This suggests that many cities across the Mediterranean were sending communities. In the case of the cities that head the list of small contributors, the fact that they were able to produce migrants ought not to cause too much surprise: places like Abonou Teichos, Aigosthena, Akanthos, Alipheira, Ariarathea, and so on, do not plausibly fall into the category of cities likely to have experienced natural population decline due to density pressures. On the other hand, the presence, in Athens, of migrants from a considerable number of small places can never be taken as proof of demographic surpluses in smaller towns. We simply cannot exclude that their emigration undermined the demographic sustainability of their places of origin. In fact, if the populations of various parts of Greece declined after 200 BCE, as the written sources and the archaeological data seem to indicate, it seems a safe inference that centripetal migration flows did not merely include 'surplus' men and women from smaller towns.

More informative for the debate on the urban graveyard-effect is the top-end of the range: do we find those cities that to the best of our knowledge would have counted among the largest in the Mediterranean, or are they conspicuously absent? What share of migrants do they deliver, and is it proportional to the demographic primacy these places had within the Mediterranean? The ancient metropolises of Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, and Corinth are all represented in the Top-15 of sending cities, alongside Miletos and Herakleia. Taken together, this Top-15 produced 61% of known migrants in Athens (as compared to 22% by the 239 smallest contributors). There is, in other words, a good degree of congruence between 'topscorers' in population size and topscorers in the production of migrants, and big cities were certainly sender cities as well.

It deserves emphasising, though, that the often-debated and seemingly special case of Miletos (see above) is responsible for nearly half the contribution made by the Top-15. If the Milesians are excluded, the contribution of the largest cities drops to 33%. With the Graeco-Roman urban world often described as conforming to a primacy rank-size model, this is a relatively low percentage. In principle, the urban graveyard effect might be part of the reason why large cities contributed relatively few migrants. But migration is not a mechanic process. Moving to post-classical Athens may well not have been all that attractive for the residents of the big cities of the Hellenistic and Roman East. After all, in Hellenistic and Roman times the city of Athens was no longer *the* centre of the

Greek world. In other words, a lower-than-expected number of migrants from large cities need not point to demographic contraction at the place of origin.

After this digression on the inability of the epigraphic evidence to settle questions on demographic surpluses in smaller and larger cities, let us return to the central topic of this paper. Did migrants contribute to population reproduction in their destination city, or did they aggravate the negative demographic impact of density-generated higher mortality rates by failing to reproduce and by lowering overall urban fertility rates?

Migrants and the Marriage Market

The question as to whether migrants who moved to Athens are likely to have contributed to population reproduction in their destination city can be approached from two angles: first, by looking at marriage behaviour and marriage patterns; and, second, by looking at sex ratios among the migrant population. I will first discuss what might be inferred from the inscriptional evidence regarding marriage behaviour. Following this I will look into the issue of sex ratios and reproduction among the attested migrant population. The final section draws the paper together by discussing how my findings on these issues can be unified with urban graveyard theory.

Of all post-classical burial inscriptions in Osborne and Byrne's collection, 229 provide the name and place of origin of the marriage partners of migrants buried in Athens. Another 27 yield that same information for the Classical Period. Within this subset of the total sample, migrant marriages can be classified by type according to the place of origin of a migrant and his or her partner:

1. Homogeneous marriages: marriages in which both the migrant and her husband or his wife came from the same city of origin.
2. Mixed marriages with locals: marriages that were mixed in terms of geographic origin, in which one partner was foreign and the other a local Athenian.
3. Other mixed marriages: mixed marriages in which both partners originated from different city-states, and both were foreigners without citizenship rights in Athens.

Figure 11.4 shows the attested distribution of these three types of migrant marriages.

Couples who both came from the same place of origin outside of Attica account for the smallest proportion of married migrants. An example of a

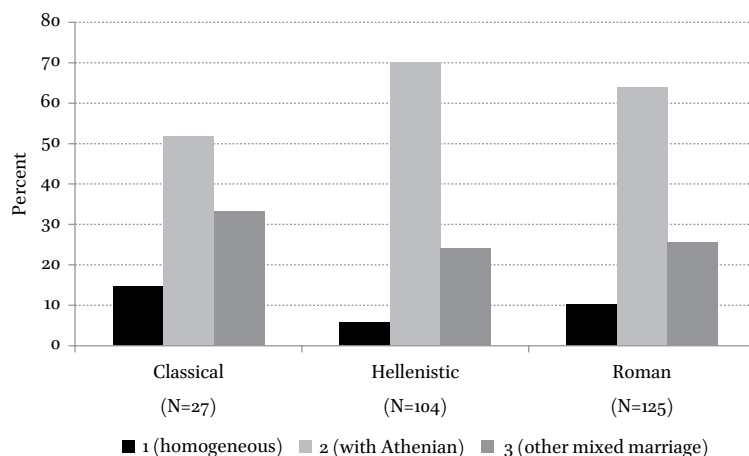


FIGURE 11.4 *Attested marriages of foreigners in Athens by type* (N = 256)
 Note: See main text for a more detailed description of marriage types.

couple belonging to this category is referred to on the gravestone of a certain Aphrodisia:

Aphrodisia from Ephesos wife of Menemachos from Ephesos.⁴¹

Some of these couples might not have met in their city of citizenship. They could also have met in Athens, or be second or subsequent generation immigrants. Either of the last two scenarios becomes more plausible as the size of the immigrant community from a specific city-state increases: only then could a marriage partner likely be found from within the pool of fellow ‘nationals’ living in Athens. The fact that subgroup 1 includes couples from small places like the island of Andros points to a role for family migration. The number of attested immigrants from a place like Andros is so small ($N = 3$) that it is unlikely that there was a community of people from this island large enough to allow individuals to find a partner of the right age and sex within it. For immigrant couples whose place of citizenship was the same small community, the more likely demographic scenario is one in which they had married in their place of origin and subsequently migrated together to Athens, as a family, or one in which a migrant brought in a wife from his community of origin at a later stage. The inscriptions thus provide evidence for a form of migration that is rarely

41 IG 2², 8513: Ἀφροδισία Ἐφεσία Μενεμάχου Ἐφεσίου γυνή.

attested in the ancient sources, and support Prowse's argument on the occurrence of family migration.⁴²

About a quarter of attested migrant marriages were with a partner who was also a migrant, but from a different city of origin. If the evidence provided by the gravestones is taken at face value, however, most migrants whose marriage partner is known to have come from a particular place were not married to another migrant or fellow-citizen. This also holds true for the Milesians, who form the largest attested group of immigrants in Athens.⁴³ Their attested partner choices were remarkably similar to those of migrants who did not have a large community to fall back on: only a mere 6 out of 71 migrants, or descendants of migrants, whose marriage partners are known were married to a fellow Milesian. Had the Milesians all been from the city of Milete, they would have had ample opportunities for homogeneous marriage-partner selection as a consequence of their group size. The fact that, despite its large numbers, the Milesian immigrant community in Athens did not marry within their own group more frequently than others could be seen as supporting the hypothesis that the Milesians might be a juridical rather than an ethnic category (cf. above).

The fact that Athenian partners dominate in the dataset most plausibly indicates that the likelihood of epigraphic commemoration is affected by selection factors – in this case, that of successful integration into Athenian society through marriage to an Athenian husband (94% of the Athenian partners attested in this subsample were men). In other words, the marriage patterns suggested by these inscriptions should not be taken to reflect the actual demographic distribution of types of marriage partners among foreigners in Athens. For example, the fact that we do not see many marriages between two Milesians should not be taken to imply that Milesians had an aversion against homogeneous marriage. More likely, such homogeneous marriages were often regarded as unremarkable and therefore as not worth advertising on a gravestone.

More informative and indicative of historical practice are developments in the relative shares of marriage types over time. Earlier studies have suggested that there are increasing indications of intermarriage between Athenian citizens and foreigners over time, which might be related to a growing openness

42 Prowse et al. 2007. See also the opening section of this contribution.

43 Contra Baslez 1989: 25–26 who argues that among the foreign residents, “les Milésiens d'Athènes occupaient certainement une place particulière... parce qu' ils vivaient en symbiose avec les citoyens comme l'attestent la fréquence des inter-mariages”. On Milesians as the largest immigrant group see Vestergaard 2000.

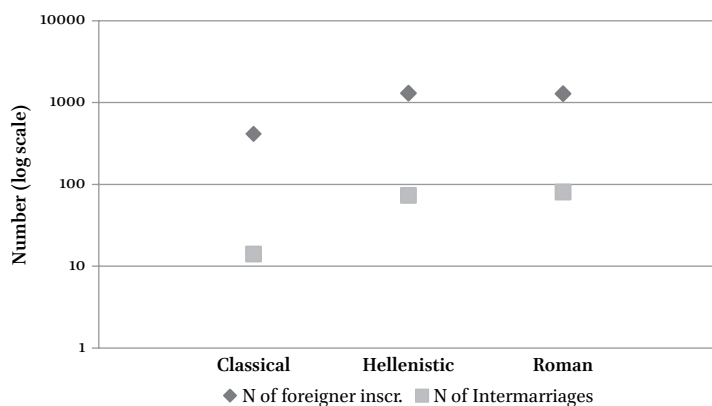


FIGURE 11.5 *A pronounced increase in intermarriage between foreigners and Athenians?*
Number of attested intermarriages plotted against number of attested foreigner inscriptions, over time, on a logarithmic scale.

of Athenian society following the decline of the Athenian democracy and the decreasing importance of citizen status. In other words, mixed marriages would, so it has been suggested, have become more common as the ‘membership regime’ of the Athenian polis became less restrictive.⁴⁴ As Graham Oliver has emphasised, however, the seemingly ‘major’ rise in the number of attested intercultural marriages might be affected by changes in epigraphic habit.⁴⁵ Yet his conclusion on the trend is still affirmative: “although the absolute numbers must be assessed with some caution, the steep increase in the second century is significant”. My current investigation can serve both to confirm a rising trend, and to undermine the conclusion that there was a steep increase in mixed marriages between Athenians and non-Athenians.

To begin with the latter topic, the impression that the evidence shows a major trend is a spurious one created by the overall rise in the number of inscriptions pertaining to foreigners in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Plotting the number of intermarriages with Athenians over time against the overall number of foreigner inscriptions reveals that there is a high degree of parallelism in both trends (Figure 11.5), and no steep relative increase in the share of intermarriages.

Expressed in percentages, intermarriages with Athenians account for 3.4% of all foreigner inscriptions in the Classical period; for 5.6% in the Hellenistic

44 For the concept of ‘membership regime’ see De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume.

45 On the low percentage of intermarriages in classical Athens: Davies 1977–8: 111. Rise in intermarriages over time: Niku 2004; Oliver 2010.

period, and for 6.3% in the Roman period. The increase in mixed marriages with locals is hardly as dramatic as previously thought on the basis of the rise in absolute numbers. Rather than a close to sixfold increase (from 14 intermarriages in the Classical period to 80 in Roman times), the inscriptional evidence suggests a near-doubling of the practice. While the phenomenon of a mixed marriage does seem to have become somewhat less extraordinary in postclassical times, most of its apparent spread is proportional to the rise in attested numbers of gravestones. The suggestion borne out by the evidence, in other words, is one of modest increase, an increase that might plausibly be linked to the decreased importance of citizenship rights over time, and to the reduction in negative consequences of intermarriages for the offspring of mixed couples.⁴⁶ Changes in the attitude and openness towards foreigners over time could also have affected the likelihood that a person's foreign marriage partner was explicitly referred to on his or her gravestone, however. After all, the linguistic content of the source material will, in most cases, have been produced by individuals with personal ties to the deceased, and could therefore have been sensitive to their understanding of the best way to portray their beloved ones in the light of social norms and ideals. This is an important *caveat* in interpreting trends in marriage behaviour as emerging from gravestone material.

Migrants and Reproduction

The inscriptions attesting marriage refer to cases in which migrants may be taken to have successfully contributed to population reproduction in Athens. This is of considerable importance to the debate on the 'urban graveyard' model: as indicated above, one of the arguments that has been used to buttress the view that cities of substantial size faced natural population deficits is that migrants who came to these cities tended not to reproduce, and hence contributed to the creation of a surplus of deaths over births in cities.

From the Athenian inscriptions, it is evident that not all migrants were single young men without partners. They included men – and women – who were married. Under the natural fertility regime that characterised the Graeco-Roman world, a marriage usually implied the presence of one or more children.⁴⁷ If we are willing to accept that, in general, the death and commemoration of migrant marriage partners and married couples in Athens is not merely a

⁴⁶ On citizenship rights and intermarriage in Classical Athens: Hin 2012: 33–36.

⁴⁷ The only quantifiable evidence for the Graeco-Roman world, that of the census records from Roman Egypt, points in this direction: see Bagnall and Frier 1994: 139–144. For a

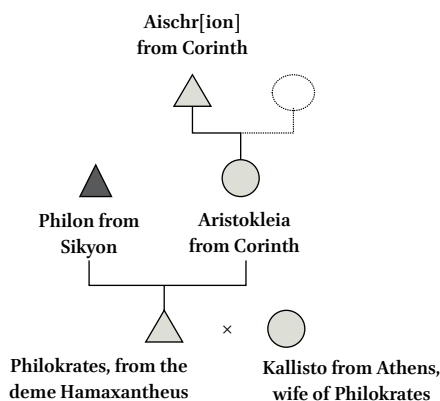


FIGURE 11.6

IG 2², 9052: A gravestone for the oikos of Philon from Sikyon (Athens, 3rd c. BCE)

coincidence, but indicates a longer period of residence in the city (and statistics give us good grounds for thinking that was the case), this period is likely to have included part of their reproductive lifespan. The presence of migrant couples, in other words, logically implies that they contributed to the demographic survival of the city by producing offspring.

While in most cases this reproductive contribution needs to be inferred indirectly from the attestation of marriages, in some cases we have direct evidence for children born out of migrant couples. An interesting example is provided by *IG 2² 9052*, a funerary text from the third century BCE commemorating the *oikos* of a certain Philon (Figure 11.6).

Philon's origins lay in Sikyon, in the northern Peloponnese, but he was buried in Athens. He may have either met his wife Aristokleia in Athens, or en route: she was originally from Corinth – only 3.5 hours by foot from Sikyon, and the biggest centre of the region to which Sikyon belonged. The name of Aristokleia's father also appears on the stone. His presence may be linked to one of three possible scenarios: either Aischrion from Corinth accompanied the couple; or he had settled in Athens earlier on, in which case Aristokleia may actually have been a second generation immigrant in Athens; or, finally, he could have moved in with his daughter at a later stage, and represent a case of chain migration. While it is impossible to tell which of these three scenarios is correct, the inscription is suggestive of how processes of stepwise migration (from a small city to a bigger city to an even bigger city), on which we have almost no information, might have functioned within ancient Greece. Whatever their exact migration history, Philon from Sikyon and Aristokleia

broader discussion of the ancient natural fertility regime and the desirability of children (in the Roman context), see Hin 2011.

from Corinth got a son. Born of two foreigners, Philokrates obtained Athenian citizenship,⁴⁸ married a local citizen woman, and ended up buried in the destination city of his ancestors. The inscription can thus serve as an example of reproductive contributions by migrants.

Other cases that are suggestive of the demographic integration of foreigners and of the presence of migrant children whose lifecourse ended in the city of Athens include, for example, the inscription published as *Agora* 17 no. 519. This is a gravestone for a couple consisting of a man named Adrastos and his wife Theano from Kios, as well as for their two daughters, for their son, and for Theano's sister⁴⁹ – all buried in Athens. Another inscription, *IG* 2², 9337, was placed on the grave of two sisters whose father was a migrant from Mende. A third example of migrants contributing to population reproduction in the city of Athens is an inscription set up by a Roman citizen for his Athenian wife. Gaius Lentilius, so he says, laments the fact that his 'dear wife', preceded, as fate or the gods had wanted, their children and her husband into the underworld.⁵⁰

The most important question raised by the attestation of these individual cases is, of course, how widespread such reproductive contributions by migrants were.

At first sight, the evidence seems to suggest that married migrants with children formed only a small minority of the entire body of attested immigrants in post-classical Athens. The subset of 229 inscriptions providing evidence of a marriage partner and, either explicitly or implicitly, of children, constitutes

48 The fact that Philokrates is described as an Athenian citizen although neither of his parents was, is remarkable. Philokrates must have obtained this status during his own life course. We cannot be sure how. He might have been enfranchised as a reward for special merits, but since he does not seem to be known through other sources, this seems a less likely scenario. Another possibility is that he would have infiltrated into the deme lists. Aristotle referred to the ease with which non-citizens could gain citizenship rights in the fourth century BCE: "it is easy for foreigners and metics to obtain citizenship, as because of the size of the population it is not difficult to escape detection" (Aristotle, *Politics* 1326b21–26). Also in the fourth century BCE, a fragment of a comedy by Anaxandrides notes the phenomenon of inclusion of non-citizens as citizens: "nowadays many people are not free men, but tomorrow they will be registered Sounians, and the next day they will make full use of the Agora" (Anaxandrides F 4 = Athenaios 262C). See Fisher 2010: 343.

49 The *kioniskos* leaves us in the dark as to why and when Theano, the sister of the wife of Adrastos, came to Athens. She could form an example of chain migration, but might also have come along with her sister directly.

50 *SEG* 28, 305 (Athens, first century BCE): Προσόδιον, Γαίου Λεντιλίου Ῥωμαίου γυνή. χαίρε φίλη Προσόδειν, θνητὴ γὰρ ὑπῆρχες ἀλλὰ γε σὼν παιδων πρώτη ἔβης Αἶδαν στελλομένη ὑπὸ σοῦ συμβίου ὡς ἔθελε.

just over 7% of the entire collection of Hellenistic and Roman migrant inscriptions. Does this mean that reproducing migrants formed only a negligible proportion of the migrant population? In the light of earlier theories on migration and population reproduction in larger urban centres, it might be tempting to draw this conclusion. But such an interpretation sits uneasily with issues concerning the 'epigraphic habit'. As already hinted at by Fraser and Rönne in the 1950s in work on Boeotia, Greek epitaphs – in contrast to Roman ones – do not commonly include commemorators.⁵¹ Most of them are plain and simple, displaying only the names of the deceased. In addition, gender differentials characterised the commemoration of individuals as marriage partners: deceased women are far more often identified as wedded partners (17.9%) than men. Deceased men are almost only known as married when they rested in the same grave as their deceased wives or were commemorated with them on a single gravestone. Only in 23 out of 1,723 cases (1.3%) is a deceased man described as 'the husband of', enabling us to identify him as a married man. On gravestones for individual men, we thus find hardly any wives as commemorators. These tendencies depress the number of marriages identifiable through grave inscriptions. Commemoration culture, not demography, in other words, explains the rarity of married couples in the evidence.

A more viable way to investigate how marginal or widespread the contribution of migrants to population reproduction in Athens might have been, is to look at the sex ratio among the migrant population. For the city of Rome, earlier work by Richard Saller and David Noy has found that the sex ratio among migrants attested on grave inscriptions was very high: it ranged between 2.3 and 3.6. Depending on which estimate is opted for, these data would suggest that among migrants there were between two and four men for every woman.⁵² A problem in comparing the Athenian and Roman inscriptions, however, is that the inscriptions referring to migrants in Rome include a substantial proportion of freed slaves, while the Athenian sample does not. Because male slaves tended to be freed earlier than female slaves, populations of freed slaves included more men than women – a fact which pushes the sex ratio of datasets of inscriptions that include freed(wo)men but not slaves upwards.⁵³ The lowest estimate for Rome eliminates part of the freed slaves by

51 Fraser and Rönne 1957: 92–93. In general: see Meyer 1990: 75.

52 Saller 1994: 28–31 (various samples) and Noy 2000: 61, Table 11.2 ($N = 521$). See also Hin 2013: 237–245 with Tables 6.2 and 6.3.

53 On male slaves being freed at younger ages than female slaves, see Scheidel 1997. See also Noy 2000: 4–10 (esp. 7) and his list of individual immigrants recorded in inscriptions (Appendix) for the inclusion of freed slaves in the sample. Freed slaves are not included

looking only at younger immigrants, who were less likely to be freed. Even so, it is doubtful to what extent the sex ratio in inscriptions from Rome can be taken to represent migrant populations consisting of voluntary migrants. In other words, the uneven ratio of men to women on foreigner inscriptions from Rome cannot be taken to predict a plausible range for sex ratios among Athenian inscriptions commemorating free immigrants.

Nevertheless, my initial investigation of Athenian free foreigner inscriptions from Osborne and Byrne's work equally pointed towards a very uneven sex ratio. In an initial 5% random sample from their work,⁵⁴ the sex ratio among 366 individuals was 3.9, implying that among free Athenian immigrants in the post-classical period, there were nearly four men for every woman. As we have seen, however, Osborne and Byrne's collection does not only include gravestones, but a range of other evidence referring to migrants as well: lists of soldiers, honorific inscriptions celebrating foreign benefactors (*euergetai*), literary texts referring to foreign philosophers, and so on. Pasi Loman, who to my knowledge has been the only researcher to draw on Osborne and Byrne's material for demographic analyses, has made the important point that the inclusion of these data drives the attested sex ratio upwards. In the Athenian context of gender inequality, public inscriptions tend to refer almost exclusively to men. In his view, exclusion of these inscriptions would result in an approximately even distribution. Testing this prediction using my 5% sample, however, proved otherwise. Limiting the dataset to gravestones only, the sex ratio did drop, but only to 3.1.⁵⁵ Thus it seems that Athens might have been rather similar to Rome after all.

On further consideration, however, the selection criteria on the basis of which Osborne and Byrne included people as migrants in their list provide a more fundamental obstacle against using them for demographic analysis.

in my Athenian sample because on Greek grave inscriptions it is very hard to establish the origin of people without citizenship status: all we have is their first name and the name of the person by whom they were freed. Osborne and Byrne 1996 include these people in a list of 'other foreign residents', but it is far from certain that all individuals freed in Athens were immigrants. Their decision disregards the entire discussion on the origin of slaves and the importance of local foundlings and home-breeding as sources of slaves. Ex-slaves for whom their place of origin cannot be established, in other words, might have been 'foreign' in the eyes of Athenian citizens, but were certainly not necessarily immigrants.

54 The sample included those post-classical foreign residents from the first six cities or villages having names beginning with the letters A, L, P or T, except in the case of T, where the target of 5% was reached before reaching the sixth location starting with T.

55 Total *N* of cases: 306.

Alongside the name of the foreigner buried in Athens, they also included the names of other individuals mentioned on the gravestone as if these were living in Athens as well. And so we find not only Ἄρτεμις Βίωνος [Ἀγκυ]ρανῆ (‘Artemis, daughter of Bion, from Ankyra’), but also her father Bion in Osborne and Byrne’s collection, as Βίων, father of Ἄρτεμις, tit. sep., [Ἀγκυ]ρανός’. Osborne and Byrne are well aware that the “claim to actual residence” of the father “is obviously far less secure”. Yet they justify the inclusion of this father – and that of many others – in their dataset of foreigners on the grounds that “it would be difficult and misleading to break up families”.⁵⁶ Surely, whether we assume that the father co-migrated or whether we assume the opposite, either is a conjecture. The problem with including non-deceased relatives in the dataset of migrants is that most of these ‘relatives’ are actually patronyms. It was usually fathers whose names served as identifiers on gravestones. Yet if we were to decide that patronyms refer to fathers who had migrated along with children, because people migrated as families, and include them in a dataset on these grounds, we ought to include mothers on the same grounds as well. But we cannot do this because we do not usually have their names: matronyms are a rarity. As a result, Osborne and Byrne’s methodology creates an enormous bias towards men. Vestergaard, who wrote an article focusing solely on migrants of Milesian background, realised the problem and excluded ‘fathers and husbands in the genitive’ from his dataset.⁵⁷ Following that same method of excluding patronyms – as well as the odd matronym – dramatically changes the results for the 5% sample from Athens: the sex ratio among attested immigrants in post-classical Athens plummets to 1.17 ($N = 150$).

The final results of this 5% sample closely match the results for the complete dataset which I subsequently composed using gravestones only, and excluding names in the genitive to eliminate patronyms (see above). The dataset includes 2,382 inscriptions providing information on the sex of the deceased individual. Figure 11.7 shows the effect of selecting grave inscriptions following these strict criteria.

The sex ratio among foreign residents who lived in Athens long enough to be buried there was thus rather even. With sex ratios of 1.14 in the Hellenistic period and 1.03 in the Roman period, the inscriptional evidence suggests that in terms of sex composition the body of permanent foreign residents in Athens very closely resembled a demographically balanced population. This finding surprises in the light of patterns displayed on grave inscriptions from the

⁵⁶ Osborne and Byrne 1996: xxviii.

⁵⁷ Vestergaard 2000: 82.

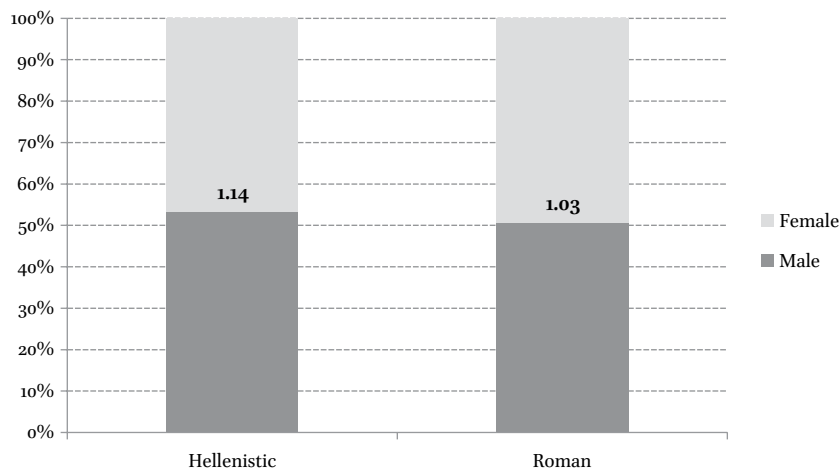


FIGURE 11.7 *Sex ratios among attested gravestones for migrants buried in Athens excluding patronyms. Hellenistic (N = 1,231) and Roman (N = 1,151) periods.*

Classical period, which show a marked surplus of men.⁵⁸ A study focused specifically on Roman Piraeus, however, equally found a close to even sex ratio among sepulchral inscriptions for migrants (c. 1.13; N = c. 66).⁵⁹ This contradicts earlier hypotheses that “metic males outnumbered metic females quite considerably”.⁶⁰

Whether the contrast between the evenly distributed sex ratio from the Hellenistic period onwards and the male dominated Classical gravestones reflects a historical reality or a shift in epigraphic habit is a subject for further consideration. There is one clue, though, which suggests that a change in epigraphic habit might have contributed to the changing sex ratios in the

58 Among the 534 migrants of known sex recorded on sepulchral inscriptions for the Classical period in Osborne and Byrne's corpus, there were 175 women and 359 men – giving a sex ratio of 2.05. The high sex ratio among migrant inscriptions for the Classical period is mirrored by high sex ratios among the citizen inscriptions for that period: Vestergaard et al. 1992: 5–6 found a sex ratio of 1.83 among 2,108 individuals. In an unpublished study, J. Harward found a sex ratio of between 1.43 and 1.74 among 1,500 inscriptions dating to the fourth century BCE. See Guttentag and Secord 1983: 41–43. To my knowledge there are no studies on postclassical and Roman Athens.

59 Grigoropoulos 2009: 167 with Figure 11.1. Estimates are approximate because numbers had to be read from a graph. Among Athenians whose gravestones were likewise found in the Piraeus and dated to the Roman period, by contrast, the sex ratio was distinctly higher at 1.6 (N = c. 42).

60 Garland 1987: 192.

inscriptions. In an important report on her work on grave gifts in Athens, Houby–Nielsen notes that starting with the Hellenistic period, “a thousand year old tradition for sex-specific grave gifts and grave markers” was broken. That the *kioniskoi* are just plain columns with a name inscription, and do not differentiate between the sexes in their appearance, is, from this viewpoint, ‘striking’. Houby–Nielsen sees this change as an attestation of marked changes in attitude to the relationship between the two sexes that can be linked to a wider range of evidence for more egalitarian gender attitudes, with “traditional civic values and female ideals on their way out”.⁶¹ If indeed changes in gender concepts were reflected in burial customs, the fact that we find more grave inscriptions for women than before may be linked to the same trend.

It remains the case that within our sample group we cannot distinguish between first and second (or subsequent) generation immigrants. Might it therefore be feasible that this lumped ratio hides high divergences between the two subgroups, and that new arrivals were in fact still overwhelmingly men, while (as naturally) the situation among the descendants of immigrants had become balanced, with men and women reaching close to even numbers? The question is a legitimate one, and the hypothesis has theoretical appeal. Yet the attested sex ratios are simply too low to lend strong plausibility to such a scenario. Even if only 15% of foreigners were first generation immigrants, and the other 85% were descendants of immigrants with a perfectly even sex ratio, the sex ratio for the two groups as a whole could only be lower than 1.14 if 70% or less of the first generation immigrants were men, and only to 1.03 or below if less than 55% of the first generation immigrants were men. In other words, for the Roman period – when the attested sex ratio is 1.03 – a scenario of very uneven sex ratios is virtually impossible, unless the actual proportion of first generation immigrants was even smaller. For the Hellenistic period, reducing the share of first generation immigrants to 15% or less would allow a scenario in which new migrants would be almost exclusively men, in line with the views expressed in the existing literature. The problem with this solution is that any variant of the urban graveyard model of migration which sees unbalanced sex ratios and low levels of reproduction among migrants as the main reasons for the urban graveyard effect, require a second hypothesis, namely that there was a consistently high inflow of first generation immigrants. In other words, low shares of first generation immigrants among the migrant population do not tally well with the urban graveyard hypothesis. Substantially higher rates of first generation immigrants are much more plausible in this scenario, but these higher rates are incompatible with high sex ratios among this subgroup. In

61 Houby–Nielsen 1997: 243–247.

sum, an implausible combination of assumptions is required to explain the observed sex ratios as hiding high sex ratios among first generation immigrants. In other words, the evidence suggesting that sex ratios were roughly even among migrants residing permanently in Roman Athens is relatively robust.

Reconciling the Urban Graveyard Model with the Evidence

The main themes covered in the foregoing sections are the geographic origins of foreign residents living in Hellenistic and Roman Athens, trends in intercultural marriages, and sex ratios and reproduction patterns of migrants. I have argued that the provenance of migrants living in Athens shifted over time, with immigrants from other cities in Greece accounting for a relatively large proportion of resident foreigners in the Hellenistic period, and immigrants from Asia Minor becoming dominant in the Roman period. The funerary inscriptions from Hellenistic and Roman Athens also contain clear indications of family migration. This finding supports conclusions reached on the basis of recent osteological research and undermines the views expressed by some ancient historians. My analysis of the data suggests that, at least during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, sex ratios among migrants were surprisingly even. Finally, by comparing trends in the number of intermarriages between Athenians and migrants with trends in the number of attested foreigner inscriptions, earlier suggestions that this practice rose dramatically as Athens became more open to foreigners were shown to be fallacious.

My findings on the sex ratio among migrants in Hellenistic and Roman Athens shows that at least some variants of the urban graveyard model may be misleading guides when it comes to achieving a better understanding of the demographic dynamics of Graeco–Roman cities. In cities which were characterised by high shares of immigrants, fertility and population reproduction would be undermined if most of these immigrants were single men. Migrant populations with very high sex ratios, in other words, would contribute to the urban graveyard effect by lowering urban fertility. My analysis of sepulchral inscriptions suggests, however, that there is no reason to believe that long-term foreign residents created demographic imbalances in post-classical Athens, or that they were unable to reproduce themselves. When it comes to migrants who settled permanently – those who died and were buried in Athens – the fertility side of the urban graveyard model thus does not seem to hold for post-classical Athens.

The story looks different when we take into account those migrants who are not known to have given their last breath in Athens, and who are known to us through lists of soldiers, or because they had an exceptional profession or lived

an exceptional life. These groups consisted almost exclusively of men. Admittedly, I only investigated a limited number of non-grave inscriptions in the context of the 5% sample mentioned above. Within that sample, however, among 60 migrants there was exactly one woman.

There are, in my opinion, two ways to interpret the marginality of women in non-funerary inscriptions. One possibility is that it merely reflects public culture in Athenian society, and that behind every soldier there was a woman, and behind every doctor or philosopher a wife of whom no traces are left in our records. The other – and, to my mind, more convincing – scenario is one in which public inscriptions were more likely to refer to temporary migrants. On this interpretation, the combination of high sex ratios on non-funerary inscriptions for migrants and even sex ratios on gravestones for migrants supports the distinction made between permanent and non-permanent immigrants in Sharlin's adapted urban graveyard model, which he coined as a 'model of urban migration' and is also known as 'the envelope model'. As indicated in the first part of this paper, Sharlin's aim in putting forward this model was to qualify and question the validity of the model of urban natural decrease as a result of elevated mortality. He did so by drawing attention to the importance of behavioural factors relating to marriage and fertility.

The Athenian evidence on migrants emphasises the importance of this point. It lends support to Sharlin's idea that it is crucial to investigate the demographic behaviour and composition of migrant populations in cities to understand population dynamics in urban settings. The Athenian data support his notion that migrants who were 'residents of more than several years of duration' demographically belonged to the group of 'permanent residents'.⁶² In marriage and reproductive behaviour, longer-term migrants were, in other words, indistinguishable from the locally born population – and did not create an 'urban graveyard effect'. The immigrants for whom gravestones were set up in Athens, and whose sex ratio seems balanced, are likely to have belonged to this category of migrants.

By contrast, the flexible shrinking and expanding population of temporary migrants that shared the city with the locally and foreign born permanent residents of Sharlin's model of urban migration may well be identifiable among those migrants whom we encounter in the non-sepulchral inscriptions. In Sharlin's early modern case, temporary migrants mostly were artisan journey-men and servants. In the Athenian case, we may think of ambassadors, travelling doctors and soldiers, in other words, of migrants who intended to spend

62 Sharlin 1978: 130; see also Sharlin 1978: 127 for the inclusion of some groups of migrants among the resident population.

only a limited part of their lives in Athens. In the ancient context most of these migrants seem to have been men. That they did not bring a wife or seek one in the city does not, however, mean that they did not marry at all (i.e. elsewhere), nor that their migration to urban centres as such constituted a net fertility loss for the Greek world.

For ancient historians, the indications that immigrants who lived in Athens for a prolonged period – those who died there – were, in all likelihood, demographically comparable to citizens, call for a reconsideration of the indiscriminate use of ‘the urban graveyard’ concept. The body of inscriptions studied in this paper shows both that the role of migrants in the story is important to consider, and that their contributions to fertility in urban settings did not simply consist in contributions to net population decrease.

Migration in Roman Egypt: Problems and Possibilities*

Colin Adams

Introduction

Edict of Gaius Vibius Maximus, prefect of Egypt. The house-to-house census (τῆς κατ'οἰκίαν ἀπογραφῆς) having started, it is essential that all persons who for any reason whatsoever are absent from their nomes be summoned to return to their own hearths, in order that they might perform the customary business of registration (τῆς ἀπογραφῆς) and apply themselves to the cultivation which concerns them. Knowing, however, that some of the people of the country are needed by our city, I desire all those who think they have a satisfactory reason for remaining here (in Alexandria) to register themselves before... Festus, *praefectus alae*, whom I have appointed for this purpose, from whom those who have shown their presence to be necessary shall receive signed permits (ὑπογράφαι) in accordance with this edict up to the 30th of this present month Epeiph...¹

This well-known edict of the prefect Vibius Maximus offers a convenient starting point for a consideration of the significance of migration in Roman Egypt. It presents a number of important points: first, it shows that it was fully

* I would like to thank the editors for their invitation to participate in this volume and Elio Lo Casio for useful feedback. Both Rens Tacoma and my Liverpool colleague Fred Hirt made many valuable comments on earlier drafts.

1 *W. Chr.* 202 = *P. Lond.* 3. 904 lines 18–38 (p. 125) = *Sel. Pap.* 2. 220 (104 CE). Γ[άιος Οὐί]βιος[ς Μάξιμος ἑπα]ρχ[ος] Αἰγύπτ[ου λέγει] τῆς κατ' οἰ[κίαν ἀπογραφῆς ἐ]νεστῶ[σης] ἀναγκαίον [ἐστιν πᾶσιν τοῖς καθ' ἡ[γνινα] δῆποτε αἰτ[ίαν ἀποδημοῦσιν ἀπὸ τῶν] νομῶν προσα[γγέλλε]σθαι ἑπα[νελ]θεῖν εἰς τὰ ἑαυ[τῶν ἐ]φέστια ἴν[α] καὶ τὴν συνήθη [οἰ]κονομίαν τῆς ἀπο[γραφῆς] πληρώσωσιν καὶ τῇ προσ[ηκού]σῃ αὐτοῖς γεωργίᾳ προσκαρτερήσω[σιν]. εἰδὼς μέντοι ὅ[τι] ἐνίων τῶν [ἀπὸ] τῆς χώρας ἢ πόλιν ἡμῶν ἔχει χρε[ῖαν] βούλομ[αι] πάντα[ς] τ[οὺς] εὐ[λ]ογον δο[κοῦν]τα[ς] ἔχειν τοῦ ἐνθάδε ἐπιμένειν [αἰ]τίαν ἀπογράφε[σθ]αι παρὰ Βουλ[...]. Φήστω ἐπάρχω[ι] εἰλ[η]ς, ὃν ἐπὶ το[ύτω] ἔταξα, οὐ καὶ τὰς [ὑ]πογραφὰς οἱ ἀποδ[εῖ]ξαντες ἀναγκ[αίαν α]ὐτῶν τὴν παρ[ουσίαν] λήμψοντα[ι] κατὰ τ[οῦ] τοῦ παράγγελμ[α] ἐντὸς [τῆς] τριακάδος τοῦ ἐν[ε]σε[ρ]τώτος μηνὸς Ἑ[πείφ]

accepted that individuals would be absent from their *ιδία* ('place of origin'), permanently or temporarily. In this case country-dwellers are being ordered to return home from Alexandria, but it is probably part of a general order to the province.² The second point is that there was a range of reasons why someone would be absent – would have migrated – and these included reasons which the state found to be acceptable (so that administrators were willing to grant permits in order to facilitate residence in another area), and those which had seemingly diverted them from "the cultivation which concerns them". Third, it hints at the difficulties that the state faced in tracing individuals who were absent for whatever reason. How did the state deal with those who had left their *ιδία* to avoid paying taxes or undertaking liturgies (*ἀναχώρησις*), people who would not present themselves willingly before the *praefectus alae*? Finally, we should note the rather *ad hoc* nature of the registration of individuals, even in the highly formalised context of census documentation. This is shown for example by the presence of lodgers, who are unlikely to have obtained permission, let alone a permit, for their residence but clearly had not returned to their *ιδία*. The difficulties faced by the state in this are well illustrated by a papyrus of the early third century:

Of the Oasis of the Thebaid [...] on those residing away from home. Sextilios Hierax, strategos of the Oasis [of the Thebaid to...strategos of the Arsinoite Nome] for the Themistos and Polemon divisions. You are well aware, my friend, of the recent [orders of Severus and Antoninus, our great lords,] our divine and unconquerable emperors, and of the written instructions of our [illustrious prefect, on the subject of those] natives residing away from home, [telling us] to take cognizance if these [men living away from home and] being [from] other nomes, [and to see to it] that they go back home, each man to his own [birthplace. Therefore make sure,] my friend, in the same [way...] that [you repatriate] those who are residing in your neighbourhood or [have settled there...] and who are from this area [...lest we be held (?) to] have neglected the decrees, so that [...] here.³

² Compare *Luke* 2.3. The concept of *ιδία* is a complex one, as individuals who owned land in different regions would have had tax and liturgical responsibilities in those various regions where they owned land. See Braunert 1955/6. On returning to one's *ιδία*, see Jördens 2009: 69–75.

³ *SB* 12, 10884, lines 1–16 (200 CE) (*BL* 7, 223) (with *SB* 1, 4284): Ὁάσεως Θηβαίδος [-ca.?] περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ δι᾿ αἰτριβόντων -ca.?] Σεξτίλιος Ἱέραξ στρ(ατηγός) Ὁάσεως [-ca.?] Θεμίστου καὶ Πολέμωνος [μερίδων -ca.?] οὐκ ἀγνοεῖς ἀδελφε ὑπόγουγ [-ca.?] τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν μεγίστων καὶ

Migration in Roman Egypt was the subject of a significant study by Braunert.⁴ The aim of this paper is to consider some problems and approaches to migration in the light of scholarship published since, and to posit some ways in which modern theoretical approaches to migration studies might inform our understanding of migration in Roman Egypt.

It would be mistaken to claim that mobility is a recent phenomenon and that ancient societies were largely sedentary. In their penetrating study of the ancient Mediterranean, Horden and Purcell note the importance of mobility:

take the notional population in a defined place at a moment in historical time. As the seasons change (therefore in a matter of months) many of those assessed in that figure [an aggregate population] will be altogether elsewhere – pursuing seasonal agricultural goals ten, a hundred, two hundred miles away; or following the lure or compulsion of political or military activity two hundred, five hundred or a thousand miles away; on pilgrimage, sold into slavery, emigrating, engaged in the redistribution of surpluses... The proportion of those who are sometimes mobile, in the course of individual lifetimes, may in some cases be very high.⁵

They identify a major problem: how to count people. They also argue that it is impossible to talk about ‘the population of a city’ (like Rome, or in our case, Alexandria) – the number of people making up the population is in constant flux: “at any instant there will be within its built-up area hundreds who will not be there tomorrow, thousands who will have left by the end of the year, tens of thousands who will have moved away in the course of a decade”.⁶ This makes migration an extremely difficult subject for demographers to address, and this might explain the distinct lack of attention given to migration by them. Walter Scheidel puts it thus: “For the student of Roman demography, migration primarily serves the purpose of messing up existing data samples, most of which are highly inadequate to begin with. The mere possibility of migration undermines attempts to reconstruct age structures and sex ratios from census returns

θειοτάτων ἀητ'ήτων Αὐτ[οκρατόρων Σεουήρου καὶ Ἀντωνίνου] καὶ τὰ γραφέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ λα[μπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ] ἀλλοδαπῇ διατρεϊβόντων ξένη[ων - ca.24] γνωρίσαι καὶ προσάξει τοὺς ἐ[- ca.25 - ἅ] π' ἄλλων νομῶν ὄντας πρὸς[- ca.27] ὡς ἀπίναι ἓνα ἕκαστον εἰς τῇ[ν ἰδίαν - ca.20 - φίλ]τατε ὅπως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τ[ρόπον -ca.?] παρὰ σοι διατρεΐβοντας ἦ καὶ [-ca.?] ὄντας ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ [- ca.25 - νομο]θεσίῳ παρακηχοέειν ὡς ἐ[-ca.?] τοῖμα ἐνθάδ' ἐξομεν ο[-ca.-?].

4 Braunert 1964.

5 Horden and Purcell 2000: 382. Cf. Woolf, in this volume.

6 *Ibid.*

or cemeteries”.⁷ He goes on to claim that it is almost impossible to estimate the scale of population transfer, although he does make some headway with forced migration, which is perhaps easier to quantify.⁸ Further it is impossible to estimate short-range movement. For this reason, demographic studies tend to focus on fertility and mortality, rather than migration.

Braunert’s study aimed to gather together all of the evidence for migration in Egypt from the Ptolemaic to Byzantine periods, however, the Ptolemaic and Roman periods are the main focus, with Late Antiquity getting fairly short shrift.⁹ It has not received the attention that it deserves. Within papyrology, with its emphasis on the gathering of empirical evidence, the exhaustive nature of Braunert’s study, rather than opening debate, was rather seen as the final word. In subsequent studies of social history, migration is largely taken for granted.¹⁰ Braunert considered permanent, long-term, and temporary movement within Egyptian nomes and beyond. Alexandria, of course, receives detailed treatment.¹¹ But it is no mere collection of detail, it also considers the causes and effects of migration. In the Ptolemaic period, for example, he suggests that the decline of the country in the second century was largely to do with the drift of population from the *chora* to Alexandria. In the Roman period, Augustus’ reforms of the *metropoleis* (the creation of a metropolitan-Hellenic elite) had a profound effect on relations between city and *chora*, but the conclusions he draws are based solely on the small archive of Nemesion, the tax collector from Philadelphia, which surely cannot be held to be typical.¹² He goes on to study the second century, arguing that the rise in fortune of the *metropoleis* – the Severan reforms giving *boulai* to the cities – came at the expense of villages, and that this precipitated the decline of villages in the third century.¹³ The gulf between town and country was even further deepened by the reforms of Diocletian, which led to a full municipalisation of Egypt.

Despite the value of this work, there are also problems. First, Braunert tends, as is the case with Philadelphia, to generalise from some very specific evidence. Second, although urbanisation and changes in property relations are certainly relevant, it is not clear if changes in the pattern of migration can be connected with administrative and political trends in the way he suggests. Third, and

7 Scheidel 2001d: 46.

8 Scheidel 2004 and 2005.

9 Braunert 1964; for the Byzantine period, see now Keenan 2001.

10 See, for example, the otherwise excellent works of Alston 2002 and Heubner 2013.

11 Braunert 1964: 195–213.

12 Braunert 1964: 150–158.

13 Braunert 1964: 265–274.

more importantly, there is no attempt to quantify the evidence. Even if full quantification is not possible, at least some enumeration of evidence would have been useful. Neither is his work informed by sociological and economic studies of migration in past societies or in the developing world. It is not theoretically based.

Braunert highlights some salient points. Alexandria was a huge attraction in terms of tourism, justice, and work: and that most of those people who went there came from the nome *metropoleis* (although he underestimates the level of migration outside the *metropoleis*).¹⁴ What is more striking is the extent of village-to-village migration. This raises the question, though, of how the state monitored or controlled migration. It could not do so fully, and that is a problem.¹⁵ A pattern of the third century was the growing involvement of Alexandrians as land-owners in the *chora*, which must have had significant effects. The main point is that migration was common, an everyday feature of life in Roman Egypt.

Moving on from Braunert

Since the publication of Braunert's study, our knowledge of various aspects of the demography of Roman Egypt has moved on, so too have theoretical

14 The edict cited at the beginning of the paper is central here. In the literary evidence, for example, the attraction of Alexandria is clear in SHA, *Quad. Tyr.* 8 – quoting a (spurious) letter of Hadrian: “The people are most factious, vain and violent; the city is rich, wealthy and prosperous, in which no-one lives in idleness. Some are glass-blowers, some are making paper and others are engaged in weaving linen; everybody at any rate seems to be engaged in some craft or profession. The gouty, the circumcised, the blind all have some trade. Not even the maimed live in idleness. They have only one god – Mammon. Christians, Jews, everyone worships this divinity. Would that this city were endowed with better morals – it would be worthy of a city which has the primacy of all Egypt in view of its size and prosperity.” Dio of Prusa, *Or.* 32.36 stresses the centrality of Alexandria as a market place for the Mediterranean, “bringing together all men into one place”. Central in the papyrological evidence is *P. Giss* 1, 40 = *Sel. Pap.* 2, 215 (215 CE), a letter of Caracalla: “All Egyptians in Alexandria, especially country folk, who have fled from other parts and can easily be detected, are by all manner of means to be expelled...”

15 The letter of Caracalla mentions those who could “easily be detected”. A good example of difficulty in detection is provided by *P. Mich.* 9, 531 (174 CE), in which an *epistrategos* writes to inquire about the whereabouts of a woman named Tastoous from Karanis. A full five months later the *strategos* replied that she was in Alexandria. While it could be a sign of the slowness of bureaucracy, equally it may have taken this long to establish her whereabouts.

approaches to migration studies. Before testing some of these approaches on a body of Egyptian evidence, we need to orientate ourselves within the subject and assess where we have got to in our understanding of it.

Migration and mobility are two different things, but broadly speaking, they can be over long or short distances, multi-directional (and we should note that an emigrant is at the same time an immigrant), temporary or long-term, voluntary or forced.¹⁶ However, to separate voluntary and forced migration in itself is not useful, for slaves could become free and elect not to return to their homeland.¹⁷ Essentially, the idea of migration is a very complex one.

In modern scholarship there tends to be a compartmentalisation of economic history, demography, and social/cultural history. Some demographic studies certainly take account of cultural matters, but can we look beyond quantification (as far as that is possible) to factor in risk, risk diversification, family economies, emotional factors (family pressures and ties), intergenerational aspirations and social mobility? These are micro-level factors in migration. What of macro-level factors such as war, rebellion, taxation and government policy?

In modern scholarship, migration has been considered in different forms: cross-border, international movement, but also movement within continents or regions (cross-border movement in Europe for example), and finally within countries.¹⁸ Generally speaking, scholars have argued that short distance migration is much more common than long distance, and work on late 19th century Britain certainly shows the importance of rural–urban migration.¹⁹ The employment opportunities offered by centres of manufacture and commerce attracted people to cities. Nation, class and race became the focus of scholarship of human geographers and anthropologists, and then came statisticians and social reformers. Several approaches seem to offer some hope to the ancient historian, and largely come from more modern scholarship, especially those which move away from macro-level migration to consider the phenomenon at a micro-level. The problem with many studies on the ancient world is that while evidence for movement may be there, especially in the

16 For a discussion of these distinctions see De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume.

17 How far do we push 'forced'? Women and children potentially followed their husband/father – perhaps not always willingly.

18 I benefitted greatly from an extremely useful and lucid discussion of migration history, Harzig and Hoerder 2009. Much modern scholarship, from the 1880s on, is concerned with large-scale population movement and coincides not only with industrialisation but also the collection of empirical data, which is not really possible for the ancient world. Some approaches, however, can carefully be applied to ancient evidence.

19 Ravenstein 1885. Cf. Woolf's contribution to this volume.

epigraphic or archaeological record, it is difficult to establish *why* movement had taken place.²⁰

Neo-Classical Economics and the so-called 'push-pull' theory provide an interesting way of thinking about Roman Egyptian migration.²¹ The basic notion is that a range of factors cause less economically developed or sophisticated regions to push people out, with those more developed regions (or cities) with more economic opportunities pulling people in. The problem with any theory or 'model', however, is that it naturally simplifies a phenomenon which is complex and multi-layered. Decisions made to move to places offering more economic opportunities are not made by individuals on purely economic grounds; many factors are involved. It is not always the case that migrants are poor people seeking better wages, indeed wage differentials would only be *perceived*, as individuals may not have accurate knowledge on the economic conditions of their destination, and therefore may have unrealistic expectations.²² Rural to urban movement was attractive to the wealthy, who sought the social capital available from living in cities. This is clearly a feature of migration in Roman Egypt, a good example being the family of Sarapion of Hermopolis.²³ Considerations such as standards of living and cost of living further complicate this model.²⁴ Other factors come into play in making decisions about movement: risk avoidance (in economic terms), family strategies (the carrying capacity of land owned or rented might force individuals to seek work elsewhere), personal goals and family aspirations (such as marriage, birth of children, among other things) and, of course, escape from oppression (taxation, liturgies, *inter alia*).

Other ways of thinking about migration at the macro-level include World Systems Theory and labour markets, the latter incorporating dependency theory (unequal power and trade relationships). World Systems Theory holds that migration is encouraged by the presence of capitalist markets, and the penetration of these markets and of production into peripheral regions. This flow into the peripheral regions is matched by a counter-flow of people into the centre.²⁵

20 Notable here are: Stanley 1990, Kakoschke 2002 and 2004, Wierschowski 1995 and 2001, Haley 1991, Handley 2011, all concentrating on epigraphy; Killgrove 2010a on skeletal remains and stable-isotope analysis. See also Holleran 2011, Scheidel 2004, and Bruun's contribution to this volume.

21 For a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of this theory see De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume.

22 Cf. Bernard, in this volume.

23 On the family of Sarapion, see Schwartz 1961.

24 See Rathbone 2009b on prices in Roman Egypt, also generally Drexhage 1991, although even with the Egyptian evidence, conclusions are difficult.

25 See initially Wallerstein 1974.

While these macro-level approaches offer exciting ways of thinking about migration and mobility at a broad level, in considering smaller regions such as Roman Egypt, perhaps more headway can be made with micro-level approaches. These focus on family economics, networks, and human agency.²⁶ The importance of family and social networks is of clear importance to our understanding of migration. A family economy approach considers the earning capacities of all family members alongside their expenditure priorities and strategies in relation to cultural norms. This, of course, means that males are prioritised over females; gender issues are an important component of migration.²⁷

Approaching Roman Egypt

With regard to the application of the approaches to migration discussed above to the written evidence – looking at material evidence for migration or mobility comes with its own set of problems – we have seen that the epigraphic sources from other provinces of the empire are rather limited in giving us the reasons for movement. We can detect that migration took place (indications of *origo* or distinct names or writing systems) but the reasons for immigration to and emigration from a community remain conjectural. The papyri of Roman Egypt are far more helpful in allowing us to establish the reasons for migration and answer some of the prevalent questions. However, not all of the approaches discussed above lead to useful responses.

The papyri certainly allow a careful use of some of the approaches used in studies dealing with migration in more recent periods, and here we offer some tentative suggestions on how we might think of our evidence. It is clear that Alexandria presented a real pull factor to those living in the *chora*, clearly shown in the private letters, which also show that *metropoleis* were attractive to rural inhabitants.²⁸ One important question that more research might illuminate, is how migration affected cities in Egypt. Research on central American internal migration has argued for a dichotomy between rural and urban environments as a result of migration: while the rural areas remained underdeveloped and

26 See Tilly and Scott 1978 and Pessar 1999. For an application of the family economy approach to early imperial Italy see Erdkanp, in this volume.

27 For Roman Egypt, see the brief discussion in Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 371–381.

28 See the comments of Abd-el-Ghani 2004, but with no attempt to be comprehensive or to quantify the evidence; also Rowlandson and Harker 2004: 84–88.

traditional, the urban areas became more developed and 'modern'.²⁹ Could this explain the increased 'municipalisation' of Egypt in the fourth century, and the concomitant decline of the countryside argued for by Braunert? Such a distinction, though, may not be useful, for other studies have argued that urbanisation could take place without significant development, 'peasants in the city', and I suspect that this applies more to Roman Egypt.³⁰

Networks certainly played a role in migration in Egypt, and the application of network theory may yield some interesting results. As we shall see, the letters of Oxyrhynchos yield a good deal of evidence for networks of communication. Local contacts (sometimes big-wigs, at other times peers) or family members resident elsewhere could assist migrants, and allow families to disperse for different reasons. One of the main strategies was to increase family revenues and to reduce risk to the family through diversification.³¹ Sometimes this could lead to medium-term migration away from home. A good example of this is provided by a text, this time from the Fayum, concerning an antichretic loan: a swineherd named Ares, from the city of Arsinoe, the *metropolis* of the Arsinoite Nome, agreed to receive an advance of 20 drachmas from Lucius Bellienus Gemellus. Instead of paying interest he agreed to tend the pigs of Gemellus at his estate in Euhemeria for a year.³²

Our evidence, even from Egypt, where it is arguably at its best, fails us in a number of ways. We cannot, for example, gauge whether people migrated as individuals, as families, or as groups. How did information get to them, either geographical (for details of their journey), or of conditions that could be expected at their destination? Most of our evidence, with the notable exception of Oxyrhynchos, relates to the *chora* rather than cities, so it is difficult for us to measure the dynamics of what we might call push/pull factors in short distance migration, although much can be surmised.

Population size and distribution are important factors in quantifying the mobility and migration patterns of the populace. Yet, precise documentation for this is absent from our sources, and speculation on the topic yields unsatisfactory results. Our knowledge of the population of Egypt, and how it was spread through the province, has improved, even if there is still no real consensus between those who advocate a small or large figure, and no real precision

²⁹ See Redfield 1954 and 1956 *passim*.

³⁰ See the work of Oscar Lewis, esp. Lewis 1959, even if his work has been criticised and re-evaluated; see Small, Harding and Lamont 2010.

³¹ See my comments on secondary income generation in relation to transport tasks within rural households in Adams 2007: 278–279.

³² *P. Oxf.* 10 (98–102 CE).

on city populations.³³ Perhaps more importantly, we have a much greater understanding of the evidence provided by census returns, thanks to important work by Roger Bagnall and Bruce Frier.³⁴ In their analysis of some 300 texts, Bagnall and Frier have established that patterns in the sex ratio between males and females in villages and *metropoleis* show a very strongly unbalanced ratio for adults in *metropoleis*. Among other factors, the discrepancy can be explained by supposing that, in the age category 15–24 years among males, approximately 9% migrated from villages to *metropoleis*, which on an annual basis represents about 1% out-migration. This pattern slows after age 25, but there is enough evidence to suggest a slow and continual migration among males. Migration among females is negligible in the census returns, but there is good evidence for female migration and travel in the papyri generally.³⁵

However, Walter Scheidel has questioned Bagnall and Frier's approach, and especially the use of the sex ratio as an indicator of migration.³⁶ He argues that the pattern of urban age distributions does not match the ratio, and that an acute attrition of teenagers in the *metropolis* is evident (if Bagnall and Frier were right, this would be compensated for by immigration, which it is not). Death rates in cities would have exceeded birth rates, so immigration was a crucial factor in sustaining them. Scheidel suggests that there was substantial migration of both males and females into *metropoleis*, but that these individuals experience a high mortality rate as first generation migrants. The fall in the number of villagers of 14 years-plus can be accounted for through migration and concealment from the census authorities. The problem of concealment in the documents makes them of little use in tracing migration patterns. This is a fair point, except that Scheidel goes on to model migration and demographic change, and produces a tentative figure of 1.25% (12.5 males per 1000 population) immigration. Given that these figures cannot really be compared to Bagnall and Frier's estimate and also because of other hurdles, such as difficulties in estimating the ratio of city versus rural dwellers, it is probably the case that little progress can be made in terms of demographic approaches.

Perhaps we should turn to what the evidence actually says. A good example of migration is preserved in a papyrus from the Arsinoite Nome from 147 CE.³⁷

33 The best and most recent survey is Bowman 2011, whose discussion incorporates the low figures of Rathbone 1990 and the high estimates of Lo Cascio 2009 on urbanisation. See also Tacoma 2006. Bowman favours a high figure for the mid-third century CE.

34 Bagnall and Frier 1994.

35 Bagnall and Frier 1994: 165; Adams 2001; and Foubert, in this volume.

36 Scheidel 2001d: 166–178.

37 *P. Wisc.* 1, 36 (*BL* 7, 100).

This is a declaration of Sambathion, daughter of Diodorus, declaring property owned in the village of Theadelphia, which is her *idia*, but it is clear that she also has property registered in the village of Apias (some 40 or 50 km away). Also mentioned is her brother and guardian Ptolemaios, and we know from other evidence that he had business interests in Apias and in the Fayum generally. While dispersed property ownership is not in itself evidence for migration, its effect was twofold: to create links and networks, and having a role in structuring mobility. There is good evidence for probably the most common form of migration, from village to village. This accords with rough figures for the population patterns of villages in the Fayum, which can be retrieved from our evidence: tax rolls preserved from Karanis and Philadelphia show that between 4 and 13% of the adult male population at any time was made up of resident aliens. They also suggest that large numbers of village inhabitants could be away from home, most of them in Alexandria and occasionally further afield – in one instance, India. Unfortunately what they do not tell us is how long individuals have been resident or away. However, the fact that systems of tax collection were flexible enough to deal with this phenomenon suggests regularity.³⁸

In terms of village-to-village migration, where we can trace links between Karanis and other areas, as we would expect, about 60–75% of travelling links were with other Fayum villages. There were also links with Memphis and the Herakleopolite Nome. Between 10 and 20% of communication was with Alexandria. It is not possible to say how generally applicable this pattern is, but the balance of probability suggests this was not unusual. The case of Oxyrhynchos, arguably a city for which we might be able to make some progress with, is relevant here. More than half of journeys attested in its papyri are to the north, mostly, as we would expect, to Alexandria. But many journeys attested are to destinations within a radius of 90 km. Only 13% of journeys are made to destinations outside Egypt.³⁹ We will consider this evidence in more detail below, as it arguably provides the best opportunities for analysis.

Where did people go, and who were they? The census declarations show that lodgers were common in *metropoleis* – from 300 or so documents, of which much less than half relate to *metropoleis*, we have evidence for 57 lodgers.⁴⁰ As well as having potential business opportunities in *metropoleis*, it is also likely that many migrants were marginal, in the sense that they were

38 *P.Mich.* 4, 223, 224, 225, 357–363 (late second century); *P. Princ.* 1, 14 (62–3 CE?) and *SB* 14, 11481 (38–48 CE), with Hanson 1974 and Braunert 1964: 204.

39 These figures from Adams 2001.

40 Bagnall and Frier 1994: 65–66.

young males who perhaps could not form families, or who were superfluous on small-holdings, and thus economically unviable. More research on contacts between individuals in private letters and in archives could potentially reveal more about links between migrants and their families, and work on business relationships could also reveal much. It is clear that networks of business contacts existed (a good example is the so-called archive of Athenodorus from the Augustan period, which shows him owning land in a number of areas, and having business agents scattered around Egypt).⁴¹ Alexandria must have been a strong draw, especially for commercial reasons. But it is impossible to quantify the scale of migration to the city from the *chora*. Again, the evidence of Oxyrhynchos discussed below will reveal more.

On top of this, we have the issue of flight from taxes and liturgies, which occasionally occurs in the census evidence.⁴² This seems to be a particular problem in the second century (although we should be careful in assuming that it was a phenomenon particular to this period, as it is perennial – first century Philadelphia is a good example).⁴³ A declaration of 173 CE from Karanis, for example, preserves information on the brother of the declarant who is in tax flight (ἐν ἀναχωρήσει).⁴⁴ We have important evidence from the Delta, from the region of Thmouis, of significant depopulation, where whole villages are abandoned.⁴⁵ The second century Antonine plague, of course, punctuates the evidence, but does not necessarily distort it: these are permanent Egyptian problems. An important theme here, which deserves more study, is what the state's response was. We know a good deal about the response in respect of taxation: firstly, a levy known as the *merismos anachoreketon* forced those villagers remaining to pick up the tax payments of those in flight – which eventually led to a complete breakdown and resulting moratoria; secondly, abuses in the system of tax collection, where collectors forced payment of taxes by family members of those in flight.⁴⁶ This led to edicts of successive prefects ordering that no-one should be asked to pay anything beyond what he himself owes. Just how enforceable this was is open to question.⁴⁷ All in all, the census returns

41 BGU 16, 2600–2674.

42 Jördens 2009: 304–330.

43 Jördens 2009: 317, citing Kambitsis (*P. Thmouis* 1, intro.): “long before the third century, ἀναχωρησις was not the occasional, crisis-generated phenomenon envisaged by Rostovtzeff (crises, of course, made matters worse), but a chronic element of life in Roman Egypt, ‘un fait fréquent et banal.’”

44 BGU 2, 447.

45 Rathbone 1990: 114–119; Blouin 2014: 243–266.

46 Lewis 1937.

47 SB 14, 12087 (162 CE).

provide some information on migration, but fall well short of being good evidence. They do suggest significant migration between villages and *metropolis*, and between villages. They indicate the probability (unquantifiable) that migration acted in favour of *metropoleis*, and to the detriment of villages; that the population of *metropoleis* gradually grew, with a static or decreasing village population. This may have had something to do with land ownership patterns and the rationalisation of agriculture, to which we now turn.

The Arsinoite property return of Sambathion raises the issue of the ownership of land in more than one area. We know significantly more about this now than when Braunert was writing, principally due to the work of Alan Bowman and Roger Bagnall on the Hermopolite land registers.⁴⁸ Additionally, we now have a very detailed papyrus in the Yale collection, edited by Paul Schubert, which records details of land ownership in the village of Philadelphia dating to 216/7 CE, drawn up for the purposes of the imposition of *indictiones* for Caracalla's campaigns in Syria.⁴⁹

Both the Hermopolite and Philadelphian land registers show roughly similar patterns in land ownership – land was distributed across the socio-economic scale inequitably. In Hermopolis 42.6% of people owned 3.7% of land, whilst 1.8% of the population owned 36.6% of land. Town residents – i.e. absent land-owners, owned about 25% of the land. What is also clear is that citizens of Antinoopolis (a city on the other bank of the Nile) owned significant amounts of land in the Hermopolite. In the Philadelphian land register it is clear that Alexandrian citizens owned land in Philadelphia. But it was not necessarily a bad thing – they still performed valuable local services in the nome. Neither do the registers show that there was a major shift in land ownership, where the rich systematically absorbed small holdings, so population shifts in the fourth century remain mysterious.

From the evidence of property registers, it is possible to trace patterns of land ownership, which suggest many absentee owners, resident in the *metropolis* or elsewhere. Private letters from Roman Egypt reflect this very clearly, and it is to one particular group of these that we now turn.

Migration in the Private Letters of Oxyrhynchos

Some of the main problems that we face in considering the phenomenon of migration are that the evidence is difficult, if not impossible to quantify, and

48 Bowman 1985; Bagnall 1992.

49 *P. Yale* 3, 137.

that Braunert, while offering a penetrating discussion of the evidence available to him, applied no theoretical underpinnings to his discussion. There is no room here for a full survey of all evidence, however, the private letters preserved from Oxyrhynchus offer a useful corpus, and allow for some reflections based on recent models for thinking about migration history.⁵⁰ What they seem to show is that short-medium term migration was the most common form, and the letters preserved are testament to the maintenance of ties with individuals' families.

Turning to the letters in detail, some clear patterns emerge, but there are some difficulties of interpretation. The 357 private letters that are used here make up around 5% of the published texts (the figure would be larger, perhaps as high as 10%, if we took into account those papyri which were only briefly described and not fully published in the early volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*). This is a substantial set of documents. By definition, they are all sent by people who are either away from Oxyrhynchus or writing to someone similarly absent from the city, which in itself is an indicator of how common travel and migration might have been. However, they are widely spaced over time, and thus any quantitative evidence that can be derived from them can only offer a rough order of magnitude from which general conclusions can be derived.

Of the 357 letters surveyed, 82 letters contain reference to localities where the writers had been (in one or two cases Alexandria is clearly the point of writing, even if not specifically mentioned), while 19 letters are clearly sent from outside the Oxyrhynchite Nome, but the point of origin is unknown. Therefore, 28% of letters in our data sample are written by Oxyrhynchites who for one reason or another were absent from their *idia*. That being away from the nome was a common phenomenon is made clear in a third century letter:

Horigenes to Serenus his brother, greeting. I want you to know that I make obeisance for you every day to the gods here. You will do well to come to us for a few days, for there are many Oxyrhynchites here. I blame you for not answering my letter yet. Give my best wishes to the overseer and your brother Sarapammon and the governess and the whole household. (2nd hand) I pray for your health brother.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See also Foubert, this volume.

⁵¹ *P. Oxy.* 31, 2595. Unfortunately it is unclear from where the letter was sent: 'Οριγένης Σερήνῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν. γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τοῖς ἐνθάδε θ[ε]οῖς. καλῶς ποιήσεις ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πρὸς ὀλίγας ἡμέρας. καὶ γὰρ πολλοὶ 'Οξυριγγῖται ἐννοσι ἐνθάδε. μέμφομε δέ σε ὅτι οὐπω μοι ἀντέγραψας. ἀσπάζου

It is clear from this letter that Oxyrhynchites had a bond; the editors call it ‘nome particularism’, but perhaps ‘sense of collective identity’ would be a better way of putting it. Such a sense of ‘home’ and sense of identity can be seen in another letter sent to Apion, from a friend he had made in Antaeopolis when he was *strategos* there. His friend Philosarapis writes: “send to me about anything you need from home” (i.e. Antaeopolis).⁵² The sense of being a stranger or not in a location is nicely brought out in another letter:

Theon to his sister Sarapous, greeting. Above all else, and enjoined upon you when with you, take care of yourself so that I may have you well, and do not be anxious about me because I am away from home, for I am personally acquainted with these places and am not a stranger here...⁵³

It is not surprising that Alexandria was the focus of travel and migration, and in our sample, which I would argue is representative of a general trend, 42 letters were written from the capital, being around 40% of our texts with known localities. These letters show that legal matters and education, as well as commercial activities, were the main reasons for travelling to and remaining in Alexandria. These were push/pull factors, for Alexandria was a labour market beyond all others in Egypt, which must have been attractive to both skilled and unskilled workers – a focus of labour migration.⁵⁴ This is explicit in the following letter, which reveals some trends common among migrants and their families at home:

Ilarion to Alis his sister, many greetings, and to my dear Berous and Apollonarion. Know that I am still even now in Alexandria; and do not worry if they come back altogether (?), but I remain at Alexandria. I urge and entreat you to be careful of the child, and if I receive wages (ὀψώνιον) I will send it to you. If (Apollonarion?) bears a child, if it is a male let it be, if it is a female expose it. You told Aphrodisias ‘Don’t forget me’. How can I forget you? I urge you therefore not to worry.⁵⁵

τὸν ἐπιστάτην καὶ Σαραπάμωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὴν δεσκαλον καὶ τοὺς ἐν οἴκῳ πάντας.
(hand 2) ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὖχομαι, ἀδελφε.

52 *P. Oxy.* 14, 1664 (c. 200, cf. *BL* 3, 139 and 4, 62).

53 *P. Oxy.* 8, 1154, lines 1–10 (late first century): Θέ[ω]ν Σαραποῦτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν. πρὸ πάντων ὡς ἐνετειλάμην σοι κατ’ ὅψιν ἐπιμέλου σεαυτῆς ἵνα μοι ὑγιαίνης, μὴ ἀγωνιάσης δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἐπὶ ξένης εἰμί, αὐτόπτης γὰρ εἰμί τῶν τόπων καὶ οὐκ εἰμί ξέν[ο]ς τῶν ἐνθάδε.

54 Cf. Garnsey’s and De Ligt’s discussion of the connection between job opportunities and migration to Rome.

55 *P. Oxy.* 4, 744 (1 BCE) (*BL* 1, 328; 2, 297; 3, 132; 7, 130; 8, 237; 9, 181; 11, 145; 12, 136): Ἰλαρίωνα Ἄλιτι τῇ ἀδελφῇ πλεῖστα χαίρειν καὶ Βεροῦτι τῇ κυρίᾳ μου καὶ Ἀπολλωναρῖν. γίνωσκε ὡς ἔτι

It is clear that Ilarion (who is probably the husband of Alis, the expectant mother) is in Alexandria working, for some time (but less than nine months, unless he had returned home for a flying visit), and sends some of his wages home. This fits very neatly with family economy approaches to migration, showing diversification and family income strategies (not least the concern about the economic disadvantages of having a female child and their frequent exposure).⁵⁶ It is also the only evidence we have in the papyri for the sending home of money, one of the central features of migration, which creates alternative and informal banking systems and additional sources of income that have economic effects on both the settlement of origin and destination.

The importance of Alexandria was recognised by ancient authors, who noted the negative impact of labour migration to Alexandria on the *chora*: Pseudo-Aristeas talks of the abandonment of the countryside.⁵⁷ It is clear that some visits were of short duration, but many of the letters suggest long-term migration or residency in the city, and other letters suggest regular connection – ‘looking after affairs’ in Alexandria.⁵⁸ It is clear also that going to Alexandria to seek employment was not always successful.⁵⁹

Other nomes and *metropoleis* figure to a greater or lesser degree in the correspondence. The most highly attested is the Herakleopolite, with 8 letters (not surprising, perhaps, given its proximity to the Oxyrhynchite), followed by the Small Oasis (with which the Oxyrhynchite was linked administratively), where trade seems to have been the main attraction.⁶⁰ Other nomes and *metropoleis* are represented: Memphis (3), the Arsinoite (surprisingly, perhaps, 1), Nicopolis (1), Antinoopolis (3), Antaeopolite (2), Thinite (1), Koptos (1), Sebennyte (1), Letopolite (1), Cynopolite (2), Mareotite (1), Pelusium (2), Panopolite (3), and

καὶ νῦν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ σμεν· μὴ ἀγωνιάς ἐάν ὅλως εἰσπορεύονται, ἐγὼ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ μενῶ. ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ σε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῷ παιδίῳ καὶ ἐάν εὐθὺς ὀψώνιον λάβωμεν ἀποστελῶ σε ἄνω. ἐάν πολλὰ πολλῶν τέκνης ἐάν ᾗν ἄρσενον ἄφες, ἐάν ᾗν θήλεα ἐκβαλε. εἴρηκας ἴδὲ/ Ἀφροdisιάτι ὅτι μὴ με ἐπιλάβῃς πῶς δύναμαί σε ἐπιλαθεῖν; ἐρωτῶ σε οὖν ἵνα μὴ ἀγωνιάσῃς.

56 On child exposure, see Harris 1994.

57 Pseudo-Aristeas 108–111 (admittedly writing in the Ptolemaic period). We have noted above similar Roman evidence.

58 For example, *P. Oxy.* 7, 1070 (third century), where a man writes to his wife from Alexandria, where he is ‘looking after their affairs’. In this case, the writer mentions making obeisance to Sarapis, often an indicator of presence in Alexandria, see *P. Oxy.* 59, 3992 (second century), also, for example, *P. Mich.* 3, 213 (third century), *P. Mich.* 15, 751–752 (176–200 CE), *PSI* 13, 1331 and 1332 (both late second or early third century), and *P. Warr.* 18 (third century), with Geraci 1971: 172–173. For similar ‘looking after of affairs’ see *P. Sarap.* 85–86.

59 See *P. Oxy.* 8, 1160 (late third or early fourth century), where work is not found easily, perhaps because the writer is spending too much time with his lover.

60 On administrative links, see Lewis 1964.

Prosopite (1). Travel outside of Egypt is attested in 7 letters, three of them refer or allude to military service, and one to the service of the emperor in Rome.⁶¹ Perhaps this is not surprising, given the well-known restrictions on Egyptians leaving Egypt, those doing so requiring a permit.⁶²

Admittedly, some of the letters suggest journeys of short duration, 'looking after one's affairs', but often the context suggests longer-term interests. While seeking legal redress in Alexandria from the prefect's court might on one level also suggest short-term travel, there are examples in this data sample, as well as the papyri more generally, of the process sometimes taking a very long time, perhaps over a year.⁶³ In other letters, it is clear that long-term migration is referred to. In one example, which highlights an important cause of migration, a woman writes about her father, who originates from the village of Berenikis in the Arsinoite Nome, but who is resident and owns property in Oxyrhynchus, perhaps following his daughter who seemingly is married to an Oxyrhynchite.⁶⁴ Medium, or longer-term migration, is suggested in one letter where a woman writes: "A year today I have been away from you".⁶⁵ A further letter also suggests long-term migration, as the writer wonders if it is possible for his wife in Oxyrhynchus to register him for poll tax.⁶⁶ This comes out more clearly in another papyrus, not a private letter, but a declaration to an *amphodarches* (an official in charge of registration of individuals in the city), in which the writer informs the *amphodarches*, that his son, a weaver, is resident in Alexandria.⁶⁷ No doubt this is information pertinent to the collection of poll tax.

Some patterns emerge from the letters that relate to micro-level approaches to migration history outlined above; two in particular. The first is the effect of networks and agency. The second is migration as a consequence of state service, state sponsored migration. In the first category, of letters providing evidence of networks, many are letters of recommendation. These typically

61 Military service: *P. Oxy.* 8, 1054 (late first century), *P. Oxy.* 12, 1481 (early second century), *P. Oxy.* 14, 1666 (third century); on Egyptians abroad, see Ricci 1993, and on Egyptians in the Misenum fleet, Fitzhardinge 1951. Emperor's service: *P. Oxy.* 46, 3312 (second century).

62 See *P. Oxy.* 10, 1271 (263 CE) for example; see Moatti 2000: esp. 20–22. Articles in the *Gnomon of the Idios Logos* (64, 66, and 68) detail the use of permits to leave Egypt (*BGU* 5, 1210, and *P. Oxy.* 42, 3014 = Johnson, Coleman-Norton and Bourne 1961: doc. 256).

63 See, for example, *P. Oxy.* 3, 486 (131 CE), where the writer has been in Alexandria for a year trying to have a petition heard. In his contribution to this volume Andrea Zerbini demonstrates that litigants living in Roman Syria or Palestine faced similar problems.

64 *P. Oxy.* 1, 76 (179 CE). Other indications of medium or long-term migration: *P. Oxy.* 3, 533 (second or third century).

65 *P. Oxy.* 9, 1216 (second or third century).

66 *P. Oxy.* 8, 1057 (third century).

67 *P. Oxy.* 36, 2756 (78/9 CE).

are addressed to relatives or acquaintances of the writer, and ask for them to assist the bearer of the letter in whatever business he was engaged in. We are reminded here of the letter discussed above, in which ‘many Oxyrhynchites’ were resident in another city. Such networks enabled individuals to carry out business more smoothly, to find accommodation or property.⁶⁸ The following is a good example:

Aristandrus to his son Apion, greeting. Theon our son is coming to you on his way to the city of Nikias on account of a pressing uncompleted negotiation of which you have perhaps been long since been aware from his father; I think he wrote to you about it while he was still alive. Indeed you love him both for his own sake and for his father's memory. But I know that this letter of mine also will be of much help to him, if he wants anything either with Apion the *basilikogrammateus* of the Prosopite Nome or with anyone else, if you will ask them and not delay to write to them. I pray for your perpetual health and prosperity, my son. (Addressed) To my son Apion, *basilikogrammateus* of the Letopolite Nome, from Aristandrus of Oxyrhynchos.⁶⁹

Other letters offer up evidence of business networks. It is clear that individuals had agents and contacts living outside the nome. It is not always provable that these contacts were Oxyrhynchites, but in some cases it is clear. In two interesting texts, we have evidence for trading networks, with family members and agents resident in the first case in Memphis and Koptos, and in the second the Little Oasis and Koptos (the text mentions camels in Koptos).⁷⁰ Two late second century letters further illustrate this pattern. These are written by Harpalus

68 This is clear in a well-known papyrus from Karanis, where the writer, a veteran soldier, writes to another veteran recommending a recently discharged soldier, who wants to buy property in Karanis – the writer asks the recipient to acquaint him with the villagers’ odd ways – see *SB* 6, 9636 (135–36 CE).

69 *P. Oxy.* 9, 1219 (third century). Ἀρίστανδρος Ἀπίωνι τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν. Θέων ὁ υἱὸς ἡμῶν παραγίνεται πρὸς σέ πορευόμενος εἰς τὴν Νεικίου ἕνεκα ἀναγκαίου αὐτοῦ μετεώρου ἴσως δὲ καὶ σὺ ἐπίστασαι ἔτι πάλαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· περιων δὲ νομίζω γεγραφεῖναι σοι περὶ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ σὺ αὐτὸν φιλεῖς καὶ δι’ αὐτὸν καὶ διὰ τὴν μνήμην τ[ο]ῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ οἶδα ὅτι καὶ ταυτά μου τὰ γράμματα πόλλ’ αὐτὸν ὠφελήσει, εἴ τινος [ο]ῦ ἐὰν χρεῖαν ἔχῃ εἴτε πρὸς Ἀπ[ί]ωνα τὸν τοῦ Προσωπίτου βασιλικὸν εἴτε πρὸς ἕτερόν τινα, ἐὰν δεή[σῃ] καὶ αὐτοῖς γράψαι μὴ ὑπερβῇ. (hand 2) ἐρρώσθαι [σε] εὖχομαι, τέκνον, εὐ[τ]υχοῦντα δι’ ὅλου. Verso Ἀπίωνι υἱῷ βασιλικ(ῶ) γρ(αμματεῖ) Λητοπολ(ίτου) π(αρά) Ἀριστάνδ(ρου) Ὁξ(υρυγχίτου). Nikias must be the city of Nikopolis.

70 *P. Oxy.* 22, 2353 (32 CE); *P. Oxy.* 36, 2783 (third century).

to agents of his in the Little Oasis, who seem based there long-term.⁷¹ Finally, another text, not a letter this time, but an account, was sent by an agent in Oxyrhynchos to his mistress who was resident in Alexandria; it includes various details of disbursements and the mention of a sea-going ship.⁷² The contexts, as is nearly always the case with letters, is impossible to establish, but perhaps it is safe to assume that his mistress was an Alexandrian with estates in the Oxyrhynchite and commercial interests outside Egypt.

The letter of Aristandrus, quoted above, while certainly evidence for networks, also raises the issue of the second category of migration noted above: state-driven migration. A number of letters are written to family members or friends who are serving as officials, either the *strategos* or the *basilikogrammateus* of another nome.⁷³ Arsitandrus writes to his son, who is *basilikogrammateus* of the Prosopite Nome. A letter of recommendation, dating to 16 CE, introduces one Hermophilus to the *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite and Cynopolite Nomes (apparently joined at this time); he had business in Kerkemounis in the Upper Toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite.⁷⁴ Another letter is sent by a friend to Sarapion, who was *strategos* of the Upper Toparchy of the Sebennyte Nome.⁷⁵ A third letter of recommendation was sent by Turbo to a friend in the Thinite Nome, who was the secretary of the *strategos*.⁷⁶ Trouble in the Mareotite Nome is the subject of a letter, most likely written by an official, originally from Oxyrhynchos, resident there.⁷⁷ Two letters attest that Archelaus from Oxyrhynchos was the secretary of the *strategos* of the Panopolite Nome.⁷⁸ Theodorus, an overseer (*epimeletes*) in the Cynopolite Nome brought back to Oxyrhynchos a letter he had received from his father.⁷⁹ Other papyri attest Oxyrhynchite *strategoï* in other nomes, or possibly linked to the office of the prefect.⁸⁰

A feature of the letters that complicates our understanding of migration generally, and of understanding state demands more specifically in the light of the present discussion, is that by definition they belong to the literate, or at

⁷¹ *P. Oxy.* 41, 2983 and 2984 (late second century).

⁷² *P. Oxy.* 10, 1288 (fourth century).

⁷³ See Strassi 1993, for more detail and a broader discussion of this phenomenon.

⁷⁴ *P. Oxy.* 4, 746 (16 CE).

⁷⁵ *P. Oxy.* 6, 931 (2 CE).

⁷⁶ *P. Oxy.* 14, 1663 (second or third century).

⁷⁷ *P. Oxy.* 33, 2681 (third century).

⁷⁸ *P. Oxy.* 42, 3061 and 3062 (first century).

⁷⁹ *P. Oxy.* 42, 3147 (fourth or fifth century).

⁸⁰ Prefect's office: *P. Oxy.* 55, 3807 (26–28 CE?); the Lykopolite: *P. Oxy.* 55, 3810 (second or third century); the Prosopite: *P. Oxy.* 76, 5100 (136 CE); and the Panopolite: *P. Oxy.* 78, 5174 (26 CE).

least those with access to writing. However, occasional light is thrown on aspects of migration among those not often represented in written text. One second-century letter mentions the travel of a group of men to Alexandria, possibly as part of a work crew.⁸¹ Workers requisitioned for work in Alexandria are listed in a fourth century text, a total of twelve men from six different villages.⁸² In a very interesting letter Theodorus, a magistrate of Oxyrhynchos, writes to his father Apollonius concerning the requisition of carpenters required by the state for work on Trajan's Canal:

To my lord father Apollonius, Theodorus, greetings. You wrote to me about the carpenters. Even in your absence carpenters were often sent for, as well as labourers and other things, and our fellow magistrates respected your absence. Surely then, while you are at home, no-one would dare to nominate any of the people belonging to us? So be confident, father, on this point. For Sarapion the *procurator* wanted thirty carpenters to be sent to the Trajan river upon nomination, but Dioscorus got home to us in the evening and I was able by reason of the hour to extract their names and write to you...⁸³

It is clear that Theodorus and his father were concerned about the impact of long-term requisition of their labourers would have on them, but also strongly implied that they had enough local influence to prevent it. Such work could take individuals away from home for considerable periods of time and a considerable distance. Another example of this, again to do with Trajan's Canal, is an offer by two *potamitai* (river maintenance workers) from Lykopolis to Sarapion, the *strategos* of the Arabian Nome. The work was to be carried out near Phakousai, the *metropolis* of the Arabian Nome, to the north of the canal.⁸⁴ The text also strongly implies that Sarapion was an Oxyrhynchite, in place as *strategos* of the Arabian Nome, who brought his papers home.

81 *P. Oxy.* 41, 2981 (second century).

82 *P. Oxy.* 58, 4964 (fourth century) with *intro.* for similar texts including *P. Oxy.* 14, 1747 (third or fourth century).

83 *P. Oxy.* 55, 3814 (third or fourth century). κυρίῳ μου πατρὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Θεόδωρος χαίρειν. ἐπέστιλάς μοι ὡς περὶ τῶν τεκτόνων. καὶ ἀπόντος σου πολλάκις τέκτονες μετεπέμψθησαν καὶ ἐργάται καὶ ἕτερα πράγματα, καὶ ᾗδέσθησαν οἱ συνάρχοντες ἡμῶν τὴν ἀπουσίαν [σου]. μὴ πού [γε] σου ἐπιδημοῦντος οὐκ ἂν τις τολμήσαι ὀνομάσαι τινα τῶν διαφερόντων ἡμῖν. θάρσει οὖν, πατήρ, περὶ τούτου. ἐπ' ὀνομάτων [γάρ] ἠθέλησεν Σαραπίων ὁ ἐπίτροπος τριάκοντα τέκtonας ἀποσταλῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν Τραϊανὸν ποταμόν, ἐσπέρας δὲ ἐπεδήμησαι ἡμῖν(ν) Διόσκορος καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσα διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὥρας τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ἐκλαβεῖν καὶ ἐπιστίλαί σοι.

84 *P. Oxy.* 60, 4070 (c. 208 CE).

The final point about our letters is important. While we have concentrated here on those letters offering evidence for migration outside the Oxyrhynchite Nome, these only make up a little over a quarter of the data set. Almost three-quarters of the letters, therefore, are associated with short-distance, rural to urban migration, suggesting that this was the most common form. This tallies nicely with the findings of Bagnall and Frier and Scheidel discussed above. The letters cover a range of issues, probably the most common being requests for food and other commodities, no doubt to be sent from the rural properties of those now resident in the *metropolis*. Other letters often concern prospective journeys home from the city, letters of reprimand to lazy correspondents, worried parents, even letters from charioteers.⁸⁵

Conclusions

This paper has sought to review the subject of migration in Roman Egypt in the light of documentary evidence and approaches to the subject either published since Braunert's influential study or not considered by him, and to introduce it to historians outside the specialist field of papyrology. It is clear that the development of our knowledge of the population structures of Egypt, imperfect though it is and will always be, allows us to achieve a better understanding of patterns of migration. Migration was an everyday feature of Roman Egypt, a society that, by any historical standard, was a mobile one. Developments in the study of Roman demography, while not specifically addressing migration in detail, and improvements in our understanding of urbanisation in Roman Egypt, all hold promise for the future study of migration. It has also been shown that approaches to the study of migration that have been taken by modern social anthropology, if applied to the papyrological evidence, might yield some very interesting results. Finally, the private letters of Oxyrhynchos have confirmed many of the main patterns of migration and have proved to be a representative body of evidence. All of this points to the conclusion that a full study of migration in Roman Egypt applying these approaches and incorporating new data from the full corpus of papyri, building on Braunert, is an urgent *desideratum*.

85 For example, *P. Oxy.* 8, 1060 (third or fourth century), a letter from a father to his son who is living with his lover in Alexandria; *P. Oxy.* 14, 1680 (third century) a worried son to his father; and for a charioteer *P. Oxy.* 31, 2598 (third or fourth century).

Mobile Women in *P.Oxy.* and the Port Cities of Roman Egypt: Tracing Women's Travel Behaviour in Papyrological Sources

Lien Foubert

Introduction

In the years 1999 to 2001, the University of Delaware and the University of Leiden under the direction of Steven Sidebotham and Willeke Wendrich excavated at Berenike, a key port on the Red Sea that linked the Mediterranean to South Asia. In trench 48 in one of the dumps of the archaeological site, dating to the reigns of Nero and Vespasian, they uncovered several papyri and ostraca, mummified animals, plaster jar stoppers and a fragment of a terracotta soldier.¹ Most of the texts deal with goods, primarily wine, and people that needed to pass through the custom gate at Berenike, from where the goods would be loaded on ships and exported to foreign markets. In their edition of these texts, published in 2005, the editors were mainly concerned with the way these documents contribute to our understanding of Berenike's role as a hub for internal and external trade and to our knowledge of various administrative arrangements affecting this trade, focusing on subjects such as custom processes, goods and measures, and officials and taxes, and the same economic and administrative perspective dominates most of the subsequent literature.² One of the texts of trench 48 stands out but has largely remained unnoticed in scholarly research: namely *O. Berenike* 2.129.³ It stands out because it is one of the few papyri of a collection predominantly made up of ostraca. In addition, this letter is relatively well preserved compared to the other letters found in Berenike. But it is also a papyrus written by a woman that allows us to identify at least one of Berenike's female inhabitants by name.⁴

1 Bagnall, Helms and Verhoogt 2005: 1.

2 For the most recent and complete study, see Sidebotham (2011), with further references.

3 The *editio princeps*, from which the translation below is taken, is Bagnall, Helms and Verhoogt 2005, no. 129. For the most recent edition with corrections and commentary, see Artz-Grabner 2014: 85–87.

4 Other texts in the Berenike collection also mention female inhabitants of the port city, cf. *O. Berenike* 2.118–119 (a copy and a final version of an inscription set up by Philotera for Zeus in

O.Berenike 2.129⁵

recto

[Ἰκάνη] Ἰσιδῶ[ρῳ τῷ υἱῷ χαίρειν· πρὸ μὲν πάντων ἀναγκαί]ον ἡγησάμην
 ἐφορκίου ἀναγομένου γρά[ψαι – ca.14 –] ἐμέ. [ἐ]ν [Βε]ρνίκῃ εἰμί. ἐγὼ μὲν
 σοι ἐπιστολὴν γεγράφηκα [...][...][...] ἐπιστολὴν. διὰ [τ]οῦτο σὲ ἐβάστα-
 ζον δέκα μῆνες καὶ τρία ἔτη σὲ ἐθήλαζον εἴνα μὴ εἰ[δ]ῆς μου μνημονεῦ-
 σαι δι' ἐπιστολῆς; καὶ τᾶταυ δι' Αὐασειτῶν [...]των ἀφῆς μέ, μηδὲ ἐγὼ
 σέ. ἀλλὰ ἀφήκα σοῦ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐνα[.] Ἀραβία [...].σαι!....
 Αἴγυπτον εἰδῶ σοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ συ[...].ζω τὸ πνεῦμα, μό-
 νον ἔρτο σε καὶ παρακαλῶ καὶ ἐξορκίζω σε τού[τ]ου οὐσε..ην-
 κες καὶ τὴν μνήαν σου το γενήσαντος [ἐ]ὰν ὑγια[ίνης] ἐκπλεσι. ἐγὼ ἀσ-
 ετο μετ' ἀτῆς Ἀμάραντον πολὰ κα[...].σι αραβο[...]. τὴν Ἀρβίαν
 καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου τὴν ἥκο[υ]σαν ε.νη.[.....]η...δ....νης
 σοῦ [ῆ] θία ἔσωσα [ἐ]αυτὴν ἐθον[.]ινο.. ἡ ἀδ[ελ]φή σου ἡ μιζοτέ-
 ρα ἀπογέγονε καὶ ἡ μικρὰ καταγέννηται μη.τ[...]. Ἀρβ[ί]αν ὥστε
 ἐρωτῶ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ εἰς τὸ ε.[...]ιν καὶε [...].ν[...]. σῶσον
 σοῦ το ἀδελφ[ό]ν. οὐδένα γὰρ ἔχο[...].κ[...].ς αυ[...]. Traces
 κα[...].ν.των. τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφ[όν]....θη[...].[...]. τοῖς
 πρότοις ἀνέμοις, ὁ δὲ εὐρηξέ τινος ἀρίστ.α[...].
 καὶ ἦκε μ[ο]ι εἰς Βερνίκην α.[...].[...].αι.αρ..ντωγ.
 πολλὰ ἀσπάζον[ταί σε] Ἐπαφρᾶς ζ[...].του[...].[...].
 καὶ τοὺς ἀγαπ[ώντας] ἡμᾶς – ca.12 –].[...] κδ.

verso

ἀπόδ(ος) Εἰκάνη Ἰσιδῶρῳ
 τῷ υἱῷ ὠρμιτω

Translation:

[Hikane] to Isidoros [her son, greetings. First of all] I thought it necessary, since the packet boat was putting out to sea to write ... me. I am in Berenike. I wrote you a letter [?but did not receive a] letter. Was it for this that I carried you for ten months and nursed you for three years, so that you would be incapable of

54–68 CE), 130 (if the author's name is correctly restored, a letter written by Aphrodite to Lucius, presumably her husband), and 199 (a letter from Serapous to Aphrod[ite?]). See also Sidebotham 2011: 76–77.

5 Text taken from the Papyrological Navigator. r.2. l. ἐγὼ; r.4. l. μῆνας; r.4. l. ἴνα; r.5. l. ταῦτα; o.5. l. ἐγὼ; r.6. l. ἀλλά; r.6. l. ἴνα; r.7. corr. ex ειδοτ; r.8. l. ἐρωτῶ; r.9. l. μνεῖαν; r.9. l. τοῦ; r.9. l. γεννήσαντος; r.9. l. ἐκπλεῦσαι; r.9. l. ἐγὼ; r.10. l. αὐτῆς; r.10. l. πολλὰ; r.10. l. Ἀραβίαν; r.12. l. θεία; r.12–13. l. μιζοτέ[ρ]α; r.13. l. Ἀραβίαν; r.15. l. τὸν; r.15. l. ἔχω; r.17. l. πρῶτοις; v.2. l. ὀρμίτη.

remembering me by letter? And similarly you dismissed me through the Oasites ... not I you. But I left your brothers in Arabia ... so that ... Egypt I might see your face and ... breath. I only ask and beg and adjure you by the one whom you ... and by the memory of the one who begot you, to sail away if you are well. I ... Amarantos. But ... Arabia, and your sister who has arrived ... your aunt. I have saved myself ... Your elder sister has departed and the little one is present ... I ask and beg you ... Save your brother. For I have no one ... your brother ... with the first winds, but he found some ... and came to me in Berenike. Epaphras greets you warmly ... and those who love us. [Year, month] 24.

(Back)

Deliver. Hikane to Isidoros her son, harbourman.

The *verso* enables us to identify the writer of the letter as Hikane, who writes to her son Isidoros to complain about his lack of attention: "Was it for this," she writes, "that I carried you for ten months and nursed you for three years, so that you would be incapable of remembering me by letter?"⁶ Regardless of the fragmentary character of the papyrus, which makes it impossible to draw definitive conclusions, the text seems to allude to a mobile family. Hikane attests that she is in Berenike at the time of writing. She explains: "But I left your brothers in Arabia ... so that ... (in?) Egypt I might see your face and ... breath." She tries to make her son feel guilty by reminding him of the fact that she has left her other sons in Arabia, perhaps so that she could be closer to Isidoros in Egypt, if this is what is meant by the phrase "so that ... (in?) Egypt I might see your face".⁷ How and with whom did Hikane arrive in Berenike? In an incomplete sentence, she writes: "And similarly you dismissed me through the Oasites ... not I you." It is unclear, however, what the role of the Oasites is in this text. Did Isidoros put his mother under their care to travel to Berenike? And who are these Oasites? Are they inhabitants of the oases that we know from other papyrological sources, namely the Small Oasis (Bahariya) and Great Oasis (Kharga Dakhla) of the western desert; traders perhaps who used one of the caravan routes leading to Berenike? Or should we perhaps think of inhabitants of an oasis in Arabia?⁸

6 If the editors' restoration is correct, Hikane also appears in *O. Berenike* 2.190, a fragmentary letter of which little sense can be made. Huebner interprets *O. Berenike* 2.129 as the letter of an old mother to her son, but the letter gives no indication as to Hikane's age. Cf. Huebner 2013: 83.

7 It remains unclear what Hikane meant by Arabia: the area between the Nile valley and the Red Sea as well as the Arabian peninsula are possibilities. According to the editors, "the latter may be more likely from the context here". See Bagnall, Helms and Verhoogt 2005: 43.

8 Bagnall, Helms and Verhoogt 2005: 42; Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 170.

Besides Isidoros' brothers, Hikane seems to have left behind two daughters and a sister, for she mentions them in another part of her letter, which is unfortunately also incomplete: "But ... Arabia, and your sister who has arrived ... your aunt. I have saved myself ... your elder sister has departed and the little one is present ..." She is not isolated in Berenike, however, for she gives Isidoros the regards of a man called Epaphras. It is clear that Hikane still communicates with her relatives at home, for she knows their whereabouts, but unfortunately the fragmentary character of the second part of the letter does not allow us to determine what it is that she wants from her son. She writes: "I ask and beg you ... save your brother. For I have no one ... your bother ... with the first winds, but he found some ... and came to me in Berenike." Is she asking him to sail away and fetch one or more of his siblings, to travel to Egypt as well? Did one of them already arrive in Berenike? Is this perhaps Epaphras?

Hikane's letter is an intriguing document that offers us a glimpse of the movements of women and families in Roman Egypt. However, the fact that I have put forward more questions than answers makes it abundantly clear that Hikane's case illustrates a fundamental heuristic problem: due to its fragmentary nature and its focus on the individual and anecdotal, to what extent is papyrological evidence useful to trace women's mobility? Still, a good case can be made for taking papyri and ostraca into account when trying to build up a more complete picture of the mechanisms of human movements, especially since past research tends to focus on literary, archaeological and epigraphic sources. Before taking a closer look at the ancient source material, however, it is worth devoting a brief discussion to the state of modern scholarship with regard to the topic of women's mobility in the Roman Empire in general and in Roman Egypt in particular.

Since the 1990s, the so-called 'mobility turn' of the social sciences has impacted greatly on scholarship of the ancient world. Research on the movements of individuals and groups, of ideas and objects increased, as well as examinations of the causes, conditions and consequences of these movements. A complicating factor, however, is the fact that scholars rarely indicate how they interpret 'movement'.⁹ In general, classical scholarship develops in two directions: some focus on human movements of a more permanent character (i.e. 'migration' or 'diaspora'), while others focus on mobility of a

9 Recently, Greg Woolf pointed out that ancient source material does not always allow a sharply defined use of the concept of 'mobility': "After all, when we find evidence of individuals who have moved significant distances it is not always easy to tell whether they had intended to return home or had aimed to migrate in search of a new life, whether their journeys were regular ones or once-in-a-lifetime displacements, even whether they were voluntary or compelled, and if involuntary by need or by *force majeure*." See Woolf 2013a: 352.

non-permanent character (i.e. 'travel'). Even though classical scholars have underscored the centrality of mobility in the Roman Empire, research on the movements of women – as a separate societal group – is limited, for 'movers' are often perceived of as faceless and sex-less crowds. Moreover, while studies on the social, cultural, economic and political roles of women in the Roman world have boomed during the past decades, 'mobility' as a research topic has rarely been part of these investigations.¹⁰

Yet, in the field of archaeology and more specifically in Roman military studies, women's mobility has increasingly become a point of discussion. New material findings as well as textual and epigraphic sources have led to the suggestion that the Roman army should no longer be seen as a purely male domain.¹¹ Funerary and honorary inscriptions, private letters on wooden tablets and archaeological remains of officers' residences, for instance, indicate that the families of commanding officers sometimes accompanied them abroad.¹² Moreover, studies of so-called small finds have made it clear that female relatives of low-ranking soldiers or non-military personnel, tradeswomen, craftswomen and female slaves might all have been part of the caravan that followed the Roman army.¹³ However, many of the studies dealing with the movements of women and families in a military context focus on the western provinces of the Roman Empire.¹⁴ The same goes for those studies that take inscriptions as their primary source material.¹⁵

The movements of women in the eastern provinces in general and Egypt in particular have received little attention. Existing research focuses predominantly on movement within the borders of Egypt, so-called 'internal migration'.

10 Though various mobility related terms, such as 'travel', 'immigrant women' and 'colonisation', appear in the index of the most recent edited volume dealing with women in antiquity (James and Dillon 2012), only Salowey's contribution to that volume (Salowey 2012) devotes a couple of pages to the topic of women's mobility (esp. 255–259). Cf. D'Ambra 2007, where 'travel' appears only once (79). It is absent, on the other hand, in key works like, for instance, Pomeroy 1976; Cameron and Kuhrt 1993; Hawley and Levick 1995; Cantarella 2001; Hartmann 2007.

11 For an overview of the development of this line of thinking in the field of archaeology, see, for instance, James 2002; Allison 2006a; Greene 2011: 1–48. Parts of this section, as well as small parts of the sections discussing the characteristics of the eastern desert (see below), also appear in Foubert (forthcoming). Unlike the present article, however, that contribution focuses on the movements of soldiers' wives in particular.

12 Hoffmann 1995. Cf. Hassall 1999.

13 Allison 2006a and 2006b.

14 E.g. Allison 2008; Van Driel-Murray 2012.

15 An overview and discussion is presented in Woolf 2013a. The most important epigraphic surveys that include a substantial number of women are Raepsaet-Charlier 1982; Spickermann 1994; Wierschowski 1995 and 2001; Handley 2011; Greene 2013.

In their study of the demography of Roman Egypt, Bagnall and Frier dedicate a chapter to migration using census returns as their main source. Although they acknowledge the fact that “the returns themselves are poor records for the study of internal migration”, they manage to elicit at least some clues with regard to female mobility from these documents.¹⁶ External migration, i.e. human movement that goes beyond the borders of Egypt, was rare according to the authors, since “populations were largely sedentary”.¹⁷ The only attestations of mobile women they could find deal with short-term movement: e.g. women who were registered in two villages and probably moved from one to the other, divorced women who left the metropolis where they had lived with their former husbands, or female slaves who moved with their owners. Despite its by now outdated character, the most exhaustive work on internal migration in Roman Egypt is still Horst Braunert’s *Die Binnenwanderung*.¹⁸ Yet, though he occasionally mentions female movers, he does not treat women as a separate societal group.¹⁹ So far, the only study that deals with women who moved into Egypt in more detail is Monika Frass’ article on the graffiti of the *colossi* of Memnon.²⁰ Many of these texts were written by or mention upper-class women who travelled from Rome to visit the famous monument in Egypt.²¹

In what follows I will try to shed some new light on the nature of women’s mobility, both within and beyond the borders of Egypt, using papyri and ostraca. I will do so by carrying out two case studies. First, the Oxyrhynchus papyri will be examined with the aim of clarifying some of the characteristics of attested female mobility. At present, the papyri published as *P. Oxy* add up to a total of 5182 texts, making it a limited and searchable collection, and hence an ideal starting point for a study of this type.²² In my second case study, I will

16 Bagnall and Frier 1994: 166; cf. Adams, this volume.

17 Bagnall and Frier 1994: 160.

18 Braunert 1964. See also F. Zucker’s review in *Historia* 16 (1967) 377–384.

19 Mobile women in Roman Egypt also figure in Rowlandson 1998 (esp. 121–122, 147–151); Adams 2001; Bagnall and Cribiore 2006: 81–88; and Foubert 2013a.

20 There is no detailed study on women who left Egypt and moved into other parts of the Roman Empire, but examples figure in, for instance, Ricci 1993; Noy 2000, esp. 245–251.

21 Frass 2006. The same graffiti written by foreign female visitors are also central to West 1977; Brennan 1997–1998; Rosenmeyer 2008; Cirio 2010; Gangloff 2011.

22 This figure and the figures mentioned below are based on the Papyrological Navigator of <http://papyri.info/> (consulted on 1-08-2014). Note that *P. Oxy* contains texts from the city of Oxyrhynchus as well as from the villages in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Since the present study does not aim at providing an exhaustive examination of attested female mobility in all of the texts originating from the Oxyrhynchite nome, texts published in other papyrological collections have been left out. Cf. Adams, this volume, for an analysis of private letters from Oxyrhynchus.

focus on the port cities of Egypt's eastern desert. Mainly due to the recent publication of a series of ostraca by Hélène Cuvigny these cities have resurfaced on the scholarly radar. It will be argued that mobility constituted an essential characteristic of the eastern desert. Using gender as a framework, both case studies will illustrate the dynamic interaction of agency (who decides to travel?) and structure (how does one travel?) in the mechanisms that underlie human mobility. Besides painting a picture of the diversity of female mobility that appears in papyri and ostraca, I will also highlight the relations between women travellers and their surroundings.

Patterns of Female Mobility in the *Oxyrhynchus* Papyri

Many of the Oxyrhynchus texts are of a literary nature and have been omitted from my analysis, leaving a collection of c. 3000 texts. I have only examined those texts dated between the first and fourth centuries CE, making up a total of 2341 papyri. The difficulty lies in the definition of ‘mobility’ as a way of including or excluding texts mentioning women’s movements. In a recent study, Greg Woolf describes the Roman Empire as a “complex landscape formed by the interplay of different migratory movements”, including those of slaves, peasants, colonial settlers, merchants and traders, barbarian invaders, teachers, athletes, actors, pilgrims, and so on.²³ Taking this observation into account, there probably is no definition of ‘mobility’ that is precise enough to be used as a criterion for selection and at the same time does justice to the complexity of the movements of individuals and groups in the Roman Empire. Nevertheless, while examining the papyri of Oxyrhynchus, several considerations have been taken into account. To begin with, not only those journeys which actually took place but also those which were intended were included, since the plans that were made to organise a trip may tell us just as much about the nature of women’s mobility as a description of one that actually took place. Moreover, an announcement of an intended journey provides insights regarding destinations, motives, means of transportation, travel companions, preferred travel conditions and other aspects. Secondly, only those journeys that are described and perceived by the authors as ‘out of the ordinary’ were taken into account. In practical terms this means that attested movements within Oxyrhynchus itself, such as visits to neighbours or moving from one house to another, were excluded. Even using these rather flexible criteria, of a total of

23 Woolf 2013a: 351–352.

2341 documentary papyri only 31 texts refer to mobile women, of which the majority belongs to the third century CE.²⁴

The distribution of these 31 attestations of female mobility follows the general chronological pattern of the documentary texts in *P. Oxy* as the majority of the texts that meet my criteria for inclusion dates to the third century CE (Figs 13.1a and 13.1b).

Mobility as a theme appears mostly in private letters, documents related to the sale or registration of slaves, and the occasional petition, contract or financial document. 9 texts deal with the slave trade, 1 concerns a loan of money, 2 are petitions to the *epistrategos* and prefect, 1 is a contract for a wet-nurse, and 18 are private letters (Fig. 13.2).

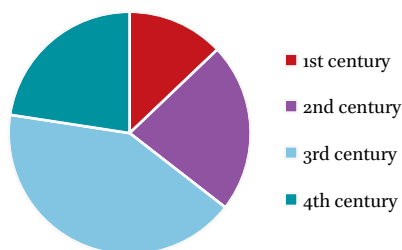


FIGURE 13.1A *Papyri sorted by date. Attestations of female mobility by century*²⁵

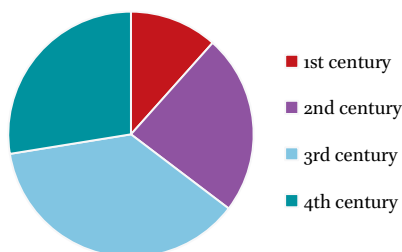
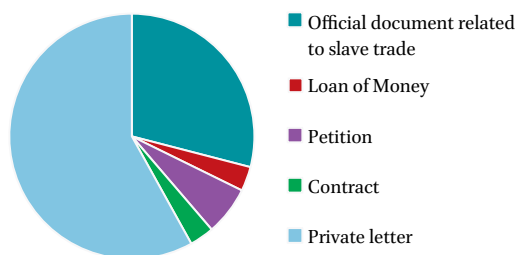


FIGURE 13.1B *Total of 2341 documentary papyri. Chronological distribution in P. Oxy*

24 4 papyri date to the 1st century CE, 7 to the 2nd century CE, 13 to the 3rd century, and 7 to the 4th century CE. These texts are: *P. Oxy* 1.95, 1.112, 3.528, 3.486, 9.1218, 10.1271, 12.1463, 14.1670, 14.1676, 14.1706, 14.1682, 17.2153, 18.2191, 22.2353, 31.2582, 34.2731, 36.2782, 36.2785, 36.2771, 38.2844, 41.2951, 41.2982, 42.3054, 42.3053, 44.3198, 46.3314, 48.3420, 49.3477, 51.3644, 56.3857, 78.5168. I owe thanks to Dennis Jussen for his indispensable help in constructing this list.

25 I am well aware of the fact that because of the small numbers, these charts do not allow bold, generalising observations. Yet, they do seem to indicate certain patterns which might inform or inspire further research.

FIGURE 13.2 *Papyri sorted by type of text*

Most of the Oxyrhynchus texts deal with mobility within the borders of Egypt. Some people wanted to inform family members of the whereabouts of relatives. In a letter which can be dated to the third century, for instance, Didymus gives his absent father an update of how things are going at home: “There is nothing unpleasant at your house. My mother Thaësis went, I think, to Antinoöpolis for a funeral.”²⁶ Other texts concern invitations to religious festivals or birthdays. Another third-century papyrus contains a long and personal letter from Flavius Herculanus to a woman called Aplonarion. Because of his Roman name and because the *verso* contains the note “Deliver to Aplonarion from her patron Herculanus”, it was assumed by the editors that she was an ex-slave and Herculanus her former master. He states: “I was very much grieved that you did not come for my boy’s birthday, both you and your husband, for you would have been able to have many days’ enjoyment with him. But you doubtless had better things to do; that was why you neglected us.”²⁷ He continues by stating that he misses her dearly, and reminds her that she is always welcome in his house, after which he invites her to pay him a visit in the month of Mesore. In another invitation, which is very short and practical, a certain Petosiris writes to her friend Serenia to invite her to “the birthday festival of the god”, presumably that of Serapis, and to let her know whether she is coming by boat or by donkey, in order that she may send for her accordingly.²⁸

26 *P. Oxy* 9.1218, l. 6-7: ἡ μήτηρ μου Θαῖσις εἰς Ἀντινόου, δοκῶ, ἐπὶ κηδῖαν ἀπῆλθεν.

27 *P. Oxy* 14.1676: l.10-17 ἀλλὰ λείαν ἐλυπήθην ὅτι οὐ παρεγένου ἰς τὰ γενέσια τοῦ παιδίου μου καὶ σὺ \kappa\alpha\iota/ ὁ ἀνὴρ σ[ο]υ, εἶχες \gamma\alpha\r/ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εὐφ[ρ]ανθῆναι σὺν αὐτῷ. ἀλλὰ πάντως κρείττονα εἶχες. διὰ τοῦτο ὑπερφάνηκας ἡμᾶς. Verso: ἀπόδος Ἀπλωναρίῳ παρὰ Φλαουίου Ἑρκουλανοῦ παρὰ Ἑρκουλανοῦ [-ca.?-] πάτρωνος. Cf. *P. Oxy* 36.2782.

28 *P. Oxy* 1.1121.3-6: πᾶν ποιήσον, κυρία, ἐξελεῖ[ν τῇ] κ τοῖς γενεθλείοις τοῦ θεο[ῦ, καὶ] δῆλωσόν μοι ἢ πλοίῳ ἐξέρχ[εῖ] ἢ ὄνῳ, ἵνα πεμφθῇ σοι. On the cult of Serapis as one of the most important cults in Oxyrhynchus, see Whitehorne 1995: 3078-3080; Tallet and Zivie-Coche 2012: 443.

Travel seems to have been quite an undertaking, as several letters are written to inform the addressee of a safe arrival, to discuss the state of the roads or the best means of transportation.²⁹ In the 4th century, Heraclides writes to Antiochia, 'his lady sister', to express his worry: "I am sending Melas with a letter, because the wind was contrary to us since you sailed, in order that you might let us know of your journey and security, and may the divine providence grant that you may be restored in security to your home; and do you by all means send word to us whether you have arrived, in order that we may be more reassured after hearing about you."³⁰ Besides Heraclides' concern, it also appears from this letter that the weather impacted greatly on the journey, but the same goes for the availability of the right means of transportation as appears from other texts. In a letter to Apollonius, for instance, Didymus asks Apollonius what he considers to be the best travelling option. The presence of a girl travelling with them seems to dictate the journey, for he writes: "Consider how we are to come, if you not want us to come on the animals here. If we find a boat on which the girl can embark, we will come so, but if you want to send the animals for us to the homestead (?) of Lagas in order that we may come travelling by night, (do so); but at any rate do not leave for us the little boat I sent with Isidorus, for the young girl did not venture to embark on that."³¹

A minority of texts refers to long distance movement of women. In 246, Aurelia Maeciana, a citizen of Side in the province of *Lycia et Pamphylia*, sends a petition to the prefect in which she asks for permission to leave Egypt by way of Pharos. She does not mention her destination, but the fact that she mentions Side as her home town might be an indication.³² A second letter, dated to

29 Mention of a safe arrival appears in *P. Oxy* 14.1670, 41.2982. The state of the road is discussed in *P. Oxy* 33.2680. Means of transportation are also mentioned in *P. Oxy* 3.528, 3.486, 10.1271, 14.1682, 42.3053, 46.3314. See also Adams 2001.

30 *P. Oxy* 14.1682l.3–11: ἀπέστειλα [[τινα]] \Μέλανα/ διὰ γραμμάτων, ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀήρ ἐναντίος ἡμῖν ἦν ἀφ' οὗ ἔπλευσας, ἵνα ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς ἀνόδου καὶ ὁλοκληρίας γνῶς, καὶ ἡ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοια παρέξει τὸ μετὰ ὁλοκληρίας σε τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀπολαβεῖν. ἀναγ'καίως δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐπίστελλον ὅτι εἰ ἥς ἐπιδημήσασα, ἵνα εὐθυμέτεροι γενώμεθα τὰ περὶ σοῦ ἀκούσαντες.

31 *P. Oxy* 17. 2153l.14–25: φρόντισον πῶς ἀνελθεῖν ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴ θέλεις ἀνελθεῖν ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν κτηνῶν. ἐάν γάρ τύχωμεν πλοίου εἰς ὃ ἡ μικρὴ δύναται ἐμβῆναι, ἀνερχόμεθα, εἰ δὲ θέλεις ἀποστεῖλε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὰ κτήνη εἰς τὸ τοῦ Λαγᾶ ἵνα διὰ νυκτὸς ὀδεύσαντες \ἀν/έλθωμεν, μόνον μὴ ἡμᾶς καταλίψῃς τὸν μικρὸν πάκτωνα μετὰ Ἰσιδώρου ἀνέπεμψα, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν γὰρ ἡ μικρὴ ἐκὶ ἐμβῆναι.

32 *P. Oxy* 10.1271. The practice of acquiring a permit to leave Egypt is also known from other sources. See, for instance, Strabo 2.3.5 on Eudoxus in the 2nd century BC ("But it would not even have been permitted him to put to sea from Alexandria without a passport, least of all after he had stolen property belonging to the king.") and *BGU* 5.1210 with regulations

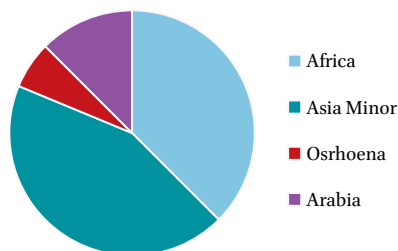


FIGURE 13.3 *Provenance of foreign female slaves in Roman Egypt according to Straus' examination*

the second century CE, is written by Antonius from Puteoli. He notifies his friend Dionysius that he and his family have arrived in Italy after an eventless journey.³³ Antonius does not mention a wife by name, but based on a comparison with other letters in which a family (including a wife and one or more children) travels with the writer of the letter, her presence seems likely.³⁴ Besides these two texts, the only other Oxyrhynchite papyri alluding to external migration deal with slavery. The Oxyrhynchus collection contains ten texts referring to women who were involved in the slave trade in Roman Egypt in one way or another. These texts have been thoroughly discussed by Jean Straus in his *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine*. Straus' book deals primarily with contracts relating to the sale of slaves, using these documents to elucidate the formal aspects of slave sales, the status and provenance of buyers and sellers, and the nomenclature, age, sex and origins of the slaves that appear in papyri. According to Straus, only a minority of slaves, 22%, were imported from abroad. Of a total of 32 references to foreign slaves listed by Straus 16 were female and 9 male. 3 references mention multiple slaves and 4 references individual slaves of which in both cases the sex of the slaves remains unspecified. 6 female slaves were brought in from Africa, 7 from Asia Minor, 1 from Osrhoena and 2 from Arabia (Fig. 13.3).³⁵

The motivation for women to move is not always made clear, and the small number of texts as well as the predominance of references to the slave trade in

of the office of the *idiologos* in 150–161 CE (art. 66 “Persons permitted to depart by sea who sail without a pass are fined a third of their property, and if they export slaves of their own without a pass, they suffer confiscations of the whole” and art. 68 “A Roman who departed by sea without having received his departure papers in full was sentenced to a fine of [] talents”). See Moatti 2000, esp. 950–953; Rebuffat 2004, esp. 160.

33 *P. Oxy* 18.2191.

34 Cf. *P. Oxy* 14.1670, 41.2982.

35 Straus 2004: 280–285. Note that Straus examined many texts from other places than Oxyrhynchus.

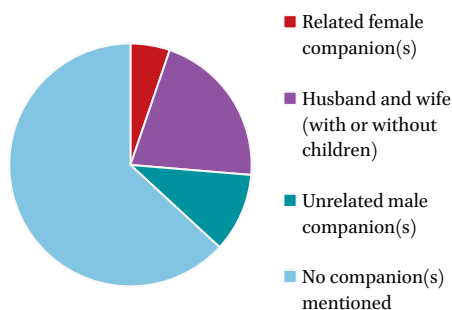


FIGURE 13.4 *Papyri sorted by travel companions of mobile women in P. Oxy*

Note: Excl. texts related to the slave trade

the Oxyrhynchus collection distort the general picture. Human movement is often connected to the pursuit of employment or the search for better living conditions. Yet, only seven texts mention mobility in the context of business activities, including travel to prepare for the sowing season, to collect rent or to assist in a workshop.³⁶ The majority of the papyri point to journeys that are undertaken for private reasons, such as attending a birthday party or a funeral, or a visit to friends or family. Perhaps contrary to what might be expected, most women seem to have travelled alone (or at least, no travel companions are mentioned).³⁷ Four texts refer to families travelling together (Fig. 13.4).³⁸

A final general observation is that references to women crossing the borders of Egypt are scarce in the Oxyrhynchus collection; almost all the evidence concerns the slave trade. One explanation for this could be that Oxyrhynchus was not attractive for foreigners to visit or to settle in. In the past, however, it has been put forward that Oxyrhynchus was “an important place”, which was emphasised in 272 CE when it received the title ‘illustrious and most illustrious’.³⁹ Generally speaking, the city seems to have gained in importance in the third century, if the remarks on Septimius Severus’ bestowal of privileges upon the city during his visit to Egypt in 200 CE and references to newly constructed public buildings may be interpreted in this light.⁴⁰ In addition, papyri have

³⁶ E.g. *P. Oxy* 3.486, 3.528, 33.2680, 38.2844.

³⁷ 1 text mentions a woman travelling with her mother, 4 texts contain references to a husband and a wife travelling together, 2 texts mention women travelling with seemingly unrelated men, and 12 texts do not mention another travel companion at all.

³⁸ *P. Oxy* 14.1670, 14.1676, 18.2191, 41.2982.

³⁹ *P. Oxy* 10.1264 and *PSI* 1101. Turner 2007: 141–142. Bowman estimates the population of Oxyrhynchus at between 15,000 and 30,000 inhabitants in the second century CE. See Bowman 2007: 171.

⁴⁰ *P. Oxy* 1.55, 4.705, 17.2109. See also Bowman 2007: 172–173 on possible imperial visits to Oxyrhynchus.

shown that in 273 CE the Iso-Capitolia were held in Oxyrhynchus. These games must have attracted many visitors from within and beyond Egypt.⁴¹ Yet, considering the fact that it remains difficult to draw a general picture of the city, as almost everything we know about its size, growth and importance is derived from the Oxyrhynchus papyri and rarely confirmed by other sources, any assessment of the 'cosmopolitan' nature of Oxyrhynchus remains tentative.

Patterns of Female Mobility in the Port Cities of Roman Egypt

Another case study, one that focuses on cities where one could expect a certain coming and going of foreigners – namely the port cities of Egypt – might offer more clarity. I started this article with a letter written by Hikane, an inhabitant of the city of Berenike. Between the Nile valley and the Red Sea a whole network of routes crossed the desert in order to facilitate traffic from and to the main ports along the coast of the Red Sea, from where trade with Africa and the East was conducted. The routes that were used most frequently were those between Coptos in the Nile valley and the Red Sea ports of Berenike and Myos Hormos. Along these routes, units of the Roman army were stationed in military outposts that controlled the area and protected it against hostile attacks.⁴² In recent years, excavations have unearthed large collections of written documents written by or dealing with the inhabitants and passers-by of these settlements.⁴³

As we have just seen, the main activities in this part of the eastern desert concerned local, regional and international trade. Because trade dominated economic life in this region, it had a large impact on the social background of the people living there and using its routes. The eastern desert was an inhospitable area and therefore not a place where one resided or travelled to for mere pleasure. Water was scarce, for instance, and most food seems to have been imported from the Nile valley. Archaeological and papyrological evidence shows that there was at least some desert cultivation to provide the inhabitants of the eastern desert garrisons with some fresh fruits and vegetables, which in turn were often exchanged with settlements that lacked these products but had

⁴¹ BGU 4.1074; *P. Oslo* 3.85 and 144.

⁴² One of those attacks is discussed in *O. Krok.* 87. On the military outposts, see esp. Maxfield 2000: 416–418; id. 2003. On the region in general, see Gates-Foster 2012.

⁴³ So far, the most important editions of the eastern desert ostraca are: Bülow-Jacobsen, Cuvigny et al. 1992–2009; Cuvigny 2003 (reprinted in 2006 with corrigenda); and in ead. 2005 and 2011–2012.

a surplus of other provisions. The ostraca that were found in the garrisons as well as the graffiti that have been discovered on sites along the main routes between Coptos and the Red Sea ports show that relatively humble people – such as low-ranking soldiers, slaves or freedmen – formed the majority of the travellers in this region.⁴⁴

Unlike the Oxyrhynchus collection, the texts of the eastern desert – ostraca, graffiti and papyri – do not (yet) allow an exhaustive or quantifiable study since the publication process is still in an early stage. We do, however, get some glimpses of the daily life of families and of the role of mobility in this region, though it is difficult to assess how representative these examples are. I will deal here with illustrations of women moving to or from the Red Sea ports of Myos Hormos, Berenike and Philotera, or travelling to or from Coptos, the main port city in the Nile valley.

At the *praesidium* of Maximianon, archaeologists unearthed two letters written by Serapias in the second century CE and addressed to the soldier Ammonios. Serapias offers *proskynema* to the deity Philotera, which probably indicates that she lived at the (unlocated) port of Philoteras, since the cult of the goddess is otherwise uncommon. In one of these letters, Serapias tells Ammonios that she plans to go to Myos Hormos, where she will buy him fish-sauce and linen.⁴⁵ In return, she asks for a drinking-cup and a scalpel. A second letter seems to follow up, though we cannot be sure since the ostraca were found separately.⁴⁶ Serapias explains that she went to Myos Hormos to deliver a child, but did not bring anything with her. Perhaps she is talking about the items she promised Ammonios? She again asks for a drinking-cup and for a pillow for Ammonios' daughter. Apparently, the markets at Myos Hormos and Maximianon have more to offer than the one at Philoteras.⁴⁷ Furthermore, it appears that the living conditions of Serapias' home town were sordid, for she thought it necessary to travel elsewhere to give birth.⁴⁸

The exchange of goods and the human movements that came with it also appear in the ostraca of other *praesidia* between Coptos and the Red Sea Ports. The passing of caravans facilitated human mobility as a small archive of ostraca with a woman called Theanous at its core illustrates.⁴⁹ At the start of the

44 See, for instance, the graffiti in Bernand 1972a, 1972b and 1977.

45 *O. Max.* inv. 279 + 467.

46 *O. Max.* inv. 267.

47 On which food items were to be found where, see Cuvigny 2003: 419–422.

48 Travelling to other cities to give birth was not an uncommon practice. See also *P.Brem.* 63 (= *C.PapJud.* 2.442); *P.Oxf.* 19; *SB* 14.11580.

49 Cuvigny 2011–2012, vol. 2: 333–337.

correspondence, Theanous lives in Didymoi together with Panisneus. She has given birth and is asked by Veturius, presumably a soldier, to join him making use of the caravan when it passes by.⁵⁰ In a second letter, Theanous' brother Theophilus warns her that the caravan is on its way and she should make sure that she is ready to leave. She probably wrote to him to explain her plans and asked him to keep an eye on the whereabouts of the caravan, which obviously progressed slower than the messenger carrying his letter.⁵¹ The editors suggest that Theanous might have been Veturius' wife, who was forced to leave her behind in the garrison while he himself travelled to Coptos. Perhaps because she was too pregnant to undertake the journey? In this scenario, Panisneus might have been a male relative of Theanous, possibly her brother, who kept her company. However, since Veturius mentions greetings from a certain Demetra, who warned her not to travel by way of Kaine, it might also have been the case that this woman was his wife, and that both of them resided in Coptos, while Theanous was the wife of Panisneus.⁵² Moreover, Theanous and Panisneus are paired in almost all letters in which they are mentioned, and from a letter written to their brother Papelthos it appears that in the end they travelled to Coptos together: "We have missed you since we left you. Do not grieve that we left you, for I hope that we can help you to come here."⁵³ The reconstruction of the route followed by the couple remains tentative. The journey of the caravan indicates that Veturius and Theophilus lived at opposite sides of Didymoi. In addition, Demetra's warning not to come by way of Kaine, some 25 km north of Coptos, tells us that the final destination should be situated in the Nile valley, from which it may be inferred that Theanous' brother lived nearer to Berenike. Whatever their exact locations, it is clear that this family had built a network that was spread along one of the main caravan routes of the eastern desert.

A similar example of a family travelling through the desert using the same road appears in one of the graffiti published by André Bernand in 1972. In a shrine dedicated to Pan, protector of travellers, in El-Buweib – situated between Laqeita and Didymoi – an inscribed act of adoration, dated to 6 October 35,

50 *O. Did.* 402. For women who make use of the caravan, see also an unpublished letter written by Zosime, in which she states that "if the caravan comes up, I shall come with the donkeys" (Cuvigny 2003: 401, see also the discussion of other unpublished texts figuring Zosime and her use of the caravan on 416).

51 *O. Did.* 404.

52 *O. Did.* 402.

53 *O. Did.* 4051.3–9: ἀφ' ἧς ἐξήλθαμεν ἀφ' ὑμῶν ζητοῦμεν ὑμᾶς. μὴ λυποῦ ὅτι ἐξήλθαμεν ἀπὸ σοῦ, ἐλπίζω γὰρ ὅτι καὶ συ βυθησομεν εἰς αὐτὴν διαβῆς ὡδε.

mentions the names of four men (Tyrannos, Kronos, Hippias and Hippias Junior) and those of two women (Thiermaësis and Quinta).⁵⁴ Because of the order of the names, Bernand thinks we are dealing with two families, each consisting of a husband, a wife and a son, that asked for divine protection during their journey.⁵⁵

In order to have a balanced idea as to why families in general and women in particular travelled in such an inhospitable area, a more systematic study of the graffiti and ostraca is needed.⁵⁶ Even on the basis of the limited enquiries carried out for the purposes of this article, however, one gets a first impression of the motives behind human movements in the eastern desert. Perhaps unsurprisingly, it appears that commercial activities, in which both men and women participated, were an important reason to undertake a journey. In one of the texts found at Didymoi, for instance, Philokles, to whom I will return in more detail, explains to his brother Kapparis that he has used a female emerald worker, who was probably on her way to one of the emerald mines in the Sikait-Zubara region, as a messenger to provide him with provisions.⁵⁷ References to women travelling as traders or artisans, however, are rare. The majority of the texts referring to the movements of commercially active women deal with prostitution and mention male as well as female pimps, who send or accompany girls to the military garrisons between the Nile and the Red Sea, where they were often 'rented out' for a month to serve the soldiers.⁵⁸ The most active pimp seems to have been the previously mentioned Philokles who, together with his wife Sknips, was in charge of a prostitution network that covered most of the military garrisons in the eastern desert.⁵⁹ Sknips might have been

54 *I. Ko.Ko.* 144.

55 Asking for divine protection during a journey was a common practice in the Roman world, which is best known through dedications to the Quadruviae, Triviae and Biviae. See the catalogue in Mattern 1998.

56 For other examples of women and families being present in (and, in some cases, travelling through) the eastern desert see also *O. Did.* 330, 421, 435, 437–438, 451, 455, 463, 464; *O. Krok.* 72, 94; *O. Krok.* inv. 28 (unpublished); *I. Ko.Ko.* 30–31, 38, 144, 154, 164; *I. Pan du désert* 58.

57 *O. Did.* 376. Cf. the emerald workers referred to in *O. Did.* 343 and 347. See Cuvigny 2012: 343, where an unpublished text from Dios (inv. 1002) is mentioned in which a female emerald worker accompanying a prostitute appears. See also: Bunbury, Jameson and Shaw 1999.

58 Ostraca dealing with prostitution include *O. Did.* 331–333, 366, 379–382, 386, 388, 390, 393, 400–401, 406, 427, 430, 451; *O. Krok.* 227. On this subject, see Cuvigny 2010 (with references to and paraphrases of unpublished ostraca); ead. 2012: 24–28.

59 However, because the couple lived in different *praesidia* at various moments, their correspondence, which probably dates to the early years of the first century CE, is dispersed

a former prostitute as Philokles states in one of his letters the following: “You know I did not send Sknips because of an uncivilised matter, but for your sake. For thanks to the gods we need nothing.”⁶⁰ Though Philokles’ words remain vague, one gets the impression that he would ‘rent out’ his wife if harsh circumstances demanded it.⁶¹ Some texts indicate that wives were indeed forced to sell their services from time to time. An anonymous writer from the garrison of Aphroditēs Orous, for instance, addresses a certain Rusticus to tell him that it is his responsibility to deliver the former’s wife back to him after she has finished her time as a prostitute at the *praesidium* of Didymoi. He warns Rusticus that she is not permitted to have intercourse with anyone without the latter’s consent.⁶² Even though Philokles seems to have been the most important player in the market, one text also makes mention of a certain Lucia who travelled to Myos Hormos to collect a girl.⁶³ Unfortunately, the text is incomplete, making it impossible to ascertain whether Lucia was a *madame*.

From a letter written by a certain Longinus, it appears that soldiers sometimes contacted pimps to request the presence of their favourites, for he explains that the men at the *praesidium* have asked him to arrange the arrival of one of the addressee’s prostitutes.⁶⁴ A girl could also be sent to an individual soldier, as a letter from Cornelius to Antonius makes clear: Iulia, a *praesidium*’s favourite, was sent from wherever she was to Didymoi as a favour to Antonius, but he refused to give her back to her owner.⁶⁵ Cornelius threatens to make him pay a fine if she is not returned alive and well.⁶⁶ A prostitute’s pimp did not necessarily accompany her when she travelled from one garrison to another. A letter by a certain Nemesous to Ignatius and Potamion explains how

and only part of it has been published. On Philokles and Sknips, see Cuvigny 2003: 376–383; ead. 2012: 275–327.

60 *O. Did.* 380, l.10–14: οἶδες ὅτι ο<ύ>κ ἔπενψον Σπίν χάριν ἀπαιδεύτο<ύ> πράγματω ἀλλὰ χάριν σοῦ· τὺς θεοῖς γὰρ χάριν ἔχομεν, οὐδενὸς χρίζομεν.

61 See also *O. Did.* 394, a note in Philokles’ hand but written on behalf of a woman, perhaps Sknips, in which the author states that she has suffered to become free and has only made debts so that an unspecified ‘they’ would both survive the famine. According to the editors, this might refer to Sknips’ history as one of Philokles’ prostitutes (though it should not be excluded that she might have been a slave at one point).

62 *O. Did.* 406. See also *O. Did.* 380.

63 *O. Did.* 381.

64 *O. Did.* 430.

65 *O. Did.* 333.

66 See also *O. Did.* 382, in which Philokles shows himself very accommodating towards one of his clients and plans to do everything he can to send him a girl for whom there is no equal. Cf. *O. Did.* 390.

the transport of these girls might have worked in practice. She complains that the girl whom she accompanied had not been able to march more than two miles, whereas she had marched seven.⁶⁷ In addition, the donkey drivers of the small caravan with which they travelled cheated them by stating that their donkeys were tired, making Nemesous and the girl dismount after which they were charged again for using someone else's donkeys.⁶⁸

Besides in the context of commercial activities, women also travelled to and in the region of the eastern desert to be close to their relatives. We already encountered the journey of Theanous to Veturius and Demetra in Coptos, but the most illustrious example is probably that of Paniskos and Ploutogenia. In the third century, Paniskos wrote to his wife Ploutogenia in Philadelphiea in the Fayum to inform her that he has arrived in Coptos and that he has been staying near Ploutogenia's sister and her children, emphasising that she will not be lonely when she herself would make it to Coptos.⁶⁹ Clearly, Paniskos wants his wife to pack her bags and come join them, for in the remainder of the letter he goes into detail as to how she should arrange her trip. He asks her to bring ten shearings of wool, six jars of olives, four jars of honeyed wine, his new shield, helmet, and lances, the fittings of the tent, and, finally, her clothes and gold ornaments. He is worried about her safety during the journey because he warns her to travel with trustworthy men and suggests that she should not wear her gold ornaments on the boat. The list of items she should bring is quite long, including personal belongings, which might indicate that Paniskos envisioned a stay of some duration in Coptos. Scholars have suggested that, because of the provisions Ploutogenia needed to bring, he was either a soldier or a merchant who traded military equipment.⁷⁰ However, two letters from a later date make it clear that Ploutogenia did not want to travel to Coptos and that she even refused to discuss the subject in her correspondence as Paniskos asks her, in vain, to explain her refusal.⁷¹ Clearly, his argument that she would not be lonely in Coptos did not make a deep impression.

Based on the papyri from Oxyrhynchus and the texts concerning the port cities of Roman Egypt, it is at this point difficult to establish whether one could speak of a 'feminisation of mobility', comparable to the 'feminisation of

67 *O. Did.* 400.

68 For a parallel, see *O. Did.* 427.

69 *P. Mich.* 3.214.

70 See Schwartz 1968; Rüffing 2006.

71 *P. Mich.* 3.216. See also *P. Mich.* 3.217 in which he tries to explain that it is her sister who keeps asking why she refuses to come. Paniskos himself, so he claims, is happy with whatever decision she makes but wants to hear how she is doing nonetheless.

migration' that has been high on the research agenda of contemporary migration studies and is used to highlight the increase in the number of women migrants.⁷² It is true that there is a peak of attested female movement in third-century Oxyrhynchus, but the same peak is noticeable when examining other subjects in the Oxyrhynchus papyri and is probably more related to the survival rate of texts than to a change in the culture of movement in Roman Egypt.⁷³

The Oxyrhynchus collection does not offer a good basis for a profound study of the dynamics that underlie human mobility from a gender perspective. We only see snapshots, making it impossible to measure the impact of encounters between mobile women and their surroundings at home, on the road and upon arrival. Texts dealing with cities that played an important role in the economy of Roman Egypt offer more possibilities. Mobility leads to the creation of new networks or to the expansion of existing ones, and the importance of these networks is fundamental for the operation of local culture, economics and politics. On the other hand, the Oxyrhynchus texts offer valuable insights into the practical arrangements involving travel. First, these documents make it abundantly clear that it was not uncommon for women to travel through Egypt. Moreover, a woman did not necessarily need the blessing of her husband to undertake a journey nor was she obliged to travel with a companion. Depending on the circumstances, such as for instance the state of the roads or the belongings she carried with her, it was of course better to travel in a group than alone. The ostraca from the eastern desert point in the same direction.

What remains remarkable is the relative absence of references to women who crossed the borders of Egypt in the papyrological sources. Perhaps this silence is real and Egypt did not offer enough so-called pull factors to attract female migrants, apart from forced migration in the context of slavery. There are numerous references to short-term movements of women in ancient literature and in graffiti, for instance, those carved on the *colossi* of Memnon or on the walls of the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, but cases of long-term settlements seem to have been much rarer. It would be useful to include processes of state control or other forms of limitations to travel in further research and have another look at the so-called Coptos tariff and the Gnomon of the Idios Logos, for both texts deal with the limitations on the exit and entrance of Egypt. It appears, for instance, that travellers could only use the roads after paying financial contributions and obtaining passes.⁷⁴ Aurelia Maeciana's petition to

72 See Passerini et al. 2007: 2.

73 Jones 1999: 6–7; Alston 2000: 176. See also above, Figure 13.1b.

74 *OGIS* 674, lines 16–20 (Coptos tariff) and *BGU* 5.1210 (the Gnomon of the Idios Logos). See Burkhalter 2002 and Boyaval 2004.

the prefect certainly suggests that there were some restrictions on travel and Theanous' promise that she will 'arrange' the journey of her brother Papelthos may hint at the financial aspects of travelling.

As a final observation, papyrological sources shed light on at least one aspect of human mobility which is rarely seen in other types of sources. When considering push and pull factors, scholars tend to concentrate on economic, political or material conditions, but several letters, including that of Hikane with which I started this article, call attention to the importance of emotional stimuli. While future research must take full account of the diversity of mobility and the connectivity of the Mediterranean people, it should also reckon with a whole range of 'subjective' motives that underlie mobility of men and women.

Human Mobility in the Roman near East: Patterns and Motives

Andrea Zerbini

Introduction

L'importance de la mobilité dans les sociétés précontemporaines n'est plus à démontrer... Dans l'espace méditerranéen et dans la très longue durée, de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne, la circulation des personnes constitue un fait structurel et structurant.¹

On the opening page of their edited volume entitled *Gens de passage en Méditerranéen de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne*, Claudia Moatti and Wolfgang Kaiser acknowledged the importance of mobility and migration as a structural and structuring phenomenon in the history of pre-modern societies, dismissing earlier views, inherited from historical demographers, which depicted the past as a largely immobile society.² The recent, almost unanimous scholarly acceptance of the ancient world as a 'world of mobility' is largely the result of the 'historiography of connectivity', which has strongly influenced Mediterranean studies over the last fifteen years.³

As Greg Woolf points out in his contribution to this volume, there are many reasons for believing in high levels of mobility in Greco-Roman antiquity: the demographics of urbanisation (and the connected 'urban graveyard theory'); the features of Mediterranean ecology and climate, which make human mobility instrumental to survival; and, last but not least, the continuous references that ancient sources make to geographical mobility variously described as colonisation, migration to cities by people looking for work or education, flight from excessive taxation, enslavement and deportation, the movement of merchants and travellers, and so forth. While the existence and pervasiveness of

¹ Moatti and Kaiser 2007: 9.

² For the 'fixity' of pre-industrial populations see Zelinsky 1971.

³ The obvious reference here is to Horden and Purcell's *The Corrupting Sea* (2000) and its impact on the study of human mobility in the Mediterranean. See Harris 2005. For more recent 'thalassographies' insisting on the issue of connectivity see Abulafia 2011; Broodbank 2013.

mobility is beyond dispute, Woolf adds, human mobility risks remaining a concept devoid of historical significance unless we are prepared to qualify it and, where possible, quantify it.

In this paper, I intend to address both of these concerns, despite being acutely aware of the problems surrounding either. The focus of this paper is on human mobility in the Roman Near East, comprising the provinces of Syria Coele, Syria Phoenice, Syria Palaestina, Arabia, Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, from the late-first century BCE to the end of the third century CE. Because the sources used for this study are mostly papyrological and epigraphic, the unit of investigation is necessarily the individual and the household, in other words, what migration theorists term the 'micro-level' or 'micro-theoretical' level of analysis.⁴ This is not because we lack information regarding the movement of larger social groups or institutional approaches to mobility in the Roman Near East. Both of these topics are attested in the sources and have received scholarly attention in the past.⁵ In contrast to this, individual mobility in this region has yet to be investigated in detail, hence my decision to focus on this phenomenon. Another factor that has prompted me to analyse individual mobility in the Near East is the incredible richness of the epigraphic evidence – encompassing tens of thousands of inscriptions in Greek, Latin Hatraean, Nabataean, Palmyrene and Syriac Aramaic, and in the north-Arabian dialects written in the Safaitic and Hismaic scripts. This multi-lingual milieu is found also in the smaller, but still considerable papyrological record for this region. While only a small portion of these documents provides convincing evidence of mobility or migration, those that do shed light on a wide range of aspects including temporary and seasonal mobility, marital mobility and return migration within both rural and urban environments.

While thought-provoking, this material presents a number of difficulties and limitations which generate complex theoretical problems. These must be analysed in detail before we can turn our attention to qualifying and quantifying mobility in the Roman Near East.

Ancient Historians and Migration Theory

In a recent review of inter-disciplinary approaches to migration, Brettell and Hollifield describe the different approaches that anthropology, demography,

4 Burmeister 2000: 546; Brettell and Hollifield 2008: 9.

5 Institutional controls of mobility, for example, find ample treatment in Moatti 2004; Moatti and Kaiser 2007.

economics, geography, history, law, political science and sociology have adopted toward the study of migration.⁶ Neither archaeology nor ancient history figure at any point in their discussion. Compared to social scientists, ancient historians and archaeologists have a rather poor record of engagement with migration theory. This is in great part due to the sources with which the two disciplines concern themselves, many types of evidence being fraught with difficulties. If archaeologists are faced with the 'methodological trilemma' of being unable to interpret an 'alien' form of material culture in terms of migration, trade or diffusion, ancient historians are faced with literary and documentary sources that rarely allow an appreciation of the spatial, chronological and modal qualifications of migration.⁷

Since David Anthony's landmark article which called upon archaeologists to construct a theoretical framework for research on pre-historic and historical migrations, more efforts have been made to establish methodologies for the study of human mobility.⁸ In recent years, archaeologists have focused particularly on transnationalism and diaspora theory, with the objective of looking at migrants as integrated in a web of connections with sending and receiving communities, and also at identity formation among migrant communities.⁹ While these developments in archaeology are encouraging, ancient historians have not followed suit: the difficulties and silences of the sources seriously limit their capacity to fully exploit these theoretical frameworks. For example, the study of the impact of economic and social remittances on sending communities, on which much of the literature on transnationalism has focused, remains mostly out of their reach.

Indeed, the very issue of how to distinguish migration from any other pattern of human mobility is contentious in this field. The former may be defined as "a rupture with daily activities and connections and a reorganization of life in a new place".¹⁰ The problem is that the evidence does not often allow us to identify the extent of this rupture and reorganisation. Funerary inscriptions, which represent the bulk of the documentary sources for the study of micro-level migration, occasionally contain *ethnika* (adjectives indicating that an

6 Brettell and Hollifield 2008.

7 The definition of a 'methodological trilemma' in the archaeology of migration is owed to Burmeister 2000: 540. For a characterisation of the 'tri-nominal' typology of migration see Lesger et al. 2002.

8 Anthony 1990.

9 For recent applications of transnational and diaspora theories see Killgrove 2010a; Eckardt et al. 2010.

10 Kok 2010: 216.

individual thought of himself as belonging to a particular urban, rural or tribal community) or *origines* (toponyms indicating the place of origin of an individual) which allow us to determine the foreign identity of the deceased. Unfortunately, it can rarely be ascertained whether these individuals had been migrants in their lifetime, or whether they had died whilst travelling or in transit. Some of them might have been neither, sporting their *ethnika* only as cultural markers. Manning's four categories of migrants – settlers, sojourners, itinerants and invaders – are difficult to tell apart.¹¹

These limitations go some way toward explaining why ancient historians have adopted a rather more pragmatic attitude toward the study of migration, one which continues to draw upon somewhat obsolete theoretical constructs, such as those informed by 'modernisation theory', in order to describe patterns and causes of ancient human mobility.¹² Push-pull factors play an important role in David Noy's account of the reasons that led people to migrate to Rome.¹³ Similarly, the urban-rural dichotomy used by Paul Erdkamp in his study of migration in late Republican Italy may appear to echo Redfield's much criticised binary of folk and urban.¹⁴ While borrowing some of its heuristic tools, neither of these studies accepts the fundamental tenet of 'modernisation theory', namely the assumption that migration to urban centres represented an intrinsically positive development for the largely destitute countryside. Rather, push-pull factors and the urban-rural dichotomy are used by Noy and Erdkamp in order to categorise patterns and causes of human mobility. If archaeologists have recently tried to move away from these research priorities (in the wake of Anthony's call to abandon their 'paralysing fascination' for the causes of migration), they remain central concerns for historians of migration, regardless of the period under investigation.¹⁵

For these purposes, the work of historical demographers and sociologists has yielded perhaps the most useful contributions for historians. The work of Charles Tilly on the definition and categorisation of migration, for example, continues to be widely cited by ancient historians.¹⁶ In an article published in 1978, Tilly distinguished four types of migration: (a) *local* migration, classified

11 Manning 2012: 8–9.

12 For a summary of the main tenets of 'modernisation theory' see Kearney 1986.

13 Noy 2000: 85–139 (esp. 86–90). Apart from forced migration (as slaves or hostages), family migration and embassies, the reasons for migrating to Rome may all be seen as pull factors (whether cultural, social or economic).

14 Erdkamp 2008: 420f.; Redfield 1941.

15 See, for instance, Lucassen et al. 2010.

16 Particularly, Tilly 1978; Tilly 1990. Noy adopts Tilly's typology: Noy 2000: 53–56. More recently, see Mihailescu-Bîrliba et al. 2010; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2013.

as a movement to a 'geographically contiguous' market in labour, land or marriage; (b) *circular* migration, involving mobility over longer distances, but subject to return in the short- or medium-term; (c) *chain* migration, defined as the movement of individuals or households to a destination where people provide information and help to facilitate the move of new migrants; and (d) *career* migration, which involves individuals and households moving over considerable distances in order to pursue career opportunities which are created within the context of their organisation, mercantile networks, governments or armies.

Despite its influence, Tilly's categorisation of migration has recently undergone considerable updating. In an article published in 2002, Lesger, Lucassen and Schrover criticised Tilly's typology, noting that "it is composed of unlike quantities: local migration refers to distance (space), circular migration to the time that migrants stay in their new surroundings, and chain and career migration to the mode of migration".¹⁷ Consequently, they proposed a 'tri-nominal typology' which distinguishes between three different planes of analysis: a spatial one, corresponding to the geographical range of migration (local, regional/national, international); a chronological one, indicating the length of time during which the migratory event unfolded (temporary, circular, permanent); and a modal one (personal network, organisational or non-personal, non-network or solitary). This typology may be applied to mobility in the Roman Near East, provided that a number of caveats be observed and further specifications added:

- (1) In *spatial* terms, we ought to distinguish between local and regional movements. By local, I intend all movements within a 100 km radius of the sending area. By regional, I refer to all movements within a radius of 1,000 km of the sending area. Within these two groups, I have reintroduced Erdkamp's urban-rural dichotomy in order to distinguish between four different patterns of mobility: between urban centres (urban-urban); between rural centres (rural-rural); from rural centres to cities (rural-urban); and from cities to villages (urban-rural). These distinctions are particularly useful for quantifying the geographical patterns that emerge from the sources.
- (2) In *chronological* terms, the distinction between temporary, circular and permanent migration is valid, but it is often impossible to tell them apart on the basis of the surviving evidence.¹⁸ At the same time, it is difficult to draw the line between 'temporary migration' and forms of 'mobility'

¹⁷ Lesger et al. 2002: 31.

¹⁸ As pointed out by Erdkamp 2008: 421 and Solin 2007: 1367.

involving short stays at multiple locations. Seasonal mobility due to nomadic pastoralism might be grouped under the heading 'temporary migration', but the term 'mobility' seems more appropriate in the case of pilgrims and in that of itinerant workers who moved from one town to the other. These latter might be equated to Manning's 'sojourners'. Circular migration can only be inferred in a very limited number of cases: understandably, it rarely left a trace in funerary inscriptions.

- (3) In *modal* terms, personal network migration may be exemplified by the Jewish-Palmyrene community referred to in the inscriptions from Beth She'arim (cf. below) and by the Palmyrenes of Dura Europos. The numerous episodes of family migration following marriage can also be grouped under this heading. 'Organisational migration' best corresponds to that of soldiers, who migrated as members of army units. For the vast majority of sources, however, solitary or non-network mobility must be inferred, in the absence of other elements pointing to either of the other modal categories. Solitary migration involved the movement of individuals and their families who decided to migrate without the support of a personal or organisational network of contacts at the destination.

Having set the methodological framework which will be used to describe mobility in the Roman Near East, we may now turn to the criteria employed for the selection of the sources.

The Sources: Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

This paper is based primarily on epigraphic and papyrological evidence, with some limited use of literary sources. The epigraphic record of the Near East is extraordinarily rich: more than 15,000 Greek and Latin inscriptions, c. 3,200 Palmyrene, c. 4,000 Nabataean inscriptions as well as tens of thousands of Safaitic and Himaic graffiti.¹⁹ Although not all of these inscriptions belong to the period under consideration here (i.e. the first century BCE and the first three centuries CE) and only a small group sheds light on human mobility, inscriptions – particularly funerary epitaphs – still make up the bulk of our sources.

¹⁹ More than 27,000 Safaitic inscriptions and c. 5,000 Himaic texts are known to date. The ambitious *Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia* aims to make them all available online (<http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/index.php>). Currently, only c. 3,000 Safaitic texts can be accessed via their database.

Papyri are not nearly as numerous preserved in this region as they are in Egypt. Yet, more than 600 documentary papyri written in Greek, Latin, Aramaic, Hebrew, Nabataean and Syriac provide valuable information on the first three centuries of the common era.²⁰ These come primarily from Dura-Europos on the middle course of the Euphrates (214 texts, mostly in Latin and Greek) and from the caves of the Judean desert (c. 400 texts) where groups of Jewish fugitives found refuge at the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–135 CE).²¹ Another important, if smaller, group of documents (21 papyri and parchments), known as *P.Euphr.*, comes from a region probably to be identified with the lower course of the Khabur.²²

A database of 'episodes of mobility' has been created by drawing upon these sources. For practical reasons, the database is confined to sources coming from the region itself. Texts have been included only when mobility is either certain or very likely to have occurred. I have thus left out all cases in which mobility might be posited only on the basis of onomastic considerations. Various studies have shown the degree to which 'ethnic' personal names are an untrustworthy source for charting provenance.²³

In order to be included in the dataset, sources must contain an *ethnikon* or an *origo* referring to a city or village of the Near East. There are, of course, problems in using these terms for the study of mobility: ethnicity, which *ethnika* and *origines* reflect, is a cultural construct which individuals adopt to define themselves in opposition to others; as such, it is "an ascription [...] or self-ascription rather than a mere fact".²⁴ Especially in inscriptions, ethnics do not necessarily imply origin, but rather a sense of belonging to a community which could be determined by common geographic origin, but also by culture and religion. This is particularly true of broad ethnic markers such as 'Syrian', 'Nabataean', 'Arab' or 'Jew' which occasionally (albeit comparatively rarely)

20 For comprehensive surveys see Cotton et al. 1995; Gascou 2009.

21 Dura: Welles et al. 1959; Judean desert: Benoit et al. 1960; Lewis et al. 1989; Cotton and Geiger 1989; Cotton and Yardeni 1997; Charlesworth et al. 2000; Yadin et al. 2002.

22 See Feissel and Gascou 1989; Feissel and Gascou 1995; Teixidor et al. 1997; Feissel and Gascou 2000. For the two Syriac documents see Teixidor 1990 and the updated readings in Drijvers and Healey 1999: 237–248. To these papyri we should also add two documents which are believed to come from Bostra (*P.Bostra* 1 and 2) and are dated to the mid-3rd c. CE. Only *P.Bostra* 1 has received a preliminary publication: Gascou 1999: 71–73.

23 Solin 1983: 643–651; Solin 2007: 1373ff.; Macdonald 1998: 186–189. An illuminating example is that of the common 'ethnic' name *Mambogaios*, the Semitic name of the sacred city of Hierapolis in northern Syria: Lightfoot 2001. Onomastics may be better employed for the study of ethnic hybridity: Peppard 2007.

24 Millar 1987: 157.

appear in inscriptions. These markers have been excluded from my analysis.²⁵ Urban and village *ethnika* and *origines* have a stronger geographic connotation: even when it is not possible to distinguish between different usages (they might be used to denote an individual's birthplace, to refer to his or her place of residence or as markers of cultural identity), the assumption must be that they implied a strong attachment to the places to which they referred. In the absence of other evidence, ethnics and toponyms of this kind represent the most likely markers of a person's origin.

In order to suggest mobility, at least one of the following two criteria must be fulfilled:

- (a) The city or village referred to by an individual's *ethnikon* or *origo* differs from the place where the text was found or written. Information of the latter kind is often found in papyri, particularly in contracts and deeds.
- (b) The city or village referred to by an individual's *ethnikon* or *origo* differs from his or her place of residence. References to someone's place of residence in opposition to his or her birthplace are very rare in inscriptions (with only one case appearing in my dataset), but abound in papyri, most often preceded by the participle of the verb οἰκεῖν plus the preposition ἐν.²⁶

When condition (b) is met, we are almost certainly dealing with a migrant.²⁷ This is the case for 10 documents included in my dataset (yielding a total of 14 migrants). However, the vast majority (20 papyri and 58 inscriptions) of texts has been included solely on the basis of criterion (a), which does not allow us to distinguish between settlers, sojourners and itinerant people. Except in those cases where the documents provide additional clues to suggest that we are dealing 'migrants' the movements indicated by these texts will be treated as episodes of 'mobility' and be analysed from the point of view of their geographical patterning rather than from that of their causes and duration.

In addition to the texts which fulfil the above criteria, I have considered various other Nabataean, Palmyrene and Safaitic inscriptions whose contents or find spots suggest the non-local origin of writers/dedicants.²⁸ Most of these texts

25 E.g. on the ethnic 'Nabataean' see Macdonald 1998: 185–186.

26 In Nabataean and Syriac documents the residence clause is DY 'MR.

27 The 'Roman bureaucratise' of origin and residency is much richer for Roman Egypt, where we possess, of course, an infinitely larger number of papyri. For migration in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see Braunert 1964 and Adams, in this volume.

28 34 such texts have been considered.

shed light on seasonal nomadic movements, while others hint at the presence of non-local communities or individuals outside of their home region (such as the Palmyrenes at Beth She'arim and in the Lebanon). Of course, I am aware of the difficulties of associating ethnicity with a language or script.²⁹ Inscriptions written in a non-local language or script can only be meaningfully employed to discuss mobility when other evidence allows us to further define the identity of the writers. The Palmyrene graffito of Wadi Miqat (located along the eastern edge of the *ḥarra*, the black lava desert of north-eastern Jordan) can be associated with people who likely thought of themselves as Palmyrene not just because of its being written in Palmyrene Aramaic, but also, and more importantly, because it contains an explicit invocation to "gods of Palmyra" ('LHY TDMR).³⁰ Another example is that of the Palmyrene names written on the halls of the necropolis of Beth She'arim (10 in total). Since the epigraphic record from Beth She'arim includes two Greek epitaphs of Palmyrenes which provide their *ethnika*, it seems legitimate to infer the presence of a substantial Jewish-Palmyrene community there (see below). Even when these caveats are taken into account, I have thought it best to make a sparing use of this second group of texts, which are mostly discussed in the final section of this paper. The primary focus of my investigations will be on the 88 texts making up my first group. (These texts are listed in the Appendix at the end of this article).

Some categories of migrants have been excluded from my analysis. In particular, since this paper focuses on individual voluntary mobility, I have left out forced migration involving slaves or refugees and almost all references to the migration of groups. I have also excluded long-distance traders from the Persian Gulf who are recorded in the epigraphic record of Palmyra.³¹ In this case the reason is the geographical boundaries of this paper, which are limited to that part of the Near East which was under direct or indirect Roman control. Repatriation or reburial practices involving the transportation of mortal remains have also been excluded from my enquiries.³² Finally, and perhaps most controversially, I have decided to exclude soldiers from my analysis. Two reasons may be adduced. First, although mobility in the Roman army arguably represents the best example of 'organisational' migration in the Roman empire, soldiers, or at least the vast majority of them, did not willingly choose migration with a view to improving their condition. Rather, mobility was forced

29 Cf. Macdonald 1998.

30 For the inscription see Oxtoby 1968: 102 and Caquot 1970.

31 I have included, however, the Nabataea as far south as Mada'in Saleh.

32 Regarding post-mortem repatriation in inscriptional epigrams see Tybout, in this volume. On Jewish ossuaries see Meyers 1971.

upon them. Secondly, movements of military units in the Roman Near East have received ample treatment.³³

Quantifying Mobility

As we have seen, 88 texts fulfil the conditions outlined above for detecting mobility; these provide a total of more than 106 cases of individual mobility.³⁴ To these we should add some 30 texts which, while not containing *ethnika*, shed light on human mobility in the Roman Near East during the first three centuries CE. Compared to the much larger number of cases that have been identified in some parts of the Western empire, such as Spain (c. 900 local, regional and long-range migrants) and Gaul (c. 600), let alone Rome itself (with almost 1,500 migrants attested epigraphically), this is a small sample.³⁵ Since the texts are also spread unevenly in space, they offer no basis for any statistical analysis. However, a disaggregated analysis of the data might help to provide a better framework of analysis for the subsequent sections. Figure 14.1 provides an overview of all the sites mentioned in this paper, including find spots as well as sending and receiving communities.

Two aspects emerge clearly: a concentration of evidence in the area around the Dead Sea (due to the preponderance of the papyri of the Judaeian desert) and in the Jebel al-'Arab; and the primacy of the big population centres as sending communities. In particular, Antioch, the metropolis of Syria, was the hometown of at least five migrants recorded in the inscriptions. Sidon and Canatha follow suit with four, while Tyre, Gerasa and Petra are present with three migrants each. As far as receiving communities are concerned, the big pilgrimage site of Heliopolis/Baalbek is particularly well represented with five instances. A similar pattern would be expected for Hierapolis: its slim epigraphic record is no doubt to blame for the lack of immigrants. The 13 Palmyrene texts (two of which are bilingual Palmyrene-Safaitic) found in the wadi Hauran, c. 350 km south-east of Palmyra, are likely to be explained as reflecting the

33 E.g. Kennedy 1996.

34 In several instances, the number of migrants is impossible to ascertain, e.g. *P.Yadin* 11, 54–5; 61 (132–5 CE), three Hebrew letters from Simon bar Kosiba (i.e. Bar Kokhba) in which a group of migrants from Tekoa' now resident in Engedi is mentioned.

35 The figures are approximations based on the work of Haley 1991 for Spain; Wierschowski 1995 for Gaul. For Rome: Noy 2000: 9. Our sample is similar in size to that drawn up for Lusitania by Stanley (143 individuals), although his dataset includes soldiers and veterans. See Stanley 1990.

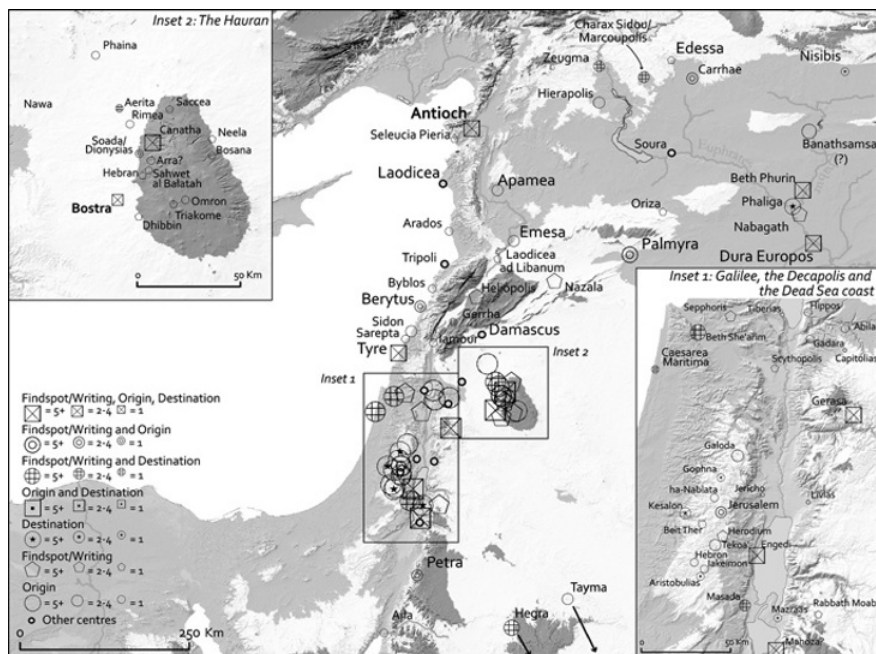


FIGURE 14.1 *Mobility in the Roman Near East (limited to explicit occurrences of ethnika/origines)*

seasonal migration of a tribal group of Palmyrene affiliation. Another hub was the site of Beth She'arim, an important Jewish necropolis which drew in diaspora Jews from nearby cities and villages as well as from locales further away. Finally, the five emigrants of 'Engedi who are attested in or around Maḥoza bear witness to the strong connections that bound the Jewish communities on either side of the Dead Sea in the first and early-second centuries CE, a historical reality on which the papyri of the Judaean desert shed much light (see below).

Regarding geographical patterns, one should register the superiority of inter-urban and urban-rural mobility (which jointly provide 58 cases against 26 episodes of rural-rural mobility, or 20 cases of rural-urban mobility).³⁶ It is tempting to interpret these figures as reflecting a higher level of literacy in the cities. However, this view sits uneasily with the very rich rural epigraphy (both private and public) of the Roman Near East. The hilly territories of Antioch

³⁶ 'Urban centre' refers to a settlement that, at the time of the compilation of the source concerned, had received the status of *polis*. These and the following figures do not include texts without *ethnika/origines*.

and Apamea in northern Syria, for example, have left us more than 400 Greek inscriptions, half of which are funerary. In southern Syria the barren Trachonitis has produced more than 500 texts. Even more astonishingly, the Black Desert of southern Syria and north-east Jordan has yielded more than 27,000 Safaitic graffiti – and many more remain to be discovered. More likely, the reasons for the predominance of urban migrants should be sought in the greater significance that an *ethnikon* or *origo* had for city-dwellers. In other words, for urban dwellers ethnicity might have been identified more clearly with the toponym indicating their origin (or, we might presume, their place of residence), while rural communities might have had other, less geographically characterised ways of conceiving ethnicity, such as clan or tribal affiliation.³⁷

Equally important would have been distance. Rural-rural and rural-urban interaction, which is represented by 20 and 14 documents respectively in our dataset (referring to 26 and 20 individual cases of mobility), happened primarily over very short distances, where the epigraphic display of *ethnika* would have been meaningless. These contacts, which are underrepresented in the epigraphic evidence, emerge much more strongly when origin and residence had to be specified for legal purposes, as it is the case in the papyrus documents from the Euphrates region and those from the Judaeian desert. Of 26 cases of rural-rural mobility, 17 are known thanks to the papyri of the Judaeian desert, which shed light on mobility between villages which were generally separated by no more than a two days' walk and sometimes by as little as 4 kilometres.

Finally, an analysis of the dataset as a whole sheds some light on gender-specific migration. It has often been assumed that the bulk of migration involved young males in the 20–30 age group.³⁸ The analysis of the data from the Near East suggests that males did indeed prevail by a large margin, numbering 82, while migrant women are reckoned at between 16 and 18.³⁹ Moreover, even where not explicitly mentioned, several inscriptions concerning female migrants suggest that they had migrated with their spouses and children, thus

37 This does not mean that city-dwellers did not have tribal affiliations (see, for the cases of Palmyra and Edessa, Healey 2001). However, as foreigners, they might have been more inclined to highlight their allegiance to their *polis* rather than to their tribe.

38 Burmeister 2000: 543.

39 The two uncertain cases are those of *P.Mur.* 115 (124 CE) and *P.Hev.* 69 (130 CE), a re-marriage contract and a cancelled marriage contract, which both imply post-marriage movement of at least one of the spouses. While we would expect women to have been most affected by post-marriage migration, the Judaeian desert documents suggest, in several cases, a rather different scenario.

suggesting the possibility of household migration possibly motivated by the choices of their husbands.⁴⁰

In conclusion, quantitative analysis offers little help in trying to determine the prevailing patterns of mobility. When these seem to emerge, as in the case of the prevalence of urban over rural migrants, they appear to have been determined by different perceptions of ethnicity, and their display, rather than by the demographics of migration. At any rate, the small size of our sample and its geographical unevenness make it ill-suited to statistical analysis. This data may be more meaningfully employed to analyse mobility and migration from a qualitative and typological angle. This is the approach that will be followed in the remainder of this paper.

Space

Mobility in the Roman Near East happened at all levels, from the micro-local to the interregional (perhaps best defined as 'interprovincial'). Perhaps the best example of migration at the micro-local and local-level mobility is provided by the papyrological documentation from early second-century Judaea and Arabia (Figure 14.2). The documents, which are written in Greek, Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean, belonged to Jewish families that played a leading role in the Bar Kokhba revolt (132–5 CE) and found refuge in the caves of wadi Murabba'at, wadi Khabra (better known as Naḥal Ḥever), wadi Seiyal and wadi al-Mafjar, taking their documents and possessions with them.⁴¹ Papyri shed light on the everyday life of the upper strata of society in the rural communities of Judaea and Arabia, and particularly in the two centres of 'Engedi (in the province of Judaea) and of Maḥoza in the province of Arabia (which had been part of the Nabataean kingdom before 106 CE). Deeds of sale, marriage contracts, repudiations, loans and other private documents attest to the close links existing between the village communities of the two neighbouring provinces, with people migrating from one to the other.

Marriage seems to have been a frequent cause for migration, an aspect which is particularly borne out by the archives of Babatha and Salome Komaise, two relatively wealthy Jewish ladies from the town of Maḥoza in the territory

40 E.g. Wad. 2321 (2nd/3rd c.) from Suweyda; I.Gerasa 232 (mid-3rd c.) from Gerasa; Weber 2002: 310 n. IS65 (1st-3rd c.) from Sepphoris.

41 The historical background to the revolt is provided by Yadin 1971. For the Roman point of view see Eck 1999. For a summary of the history of the purchase and discovery of the scrolls see Fields 2000.

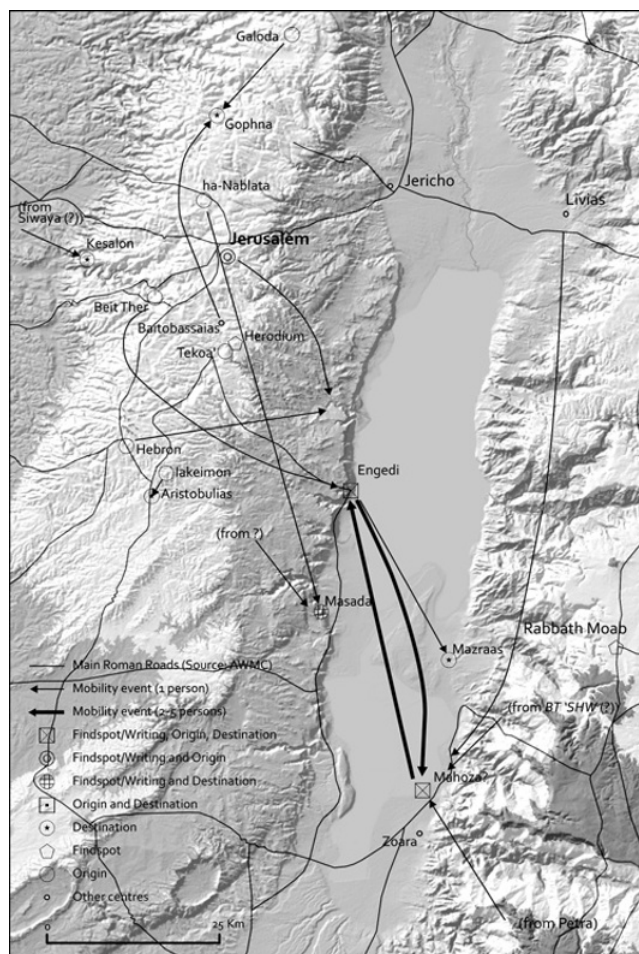


FIGURE 14.2 *Migration in the papyri of the Judaean desert*

of Zoara (modern Ghor as-Safi).⁴² A case in point is *P.Yadin* 1, 37 (9 Jul 131), a marriage contract signed in Maḥoza between Salome (through her guardian Menahem) from Maḥoza and her second husband, Yeshua son of Menahem. This latter is said to be τῶν οἰκούντων ἐν κώμῃ | Σοφφαθε[...]περὶ πόλιν Λιουιάδος τῆς Π[εραίας], i.e. ‘of those living in the village of Sophphathe, near the city of Livias of the Perea’. The meaning of this clause is heavily reliant on

⁴² For the archive of Babatha see Isaac 1992 with corrections in Lewis 1994; for the archive of Salome Komaise: Cotton 1995. The exact location of Maḥoza has yet to be determined. See Cotton and Greenfield 1995.

Lewis' and Isaac's restorations.⁴³ It has been assumed to be a domicile clause, indicating that Yeshua lived in Sophphathe. However, the fact that the marriage contract was signed in Maḥoza and the use of the expression *συμβιωσάμενος* [ὃν Ἰησοῦν μετ'] αὐτῇ \ς / ὥ[ς κ]αὶ πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου – 'that Yeshua lives with her as he has done previously', suggesting pre-marital cohabitation on the basis of an 'unofficial marriage' (ἄγραφος γάμος) – make it far more likely that it indicated the origin of Yeshua, who had moved to Maḥoza prior to his official marriage to Salome, perhaps as a consequence of this relationship.⁴⁴

Another case of marriage-related migration is referred to in a cancelled marriage contract signed in Aristoboulias of the Zeiphene, presumably Khirbet Istabul in the territory of the village of Zif (modern Tell Zif).⁴⁵ The two parties were the mother of the bride Selampious and the groom Akabas, son of Meir. Both parties are referred to as τῶν ἀπὸ κώμης Ἰκείμων τῆς Ζειφενῆς ?, 'those from the village of Ikeimon of the Zeiphene'. This village has been tentatively identified with Khirbet Yuqim, which lies c. 3.5 km north of Kh. Istabul.⁴⁶ Quite clearly, Selampious and her mother must have resided in Aristoboulias. Whether the groom had also moved there from his native village of Ἰκείμων, we do not know. Certainly, at least one of the two spouses had moved to Aristoboulias either before or immediately after the marriage contract was drawn up. A similar case is referred to in *P.Mur.* 115 (124 CE), a re-marriage contract signed in Baitobassaia in the toparchy of Herodium, between Elaios son of Simon and Salome daughter of Yohanan ben Galgoula. Elaios was a migrant: he was from the village of Galoda (modern Jaloud), but lived in Baitoardis, a village lying in the territory of Gophna (modern Jifna, c. 20 km north of Jerusalem).⁴⁷ Like in the previous case, we must presume that Baitobassaia was Salome's place of residence, and that either she or Elaios moved to the other person's place of residence as a consequence of the re-established relationship.

The private documents from the Judean desert bear witness to a rural world in continuous motion. People from Jerusalem, Hebron, Beth Ther, ha-Luhit (in the vicinity of Maḥoza) and various other villages of uncertain

43 See comments in *P.Yadin* 1, 37, line 3, and Isaac 1992: 69.

44 Cotton 1995: 206–207. On the use of the verb *συμβιω* to indicate co-habitation as opposed to *γαμέω* for the official act of marriage see Ilan 1999: 237f. *P.Yadin* 1, 37, line 11 suggests that at the time of signing the marriage contract Yeshua had not yet acquired any possessions of his own in Maḥoza.

45 For a discussion of this document see Cotton 1994.

46 Cotton 1994: 73.

47 τῶν ἀπὸ κ(ώμης) Γαλωδῶν τῆς περὶ Ἀκραβαττῶν οἰκῶν ἐν κώμῃ Βαιτοαρδοῖς τῆς περὶ Γοφνοῖς (*P.Mur.* 115, lines 2–3).

location are attested as witnesses and scribes in the contracts signed at 'Engedi before and during the Bar Kokhba revolt.⁴⁸ On the southern side of the Dead Sea, in Maḥoza, a similar pattern of migration and mobility is in evidence: alongside a sizeable community of Jewish Engedenes (whose ancestors might have moved to Maḥoza during the revolt of 66–73 CE, when 'Engedi was destroyed), we also find Nabataeans like Maras son of Abdalgos from Petra, who was Babatha's guardian in her litigation with Iulia Crispina over the contested property of Yeshua, son of Eleazar.⁴⁹

Provincial boundaries seem to have mattered little for this rural population. People like Judas son of Eleazar, Babatha's second husband, lived lives which, if not 'transnational', were certainly 'trans-provincial':⁵⁰ Judas, an Engedene, is attested as renting out property of his own in the vicinity of Maḥoza as early as 119/20 CE. He must have been able to speak and read not only Aramaic and Hebrew, but also Nabataean, for the tenancy agreement was written in that language.⁵¹ Whether he resided in Maḥoza at this time we do not know, for the papyrus only gives his *ethnikon* ('NGD[Y]'). It is possible that he remained in 'Engedi until perhaps 125 CE, for he is attested there as obtaining a seven-month loan from a centurion in May 124.⁵² In October 125 we find him again in Maḥoza as the guardian and likely husband of Babatha (he is said to be her 'GWN, 'lord').⁵³ However, it is only in December 127 that we have confirmation of his having moved his domicile to Maḥoza, for he is said to be "from the village of 'Engedi of the territory of Jericho of Judaea, living in his property in the same town of Maḥoza".⁵⁴

48 On the mobility of witnesses during the Bar Kokhba revolt see Ilan 2001.

49 *P.Yadin* 1, 25 (9 Jul 131).

50 I borrow the concept of 'transnational livelihoods', adapted to a pre-nation-state context, from the work of migration theorists. For a brief discussion of the concept of 'transnationalism' see De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume. Cf. Schiller et al. (1995: 48) for whom 'transnational migrants' are "immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders".

51 *P.Yadin* 2, 6 (119/20 CE). Judas' knowledge of Greek seems to have been limited (although he may have understood it), for in his deeds he always signs in Aramaic (e.g. *P.Yadin* 1, 19, lines 28–9, written on 16 Apr 128 CE). In *P.Yadin* 1, 11, lines 29–30 (6 May 124) his declaration in Aramaic is translated by a scribe into Greek.

52 *P.Yadin* 1, 11 (6 May 124). The loan must have been repaid on time for the courtyard remained in the possession of Judas's father and was later inherited by Judas and passed on to his daughter Selampious (*P.Yadin* 1, 19 (16 Apr 128)).

53 *P.Yadin* 1, 15 (11 or 12 Oct 125).

54 *P.Yadin* 1, 16 (2 and 4 Dec 127), lines 16–7: κώμης Αἰνγαδδῶν περὶ Ἱερειχοῦντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας οἰκοῦντος ἐν ἰδίοις ἐν αὐτῇ Μαῶζα.

In this landscape, women moved among villages just as much as men did. Miriam, the first wife of Judas son of Eleazar, migrated to Maḥoza from 'Engedi at an unspecified time before Judas' death, which must have occurred between April 128 and September 130.⁵⁵ Almost sixty years earlier, toward the end of the First Revolt, a repudiation act signed in Masada involved two migrants from different villages, Joseph son of Naqsan, whose *origo* is not preserved, and his now ex-wife Miriam daughter of Jonathan, from the village of NBLT', identified with Bir Nabala c. 7 km north-west of Jerusalem.⁵⁶

Whether this level of mobility is representative of society as a whole is impossible to say. The majority of the families that appear in the documents of the Judean desert were middling or big landowners: Judas son of Eleazar owned a courtyard house in 'Engedi, land in the vicinity of Maḥoza and a house in this town; his daughter Selampious received a dowry of 500 *denarii* upon marrying.⁵⁷ Babatha was also very wealthy: she owned four separate date palm orchards in various areas around Maḥoza. The family of Salome Komaise was less well-off, but still belonged to Maḥoza's landowning élite.⁵⁸

However, mobility also involved many other people whose economic status cannot be ascertained, such as scribes, witnesses and guardians from Jerusalem, Hebron, Beit Ther, Petra, etc. Three letters written by Bar Kokhba to his commanders in 'Engedi suggest the presence of a sizeable group there of illegal migrants from Tekoa' (roughly a one day's walk away from 'Engedi).⁵⁹ Based on this evidence, one would be tempted to suggest that local migration – whether motivated by economic, familial or other reasons – concerned fairly diverse social groups.

A high level of mobility is also attested in the papyri and parchments from the Euphrates region (Figure 14.3).

The main difficulty in using these documents is that we are rarely able to identify the location of the toponyms appearing in them. This difficulty creates particular problems in the case of the so-called 'Middle-Euphrates' parchments,

55 See discussion in Lewis 1996. Some commentators believe that Judas had lived with Miriam and Babatha in a regime of polygamy. See discussion in Katzoff 1995; Oudshoorn 2007: 221–228.

56 *P.Mur.* 19 (Oct 72). For a discussion of the dating see Goodblatt 1999. Since the papyrus was found in wadi Murabba'at, Miriam must have left Masada prior to the beginning of the Roman siege in late 73 CE.

57 *P.Yadin* 1, 18 (5 Apr 128).

58 Salome Komaise received as a gift from her mother a date palm orchard and half a courtyard in 129 CE (*XHev/Se gr* 1, Nov 129). Her dowry was reckoned at 96 *denarii* (*P.Yadin* 1, 37, line 7 (7 Aug 131)).

59 *P.Yadin* 2, 54; 55; 61 (132–5 CE).

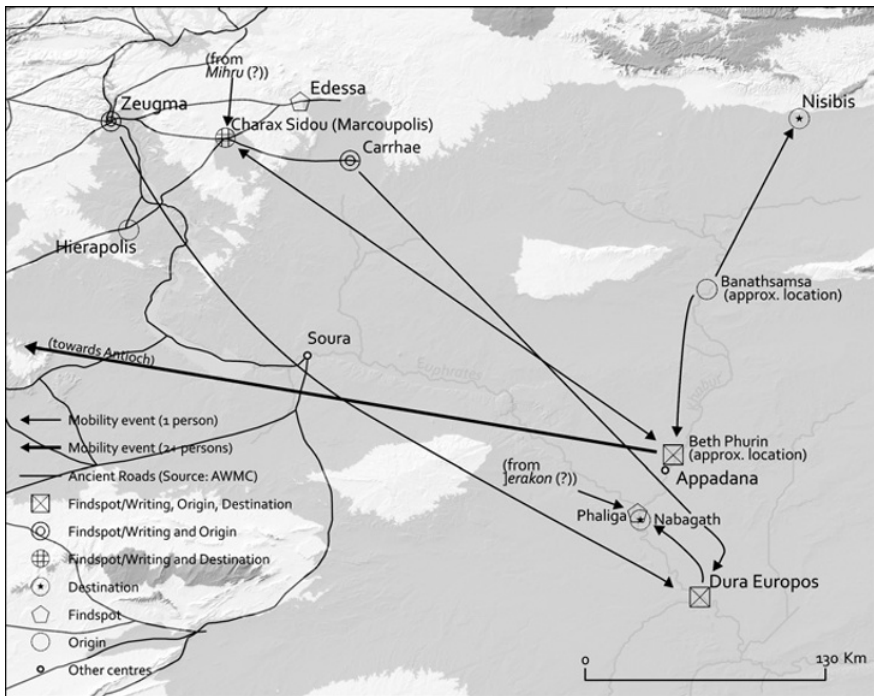


FIGURE 14.3 Mobility and migration flows in P. Dura and P. Euphr

a group of 21 texts (2 of them written in Syriac) which were probably hidden away (alongside other possessions) during the Persian offensive of 256 CE.⁶⁰ These documents belonged to one or more families of traders probably based in the village of Beth Phurin in the district of Appadana.⁶¹ While the village remains unidentified, Appadana has been tentatively equated by some scholars with modern Tell Fudayn along the lower course of the Khabur.⁶² The owners

60 The literature on these documents has been steadily growing since their publication, which was completed almost 15 years ago. See, *inter alia*, Gnoli 2000; Mazza 2007; Merola 2012.

61 For an attempt to reconstruct the family structure of the people mentioned in the documents see Mazza 2007. Cf. also Gnoli 2000: 22–30.

62 Dussaud 1927: 483; Gascoü 1999: 64 n.11; Gnoli 1999: 350–1; 355. The editors of the texts, however, preferred to identify Appadana with the one mentioned in the *P. Dura* papyri, and located south of the confluence with the Khabur but north of Dura, on the Syrian side of the Euphrates (Feissel and Gascoü 1989: 541ff.). This view is also backed by Merola (2012: 8–10). Beth Phurin lay along the Euphrates (*P. Mesopotamia* B, 7: BYT PWRY(N) QRYT DBPRT). The provincial attribution of the district of Appadana remains hotly

of the *P.Euphr.* texts had links across the region between the Euphrates and the Khabur, but also with more distant areas.

Inter-rural mobility between Beth Phurin, Appadana and the Abourene district (which lay somewhere between al-Hasaka to the north and Appadana to the south) is well attested. In *P.Euphr.* 8 (251 CE), a sale of a slave recorded in Beth Phurin, none of the two parties is a local resident: the seller, Absalmas, son of Abedrodakos, came from the village of Beathagae in the Abourene, while the buyer, Samsaios, son of Teias, came from Banathsamsa of the same district. The former had purchased his slave in Nisibis less than nine months prior to reselling him in Beth Phurin. A year later another villager of Banathsamsa, a certain Aurelius Aulaeias who was at the time resident in Beth Phurin, sold yet another slave acquired in Nisibis through the agency of Aurelia Victorina – a resident, but not a native, of Nisibis.⁶³ The temporary character of Aulaeias' residence in Beth Phurin is indicated by the expression [οἰκοῦντο]ς δὲ νῦν ἐν Βηπουρεα, 'who now lives in Beth Phurin', instead of the more usual οἰκῶν δὲ ἐν, 'living in [---].'

Clearly, the high degree of mobility of the people appearing in the Euphrates papyri is to be explained primarily as a function of their commercial interests in the various centres of the region. Unsurprisingly, commerce attracted the villagers of Beth Phurin and the Abourene to the main cities of Mesopotamia and Osrohe. In addition to Nisibis, the cities of Charax Sidou (which became Marcoupolis between 240 CE and 242 CE) and Charrae were visited by the people of *P.Euphr.* The former appears in the documents of Worod, son of Nisharyahab, from Beth Phurin, who resided there around 240–242 CE;⁶⁴ the latter is mentioned as the place where Nisharyahab son of Worod (probably the same man as the Worod mentioned in *P.Mesopotamia* A and B), himself from Beth Phurin, purchased a horse.⁶⁵

In comparison with *P.Euphr.*, the documents from Dura Europos are much less informative, with only six documents providing information concerning human mobility. Four of them concern movements between Dura and the villages of its hinterland, while another two concern inter-urban mobility. To the first category belongs *P.Dura* 25 (180 CE), a deed of sale of a slave and half a vineyard located in Nabagath, a village lying c. 50 km upstream from

debated: Gnoli (1999, 2000) assigned it to Osrohe, while the editors of the documents, but also Merola (2010, 385 n.7; 2012: 4–10; 35–41) assign it to the province of Coele Syria.

63 *P.Euphr.* 9 (252 CE). Aurelia Victorina's *origo* must have disappeared in the large lacuna at the beginning of line 14; she might have hailed from Banathsamsa, like the seller.

64 *P.Mesopotamia* A (240 CE); *P.Mesopotamia* B (242 CE).

65 *P.Euphr.* 10 (250 CE).

Dura.⁶⁶ The document was written in Europos and involved the brothers Lysias and Heliodoros sons of Lysias, whose onomastics suggest they belonged to the leading families of Dura, most of whom were of Macedonian descent.⁶⁷ Lysias is said to have been “a citizen of Europos residing in the village of Nabagath” (Εὐρωπαῖος οἰκῶν δὲ ἐν Ναβαγάτοις κώμῃ). We do not know whether his brother also lived there: the fact that the document was drawn up in Dura may suggest that he did not. The economic possibilities of the area near the confluence of the Khabur and the Euphrates, which is known from other papyri to have been a wine-producing area (e.g. *P.Dura* 23 (133 CE), 26 (226 CE)), may have acted as an economic pull factor for Lysias’ family when they decided to migrate there. If that were the case, however, it would be difficult to explain why Lysias decided to sell his share of the vineyard to his brother only a month after taking possession of it, probably after inheriting it. Perhaps Lysias urgently needed money to settle some debt which he had incurred.

As far as inter-urban mobility is concerned, Dura is known to have hosted an important community of Palmyrene soldiers and merchants, but also people from the village of Anath and from Hatra.⁶⁸ To these groups we must add a group of migrants from Zeugma, at least for the period immediately preceding the end of Dura’s occupation. Evidence for these migrants comes from a parchment, but also, and most importantly, from the painted inscriptions found in house C of block G5. Around 250–256 CE, this house was probably used to run a prostitution and entertainment business, which involved, at the peak of its use, as many as 90 people.⁶⁹ A series of *tabellae* painted on the walls of the main room of the house (C2) contains references to the movement of people to and from Zeugma. For a period of about nine months at least four separate arrivals of people are recorded. Among them were prostitutes but also male

66 The village of Nabagath of the *hyparchia* of Gabalein is believed to have been located just south of the confluence between the Euphrates and the Khabur, likely on the left bank of the Euphrates: Dussaud 1927: 466; Gnoli 1999: 331–2; Gnoli 2000: 38.

67 It is difficult to know whether the two were part of the family of the Lysiads that produced some of the city’s *strategoi* and *epistatai*. As the editors rightly noted, neither of the two brothers is known from other documents, nor is Aristonicus, the name of their great-grandfather, known in the local onomastics.

68 These will be discussed below.

69 Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 202–265. 63 names are preserved on the plaster of C2. Estimating the total size of the inscription, Immerwehr guessed that as many 80–90 could have been given in total: Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 217. As McGinn 2004: 223–5 and Baird 2007: 428–9 have noted, this building would have functioned as ‘headquarters’ of the entertainment/prostitution business, but the entertainers’ lodgings and venues for their activities were likely located elsewhere in the neighbourhood.

and female entertainers such as actors and singers. Many of the entertainers were slaves, as specified in one of the *tabellae*.⁷⁰ As Immerwahr noted many years ago, it is very likely that this business catered to the needs of the soldiers. It might even have been run by the army.⁷¹ One of the free men involved in this enterprise could have been Aurelius Theodorus, whom we encounter in *P.Dura* 29 (251 CE). This document is an acknowledgement of a deposit of 100 *denarii* by Amaththabeile into the hands of Aurelia Gaia.⁷² The latter, who was illiterate, delegated a certain Aurelius Theodorus, originating from Zeugma, but resident in Dura (Ζευγματεύς οἱ[κ]ῶν ἐνταῦθ[α], “a citizen of Zeugma living here”) to confirm the receipt of the funds. The wall inscriptions of house C show that the business that was run from here provided the information and infrastructure to facilitate the relocation of people from Zeugma to Dura. ‘Organisational migration’ might be envisaged here, though the extent to which this label is appropriate depends on the status of the migrants. If they were all slaves (and we know that some of them were), their decision-making process would have counted for little.

Valuable information concerning the geographical range of mobility can also be gleaned from the rich epigraphic record of the Roman Near East. As we have seen, mobile urbanites are strongly represented in these texts. Many urbanites moved to other cities. Antiochenes are found in Caesarea Maritima, Gerasa and Soada-Dionysias; Gerasenes are attested in Antioch and Canatha; Emesenes are known from Berytus and Laodicea ad Libanum. The geographical distribution of the Palmyrenes differs from that of the other urbanites. Apart from Dura, they are mostly attested in the villages of the hinterland of Palmyra. When we take into account Palmyrene inscriptions found outside of the immediate surroundings of Palmyra, many texts appear to have been related to seasonal migrations (see below). On the whole, inscriptions provide a more heterogeneous picture of mobility than the papyri, with movements taking place at local, regional and ‘interprovincial’ level.

70 Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 217. The status of the prostitutes and entertainers mentioned in Fr. I cols. 1–5 is not specified.

71 Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 261. Pollard interprets the absence of prices in the painted inscriptions as evidence that no cash transactions took place in this building. This, and the presence of numerous slaves, led him to argue that the whole business was in the hands of the army: Pollard 1996: 225–6, Pollard 2000: 53–4; 188.

72 Although the gentilician name Aurelius was obviously widespread in the mid-third century, it is tempting to see in this Aurelia Gaia the same person as the Aurelia mentioned on the painted *tabellae* as involved in the logistics of the entertaining business (Rostovtzeff et al. 1944: 214–5, col. 5, lines 5f.; col. 6, line 1; col. 8).

Time

Determining the chronological articulation of mobility is particularly challenging, owing to the very limited number of sources which allow us to distinguish between seasonal, temporary, circular and permanent mobility and migration. In the vast majority of cases, we are reduced to guesswork. In what follows, I will group seasonal mobility, which is related to pastoralism and nomadism, with temporary mobility, which I view as a function of itinerant work. A few words will also be said about circular mobility, of which very few instances appear in our dataset. Permanent mobility is even more difficult to study. From the point of view of inscriptions and papyri, only those cases in which mobility was followed by death can be grouped under this heading. In the vast majority of cases it cannot be determined, however, whether someone who died in a locality that was not their place of birth was a temporary resident or someone who had decided to spend the rest of his or her life in that locality.⁷³ For this reason, funerary inscriptions are of limited value in identifying cases of permanent migration.

Nomadism was a deep-rooted reality in the Roman Near East, and one which emerges clearly in the thousands of graffiti scattered across the Syrian and north-Arabian desert. Safaitic inscriptions attest to the seasonal movements between the *ḥarra*, the black desert of southern Syria and north-east Jordan and the *ḥamad*, the 'open desert' which lies in modern western Syria and northern Saudi Arabia. As Macdonald has noted, nomads left the eastern edge of the *ḥarra* at the end of the dry season (the QYʒ of the Safaitic texts) in October, in order to 'migrate east' (as indicated by the verb 'ŠRQ) or south. There they spent the winter (ŠTY) and early spring (DT') before moving again west for the summer (ŠYF and QYʒ) when they travelled as far as the eastern (and occasionally the western) slopes of the *jebel al-ʿArab*.⁷⁴ A major difficulty in mapping the geographic distribution of these movements is that nomads – because of their social organisation – did not employ ethnics with a geographical connotation, but rather used tribal affiliation as a means to

73 A case in point is that of Monica, the mother of Augustine, who died and was buried in Ostia while Augustine's company was waiting there to sail south to Africa. Without the *Confessiones*, we would have no means of knowing the story of this 'migrant in transfer'.

74 Macdonald 1992. Safaitic texts in the *jebel al-ʿArab* have been found in considerable numbers: see Zeinaddin 2000 who lists more than 400 Safaitic graffiti, mostly from the eastern slopes of the *jebel*. See also Macdonald 2006: 300–1, who partially revises his own, earlier views on the topic.

represent their sense of belonging and ethnicity.⁷⁵ Unlike the towns that recur in the *ethnika* of the sedentaries, nomadic tribes are mobile entities whose homeland was not circumscribed by walls or boundary markers. Consequently, their seasonal movements are ill at ease with a classification of migration which insists on the process of human mobility between well-defined sending and receiving communities. There are a few exceptions, however. Some Safaitic texts contain toponyms that can be readily identified with known place names, thus allowing us to reconstruct the movements of their inscribers. For example, *SIJ* 463 found near Jawa was written by a Wadan b. Khulaq, “who pastured flocks in the Leja”, the lava plateau to the north-west of the jebel al-‘Arab. A text found in wadi Salma (north-east of Jordan) tells us that its writer travelled from Gilead (i.e. the region of north-west Jordan) to Palmyra.⁷⁶ Another intriguing case is that of a group of 13 Palmyrene graffiti (two of which are bilingual Palmyrene-Safaitic texts) found in wadi Rijelat Umm Kabar (western Iraq), which attest to the seasonal migration of a tribal group under the leadership of a certain Zubaida, son of Hawmal, during the Palmyrene *strategeia* of someone whose name is not preserved. The group, who appear to have belonged to the BNY MŠKN DY TYM’ (‘Bani Mashkana of Tayma’), pitched their tents and pastured their animals around late-February or March.⁷⁷ The tribe to which they belonged had probably come from Tayma in Arabia and may have had affiliations with the Bani Taymu present in Hatra, but the script, the onomastics, the *strategeia* of *PAT* 2732 and the likely mention of ‘the gods of Palmyra’ in *PAT* 2740 all point to a Palmyrene cultural background for this group.⁷⁸ Whether Zubaida was just the leader of a ‘culturally Palmyrene’ tribal group or whether he had an official Palmyrene role in monitoring the pastoral activities of the area remains debated.⁷⁹ Certainly, Palmyrenes seem to have been involved in the exploitation of seasonal pasture lands and farm lands in the desert to the east and south-east of their city, as a Palmyrene text from the depression of Qa‘ara mentions the presence of

75 The best discussion of the evidence of Safaitic inscriptions for the study of nomadism is still Macdonald 1992.

76 King 1990: 67 n. 17.

77 *PAT* 2732–2742 (98 CE).

78 See discussion in Safar 1964: 10; Teixidor 1967: 183; Segal 1986: 57–8. Teixidor 1967: 184, following a suggestion of Gawlikowski, suggest we should read (‘)LHY T(DMR), the “gods of Palmyra”. in line 5 of *PAT* 2740.

79 Smith II, 2013: 52; 129. But Smith, perhaps building on Gawlikowski 1983: 58, wrongly assumes Zubaida to have been a *strategos* whereas *PAT* 2732 actually reads ZBYD’ BR ḤWML B ‘ŠTRṬGWT... (lines 2–3). See also Teixidor (1967) 187.

'harvesters' (ḤṢDY') who had come to the 'borders'.⁸⁰ People who wrote in Palmyrene and worshipped the gods of Palmyra are also found in Wadi Miqat, far to the south-west of Palmyra, where their graffito is surrounded by countless Safaitic ones.⁸¹ Like the nomads who wrote in this latter script, the two Palmyrenes of Wadi Miqat – who incised their writing in the month of Nisan (April) – would have likely been nomads, retreating to the semi-perennial water sources of that region during the summer season.⁸²

Temporary relocation is also found among the settled population of the Roman Near East. Some categories of people engaging in short-term mobility fit Manning's definition of 'sojourners'. These were mostly professionals who moved for a short period of time to a new locale with a specific, well-defined aim, and returned to their homes upon accomplishing it. An example of this behaviour is provided by athletes and actors, whose careers provided plenty of chances for short-term mobility. One such example is that of Aurelius Septimius Eirenaïos from Laodicea, a boxer, runner and wrestler who won fame at athletic games all over the Near East (at Askalon, Scythopolis, Sidon, Tripolis, Hierapolis, Beroia, Zeugma, Apamea, Chalcis, Antioch, Mopsuestia), but also in Greece (Patrae and Salamis) and Italy (Tarentum).⁸³ Many other professions would have involved short-term mobility. Actors, for example, were also often on the move. One case is that provided by the comic actor Q. Caecilius Allous from Antioch, who erected a small marble column (probably to Dionysius) in the theatre of Caesarea Maritima, no doubt on occasion of his performing there.⁸⁴ Another is that of the pantomime Iulius Paris, a citizen of both Apamea and Antioch, who was active in Berytus where he was honoured with the *seviratum*.⁸⁵ Another profession which likely involved short-term mobility is that of the stone-masons/architects. Various inscriptions from the Hawran suggest that builders of tombs and public buildings did not always come from the place where the structure was built.⁸⁶ Temporary relocation also involved dignitaries

80 *PAT* 2730. A similar expression is used in the Palmyrene graffito *PAT* 2810 (early third century), found in the area of the oil field T1 in the Euphrates valley, south-east of ancient Eddana. See also comments in Teixidor 1963; Smith II, 2013: 4.

81 Caquot 1970: 413 on Oxtoby 1968: 102.

82 Macdonald 1992: 9–10.

83 *IGLS* 4, 1265 (221 CE).

84 *CIIP* 2, 1135 (first to third century).

85 *AE* 1976, 686 (117–138 CE).

86 For example, *PUAES* IIIA, 735 (third century, from Busan) concerning a builder (?) from Canatha; Dunand, *Musée* n.222 (295 CE, from Salkhad) concerning Diogenes, a builder (?) from the nearby village of 'Orman (5 km from Salkhad). From a later period comes also Wad. 2381 (fourth century, from Sleim) which mentions a builder from Neapolis (Nablus).

and officials. A particularly numerous group is that of city councillors, whom inscriptions and papyri suggest to have sometimes lived in the villages around the city in whose *boule* they served. This was the case of Abedsautas son of Abediardas, who was a *bouleutes* of Neapolis (formerly Appadana) despite hailing from and residing in the nearby village of Beth Phurin.⁸⁷ Epigraphically, this case is particularly borne out by the cities of Bostra and Canatha, whose city councillors lived or at least owned property in the hinterland of the city.⁸⁸

Another form of temporary relocation was that which involved judicial hearings. While several options and authorities for settling disputes were available at local level, unresolved lawsuits could be brought to the attention of the provincial governors or their legates, who held court in the provincial capital and in the cities at the head of a province's judiciary districts (the dioceses) on occasion of a governor's annual *conventus*.⁸⁹ Both the Judaeen desert papyri and the Euphrates documents provide various examples of this. In the Babatha archive, we find evidence of three different court disputes. The best documented of these is a dispute over the possessions of the orphan sons of Jesus son of Eleazar, the brother of Babatha's second husband, which is illuminated by *P.Yadin* 1, 23–5. The guardians of the orphans accused Babatha of illegally taking over an orchard belonging to the heirs of Jesus, threatening court action if an agreement could not be reached. This happened between 130 CE and 131 CE, when first Besas (the *epitropos* of the orphans) and then Iulia Crispina (their *episkopos*), successfully petitioned the governor Haterius Nepos to make their case heard in Petra (*P.Yadin* 1, 24–5). Babatha replied suggesting that the case be heard in Rabbath Moab, where evidently the governor would hold his *conventus* at some point during the year. As Cotton and Eck have noted, she was probably playing for time. *P.Yadin* 1, 25 ends with a passage in which Iulia Crispina seems to reject Babatha's suggestion, once again summoning her to Petra.⁹⁰ Although we do not know how the dispute was concluded, it seems clear that both parties would have had to travel to Petra and presumably spend

A stone-cutter from the village of Phaina (Mismiyyeh north-west of the Trachonitis) is also attested near Scythopolis (*BE* 1988, 216).

87 *P.Euphr.* 3–4 (252–6 CE).

88 For Bostra see e.g. Wad. 2302 (from Krasheh, ed.pr.) and Wad. 2506 (3rd–4th c., from Shaqra). For Canatha see Wad. 2216 (from Neela/Mushannef). Sartre 1985: 56 observes that more than half of the c. 30 city councillors of Bostra are attested from inscriptions coming from the villages of the city's hinterland.

89 The bibliography on the organisation of provincial courts and governors' *conventus* is very rich. See, among others, Bryen 2012; Burton 1975; Marshall 1966. For Egypt: Lewis 1981.

90 On this case as a whole and the light it sheds on the judiciary system of the provinces of Judaea and Arabia, see Cotton and Eck 2005: 34ff.

several days there until their case would be heard.⁹¹ Some litigants had to wait much longer. In *P.Euphr.* 1, a petition of 245 CE, four villagers from Beth Phurin state they had been waiting for eight months (σχολλάσαντες τῷ σῷ δικαστηρίῳ μῆνας ὀκτῶ) before their case was finally submitted to the attention of Iulius Priscus.⁹² Presumably, the villagers would have taken up temporary residence in one of the inns of the city during the eight months that preceded the first hearing.

We may now turn to analysing the evidence for circular mobility. Perhaps the most likely case of circular mobility that appears in the sources is that of Worod son of Nisharyahab, a villager of Beth Phurin in Mesopotamia. *P.Mesopotamia A* (240 CE) refers to him as a Phourene (MN BYT PWRYN) resident in Charax (D'MR BKRK' HDT') and paying a compensation of 150 *denarii* on behalf of Ba'ishu son of Shamash'aqab on account of the latter's defaulting on a loan of that value; the document that was issued to Worod, a transfer of debt, gave him the right to reclaim his credit from Ba'ishu.⁹³ In *P.Mesopotamia B* (242 CE), a lease of a repossessed property, Worod is no longer said to be a resident of the city (which had by then been renamed Marcoupolis, following the demise of the Edessene dynasty). Considering that his documents were part of the Beth Phurin 'cachette', it is likely that Worod himself took them back with him to his native village. Worod would appear to have been a money lender. In *P.Mesopotamia B* he is shown to have taken possession of an estate (including cultivable lands, houses and animal pens) which had been mortgaged by a certain Aurelius Shama son of Moqimai. Worod subsequently rented the property to Shama's son. If the author of *P.Euphr.* 16, a letter written after 239 CE, is to be identified with the same Worod, this strategy must have paid dividends: this document suggests that he possessed grazing lands (shepherds are mentioned) and was involved in interregional trade (the letter, perhaps sent from Antioch, mentions camel caravans going from Beroia to Zeugma).

Clues concerning other probable or possible cases of circular mobility are to be found in the epigraphic record. Two funerary epigrams from Soada and

91 As Iulia Crispina's first summon confirms when saying that the parties would have had to wait in Hadriana Petra until they had been heard (*P.Yadin* 1, 25, lines 10–2).

92 Iulius Priscus was the brother of the emperor Philip and at the time of the petition also the holder of a superprovincial *imperium* which gave him judicial power not only on Mesopotamia, of which he was governor, but also on all the eastern provinces (as testified by his title of *rector Orientis* in *ILS* 9005 from Philippopolis). See Feissel and Gasco 1989: 552–4.

93 The edition of *P.Mesopotamia A* used here is that in Drijvers and Healey 1999: 237–242.

Gerasa refer to Antiochene women who had died away from home.⁹⁴ In both cases the wording suggests that the deceased had been accompanied abroad by members of their family who then made their way back to Antioch. To judge from the inscription from Soada, Flavia Charis' children, and probably also her husband, had returned to Antioch after her death, or at least had the intention to do so. In the Gerasa text, Iuliane's husband clearly states that she had come to Gerasa with him and would not now be following him back, an expression likely alluding to his imminent return to Antioch. Neither of these two cases, which suggest return migration, allows us to further qualify the effects that the returnees would have had on the sending community, nor the reasons that led them to migrate in the first place.

Modal Aspects

In this section, I intend to look briefly at the modes of mobility and migration and the reasons lying behind it. By modes, I refer to the modal articulations of mobility discussed above (Section 2); as far as the reasons for mobility are concerned, the following six types may be identified: personal or family-related (which covers migration following marriage); career; economic; religious; motivated by institutions; and coercion (which lies outside of the scope of this article).

The extent to which network migration, whether personal or organisational, played a role in the formation of diasporas in the Roman Near East can only be guessed at in the majority of cases. We have already encountered two probable cases of network migration. Personal networks no doubt existed among the tightly-knit Jewish communities of Maḥoza and 'Engedi: their family links would have greatly facilitated the exchange of information and consequently eased the process of relocation. The entertaining business of Dura Europos might be an example of guild-like 'organisational' network migration, though as we have seen, the Zeugmatene entertainers and prostitutes might have been slaves (in which case we would be dealing with a case of involuntary migration).

As far as other migrant communities are concerned, a degree of network migration may only be surmised from indirect elements. In the case of the Palmyrene community of Dura Europos, which has been studied in detail by Lucinda Dirven, the evolution of the religious practices of the diaspora mirrors developments in Palmyra, suggesting the survival of strong links between

94 Wad. 2321 (2nd/3rd c. according to Merkelback and Stauber 2002: 409) and *I.Gerasa* 232 (mid-3rd c.).

sending and receiving communities.⁹⁵ These links, in turn, point to the existence of personal migrant networks. While only one bilingual inscription explicitly mentions the ethnic *Palmyrenos*, the existence of a Palmyrene community in Dura from the late-first century BCE to the fall of the city in the mid-third century CE is beyond dispute.⁹⁶ A total of 55 Palmyrene graffiti and inscriptions have been found in Dura, particularly in the area of the temple of Bel in the necropolis, in that of the temple of the Gadde in block H1, in the temple of Zeus Kyrios/Baalshamin (M8/N7) and in the 'temple of the Palmyrene gods' (J3-5).⁹⁷ The community was mostly made up of traders and soldiers, the latter being particularly prominent after the Roman takeover of the city in 164 CE.⁹⁸ Dirven noted how the expatriate Palmyrenes preferred the worship of 'civic' over 'tribal' Palmyrene deities, emphasising particularly the cult of Bel and his associated deities (Iarhibol and Aglibol) as well as that of the Gad Tadmor (the tutelary deity of the city of Palmyra as a whole) rather than the ancestral gods of individual clans. In her own words, "family religion tends to become less important once people are detached from their home town and constitute a minority in a foreign place".⁹⁹ At the same time, the Palmyrenes of Dura retained ideal as well as practical connections with their native land. The reliefs of the Gad Tadmor and Dura were engraved in Palmyra rather than in Dura, and the priest Hairan, a member of a prominent Palmyrene family and the financier of the temple of the Gad, is represented wearing the garments and hat (the *modius*) which are typical of the Palmyrene clergy.¹⁰⁰

Another Palmyrene community which may be understood in terms of personal networks might be that of the Palmyrene Jews buried in Beth She'arim. The small town of Beserna in Galilee hosted one of the largest and most impressive Jewish cemeteries, which included 27 catacombs of the second to

95 Dirven 1999. See also Sommer 2004: 850–2 and Dirven 2011, who also posits the existence of a community of expatriate Anathenes (centred on the cult of Aphlad, god of Anath) and a smaller community from Hatra.

96 The bilingual inscription which contains the *ethnikon* is PAT 1078 (244/5 CE).

97 The inscriptions are PAT 1067–1121.

98 The question of whether Dura Europos played a role in the caravan trade remains open. Building on suggestions first advanced by Gawlikowski 1988, Dirven 1999: 34–40 suggests that Dura acted as the last overland stopping point along the outgoing caravan route to the Persian Gulf, upon which goods were loaded onto ships sailing southward. Camels left in Dura would have been put to use in the local trade between Palmyra and Dura, which represented the main source of livelihood for the expatriate Palmyrene community of Dura.

99 Dirven 1999: 110–1.

100 Dirven 1999: 99ff.

fourth centuries CE (the necropolis apparently ceased to be used after the town was destroyed in 351/2 CE). The traditional argument according to which this was a kind of 'Jewish Mecca' for the Jewish diaspora, whose members came to die here (or were brought here *post mortem*) has been forcefully challenged in recent years.¹⁰¹ Many of the burial chambers and *arcosolia* bear names which allow us to identify members of the Jewish diaspora, who came mostly from cities of the coastal Levant and from Palmyra. Among the foreign deceased, we find several prominent members of their native Jewish communities (*archisynagogoi* and *gerousiarchai*), but also various professionals, such as Leontios, a Palmyrene banker. The Palmyrene group, members of which appear in two Greek and ten Palmyrene inscriptions, is particularly large.¹⁰² The archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that several generations of Palmyrene Jews were buried here from the third to the mid-fourth centuries, and the onomastic indications supplied by inscriptions found in the synagogue of Beserna imply that Palmyrenes were also among the benefactors who contributed to building the synagogue itself.¹⁰³ Considering the long time span involved and the concentration of Palmyrene burials – particularly in catacomb 1 – it is plausible that personal networks of inter-related families/clans might have played a role in facilitating the gradual growth of the local Palmyrene community. However, all of these comments should only be regarded as tentative, in the absence of decisive elements which would allow us to determine whether this expatriate community was formed as a result of one event (after which it retained its own cultural distinctiveness, expressed through language and onomastics, for generations), or whether a steady flow of migrants continued to reach Beserna over several decades.

The vast majority of our sources point to cases of solitary/non-network migration involving individuals or family groups. The reasons that led them to move varied. Family migration is particularly prominent in the texts of the Judean desert, where marriage often led to relocation. Another possible case of family migration is to be found in Wad. 2143 (second or third century) from Shaqqa in the Auranitis, an epitaph for Alexander son of Akrabanos, who was laid to rest by his wife Namele, of Petra, and his son. Alexander was a *hermeneus*, an interpreter working for the Roman *procuratores*, probably the administrators of the imperial estates present in that area. He is also said to have

101 The main credit should be given to Rajak 2001, to whom the definition of 'Jewish Mecca' also belongs (Rajak 2001: 480). For the earlier views see the original Beth She'arim publications: Schwabe and Lifshitz 1967; Avigad 1976.

102 The Palmyrene texts are *PAT* 0132-141. For the Greek texts see the Appendix.

103 Avigad 1976: 3.

been a priest and 'lover of his homeland', an attribute which, in the absence of a different *ethnikon*, suggests that he indeed hailed from Shaqqa or its vicinity in the Hauran. We do not know how Alexander and Namele had met: perhaps Alexander had visited Petra on an assignment at an earlier date.

Economic push-pull factors were also of importance in the migrant decision-making process. We have already discussed the likelihood that the wealthy Durene family of Lysias had moved to Phaliga, a village at the confluence with the Khabur, in order to exploit the region's potential for viticulture. Another interesting example of the role of economic pull factors is provided by Flavius Josephus. In his description of Herod's settlement policies in Batanaea and Trachonitis following his acquisition of these territories around 20 BCE, Josephus introduces the story of Zamaris and his 500 mounted archers, a group of Babylonian Jews who were at the time (that is, after c. 10–7 BCE) residing in the vicinity of Antioch.¹⁰⁴ Herod, who had recently settled 3,000 Idumaeans in Trachonitis in order to check the danger posed by the bandits hiding in that region, persuaded Zamaris to move to Batanaea with the prospect of receiving tax-free land (ἀτελή) and exemption from all other levies (εἰσφοραί) in exchange for military services.¹⁰⁵ The Babylonians responded positively and, upon arriving in the region, they founded the town of Bathyra, which Maurice Sartre has identified with modern Sha'rah on the western edge of Trachonitis.¹⁰⁶ More interestingly for the purposes of this article, the favourable fiscal conditions accorded by Herod to the Babylonian settlers were apparently extended to all Jews willing to move to Batanaea, for Josephus tells us that a great multitude of people from all places where the Jewish customs were observed, resettled in the areas controlled by Zamaris and his crew.¹⁰⁷ How we should interpret Josephus' statement that these settlers came 'from all places' (ἀπανταχόθεν) is debated. According to Schalit, most of them came from Herod's kingdom and should be regarded as the descendants of the dispossessed Jews who had been expelled from the territories of the cities whose autonomy was restored by Pompey in 63 BCE.¹⁰⁸

104 The episode is narrated in *Jos. Ant.* 17, 23–31.

105 The land was also characterised as ἀπρακτος, i.e. it could not be seized in case of default on debt. See discussion in Applebaum 1989: 50ff., who characterises Zamaris' settlement in terms of a Hellenistic katoikic settlement.

106 Sartre 2011.

107 *Jos. Ant.* 17, 26–7: πολλοί τε ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοντο καὶ ἀπανταχόθεν, οἷς τὰ Ἰουδαίων θεραπεύεται πάτρια. καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ χώρα σφόδρα πολυάνθρωπος ἀδεία τοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀτελοῦς.

108 Schalit 2001 [1969]: 323; 328.

Alongside economic push-pull factors, migration could also be motivated by career concerns. Among the possible cases of career-related migration we find architects and stone masons, such as a certain Arabianos from the village of Maaggas in Batanaea, who built shops in Canatha, or the unnamed stone-cutter (λάχος) from Phaina (modern Mismiyyeh) who is attested in the vicinity of Scythopolis.¹⁰⁹ Other professions include the performers already mentioned (actors, entertainers etc.) and athletes.

People also moved in response to institutional obligations and legal necessities. Obtaining a hearing from the provincial governor, the highest source of jurisdiction in the provinces, could be a challenging and lengthy process, as we have seen in the case of the four villagers of Beth Phurin, who waited in Antioch for eight months in order to have their case heard by Iulius Priscus.¹¹⁰ Censuses were another obvious cause of temporary mobility. Babatha briefly stayed in Rabbath Moab in order to register her landed properties, for a census held by the governor of Arabia, T. Aninius Sextius Florentinus, in 127 CE.¹¹¹ A far more famous census, the one called by the governor of Syria Sulpicius Quirinius, led Joseph and Mary to temporarily leave Nazareth for Bethlehem in order to register their persons and property on the eve of Jesus' birth.¹¹²

Finally, we should not disregard the importance of pilgrimage as a causative factor of mobility. Inscriptions from Heliopolis are particularly illustrative of this, attesting to pilgrims from Apamea, Arados, the unknown village of Maarra Samethou and Sidon.¹¹³ The best known pilgrimage, of course, was that performed by the Jews who visited the Temple in Jerusalem. Jesus' parents, for example, left Galilee every year to celebrate Passover in Jerusalem.¹¹⁴ In the late first century BCE, Babylonian Jews followed the road along the eastern edge of Trachonitis on their way to the Temple.¹¹⁵ Other pilgrimage sites, such as the sanctuary of Atargatis at Hierapolis, attracted very large crowds from all places, as Lucian's *On the Syrian Goddess* suggests.¹¹⁶

109 Respectively Dunand 1932 n. 63 and *BE* 1988, 216. Another likely case of a travelling architect is Wad. 2005 (from Triakome/Salkhad).

110 *P.Euphr.* 1 (245 CE); Mazza 2007: 54.

111 *P.Yadin* 1, 16 (2 and 4 Dec 127).

112 Luke 2: 1–5. See discussion in Schürer 1973: 399–427; Kennedy 2006; Dabrowa 2011.

113 Respectively *AE* 1939, 57 (211 CE); *IGLS* 6, 2729; 2731; 2855.

114 Luke 2: 41–3.

115 Jos., *Ant.* 17, 26.

116 Lucian's authorship of this work has been often questioned. See most recently Dirven 1997.

Conclusions

The foregoing survey of the epigraphic and papyrological evidence has attempted to shed some light on the complex geographical, chronological and causal articulations of mobility. Geographical mobility represented an important factor across the different strata of society in the Roman Near East: from the nomadic pastoralists and merchants, for whom mobility was an unavoidable fact of life, to the men and women who migrated to follow their spouse, from the Jews who settled in Batanaea to take advantage of Herod's favourable fiscal policies to the Mesopotamian villagers who travelled to Antioch to get their case heard by Iulius Priscus, the documents show that there was no such thing as fixity in Antiquity.

Yet, a fundamental problem remains, namely that of the representativeness of our dataset. Fewer than 100 documents provide *ethnika* or *origines*. To these we may add the c. 30 inscriptions written in 'minority languages', whose use as evidence of migration remains problematic. When compared to the very large numbers of inscriptions discovered in this region, the smallness of the sample which sheds light on mobility cannot be simply brushed away as the result of chance discovery. Rather, it must bear historical significance. As such, it may be interpreted in two different ways: either few people migrated, or few people chose to display ethnicity by way of indicating their place of origin. Considering the frequency with which cases of mobility or migration appear in the papyrological record – where the official character of most documents made it necessary for the parties involved to declare their residency and origin – the latter explanation appears more likely. The case of the Palmyrene community of Dura Europos confirms this: despite the significant size of this community (especially in the late-second to mid-third century), which is confirmed by multiple Palmyrene religious sites and tens of inscriptions in the Palmyrene script, only one individual styled himself as *Palmyrenos*. At Beth She'arim, only two Palmyrenes sported their *ethnika*, but ten more people used Palmyrene Aramaic to write their names atop the entrances of their burial chambers and *arcosolia*. What this shows is that the epigraphic evidence, and particularly funerary epigraphy, can only catch a small glimpse of the realities of mobility and migration. Perhaps only recent migrants felt sufficiently attached to their places of origin to have them engraved on their epitaphs. Better data can be obtained from the papyrological documentation, but documents of this type are regrettably few.

Further developments along this line of enquiry require methodological refinements and integration with other disciplines.¹¹⁷ For example, recent

117 Interdisciplinary investigation of mobility in the Near East is the main aim of Yoo and Zerbini (forthcoming).

studies employing stable isotopes analysis on human teeth to establish the origin of individuals are beginning to provide new insights into the demographics of migration in Italy and Britain.¹¹⁸ Preliminary results from samples in the Near East have produced encouraging, albeit contradictory results.¹¹⁹ While most scholars would now agree with Moatti's and Kaiser's statement that migration was both a 'structural' and 'structuring' phenomenon in Antiquity, the historiography of migration in the Roman Near East is still in its infancy.

Appendix

In the following table (Table 14.1), I have listed all of the documents which provide information concerning human mobility in the Roman Near East. Entries are listed in alphabetical order by the name of the place of finding or, in the case of papyri, by the place where the document was written. Each entry corresponds to one document only. When documents provide evidence for more than one episode of mobility, this is specified in the notes. On the other hand, if more than one document refers to the same individual, these are all listed. Sources included here always contain *ethnika/origines* (even if only partially preserved). Consequently, inscriptions such as *PAT* 0017, a bilingual Greek-Palmyrene which suggests, but does not ultimately prove mobility, are excluded.

Abbreviations

D: Date of text

M: Name(s) of migrant(s)

L: Language of text: A = Aramaic; H = Hebrew; G = Greek; L = Latin; N = Nabataean;

P = Palmyrene; S = Syriac

N: Additional notes

118 Chenery et al. 2010; Killgrove 2010a; 2010b; Bruun 2010, cautioning on the results of Prowse et al. 2007. For a good reassessment of the promises held out by this technique see Prowse's contribution to this volume.

119 See Perry et al. 2008; Perry et al. 2011; Al-Shorman and El-Khoury 2011; Prowse, in this volume.

TABLE 14.1 *A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East (1st c. BCE–3rd c. CE)*

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
? (found in w.Murabba'at)		ha-Kar[, Jerusalem; Hebron	<i>XHev/Se</i> 50 + <i>P.Mur.</i> 26	D: ?; M: NN; NN, NN; L: A; N: deed of sale; none of the names of the migrants is preserved
Aerita ('Ariqah)		Palmyra	<i>IGLS</i> 15/2 352	D: after 129/30 CE; M: ?; L: G
Antioch		Beth Phurin	<i>P.Euphr.</i> 1	D: 245 CE; M: Archodos f. Phallaios; Philotas f. Nisharyahab; Worod f. Sumisbarachos; Abedsautas f. Abediardas; L: G; N: petition to Iulius Priscus; the four villagers stayed in Antioch for 8 months
Aristobulias		Iakeimon kome	<i>P.Hev.</i> (= <i>XHev/Se</i>) 69	D: 130 CE; M: Akabas f. Meir; L: G; N: cancelled marriage contract
Baitobassaias	Baitoardis (near Gophna)	Galoda	<i>P.Mur.</i> 115	D: 124 CE; M: Eleaios f. Shimon; L: G; N: re-marriage contract
Berytus		Emesa	Lauffray 1944–5: 68 n.5	D: 1st c.; M: Iulius Auidius Minervinus; L: L
Beth Phurin	Beth Phurin; Nisibis	Banathsamsa; ?	<i>P.Euphr.</i> 9	D: 252 CE; M: Aurelius Aulaeias f. Abedilaaios; Aurelia Victorina; L: G; N: sale of slave
Beth Phurin		Beathagae; Banathsamsa	<i>P.Euphr.</i> 8	D: 251 CE; M: Absalmas f. Abedrodakos; Samsaios f. Teias; L: G; N: sale of slave
Beth She'arim		Antioch	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr74	D: 3rd to mid-4th c.; M: Aidesios; L: G; N: title – <i>gerousiarchēs</i>
Beth She'arim		Berytus	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr25	D: 3rd/early-4th c.; M: ?; L: G; N: title – <i>kōēn</i> (KHN)

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Beth She'arim		Berytus	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr26	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Eusebis; L: G; N: title – <i>lamprotatos</i> <i>archisynagogos</i> ;
Beth She'arim		Byblos	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr32	D: 3rd/early-4th c.; M: Calliope; L: G; N: title – <i>matrōna</i>
Beth She'arim		Iamour	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr 21	D: 3rd c.; M: Jesus; L: G
Beth She'arim		Palmyra	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr51	D: 3rd c.; M: Leontios and his family; L: G; N: title – <i>trapezitēs</i>
Beth She'arim		Palmyra	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr52	D: 3rd c.; M: Germanos f. Isaac; L: G
Beth She'arim		Sidon	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr17	D: early-3rd c.; M: Aristeas; L: G
Beth She'arim		Sidon	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr18	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Joses; L: G; N: title – <i>archisynagogos</i>
Beth She'arim		Tyre	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr6	D: 3rd c.; M: Esther f. Anthus; L: G
Beth She'arim		Tyre	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr7	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Daniel son of Adda; L: G; N: Ethnikon refers to the father
Beth She'arim		Tyre	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr8	D: early-2nd c.; M: Theodosias aka Sarah; L: G
Bosana		Canatha	<i>PUAES</i> 3A, n.735	D: ?; M: ?; L: G
Bostra		Canatha	<i>PUAES</i> 3A, n.581	D: 3rd c.?; M: Aurelia Aschone; L: G
Caesarea Maritima		Antioch	<i>CIIP</i> 2, 1135	D: 1st-3rd c.; M: Q. Caecilius A[...]; L: G; N: title – <i>kōmōdos</i> <i>tritologos</i>
Canatha		Gerasa	<i>IGLS</i> 16, 108	D: 1st-3rd c.; M: Timarchos aka Aouidos f. Chresimos; L: G
Canatha		Maaggas in Batanaea	Dunand 1932 n.63	D: ?; M: Arabianos f. Otasos; L: G; N: built <i>ergastēria</i>

TABLE 14.1 *A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East (1st c. BCE-3rd c. CE) (cont.)*

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Charax Sidou	Charax Sidou	Beth Phurin; Mihru	<i>P.Mesopotamia</i> A	D: 240 CE; M: Worod f. Nisharyahab; Ba'ishu f. Abgar L; S; N: acknowledgement of payment
Charax Sidou (Marcoupolis)		Beth Phurin	<i>P.Mesopotamia</i> B	D: 242 CE; M: Worod f. Nisharyahab; L; S; N: tenancy agreement
Carrhae		Beth Phurin	<i>P.Euphr.</i> 10	D: 240 CE; M: Nisharyahab f. Worod; L: G-S; N: sale of a horse
Dhibbin		Palmyra?	Dunand 1933 n.130	D: 3rd c.?.; M: Anemos f. Severus; L: G
Dura-Europos	Nabagath	Dura-Europos	<i>P.Dura</i> 25	D: 180 CE; M: Lysias f. Lysias; L: G; N: sale of slave and vineyard
Dura-Europos		Palmyra	<i>SEG</i> 7, 340 + <i>PAT</i> 1078	D: 244/5 CE; M: Iulius Aurelius Malochas f. Soudaios; L: G
Dura-Europos		QRH'	Drijvers and Healey 1999: 191 Bs1	D: early-3rd c.; M: Vologases son of Sennaq; L: S
Dura-Europos	Dura-Europos	Zeugma	<i>P.Dura</i> 29	D: 251 CE; M: Aurelius Theodoros f. Bernikianos; L: G; N: acknowledgement of deposit
Edessa		Carrhae	<i>P.Dura</i> 28	D: 243 CE; M: L. Aurelius Tiro; L: S; N: sale of slave
Engedi		BYT '[	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 42	D: 132 CE; M: Eleazar f. Samuel; L: A; N: Lease agreement
Engedi	Engedi (2)	ha-Luhit, by Mahoza (2); Beit Ther	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 44	D: 135 CE; M: Tehinnah f. Shimon and 'Allima f. Judas; Shimon f. Joseph; L: H; N: division of lease among four parties

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Gerasa		Antioch	<i>I.Gerasa</i> 232	D: mid-3rd c.; M: Iuliane and her husband; L: G
Gerasa	Antioch	Gerasa?	<i>I.Gerasa</i> 53	D: 119/20 CE; M: Diogenes f. Emmeganos; L: G
Gerrha (Medjel Anjar)		Sidon	<i>SEG</i> 1990, 1410	D: ?; M: Apollonophanes; L: G
Hebran		Canatha	<i>AE</i> 1936, 152	D: ?; M: Salemos f. Sausos; L: G; N: title – <i>praktōr</i>
Hegra		Tayma	<i>CIS</i> 2, 199	D: 4/5 CE; M: Hawshabu f. Nafyu and his family; L: N
Hegra		Tayma	<i>CIS</i> 2, 205	D: 34/5 CE; M: Wushuh and her daughters Qaynu and Nashkuyah; L: N
Hegra		YL' (Aila?)	<i>RES</i> 1135	D: ?; M: Wa'ilu f. Qashru; L: N; N: Aila is attested in <i>CIS</i> II 1205 as 'YLH
Heliopolis		Apamea	<i>AE</i> 1939, 57	D: 211 CE; M: Antonius Silvanus with family; L: G; N: title – veteran
Heliopolis		Arados	<i>IGLS</i> 6, 2729	D: 2nd c.?; M: Apollonios aka Apollinarius f. Segnas; L: G; N: ex-voto
Heliopolis		Maarra Samethou	<i>IGLS</i> 6, 2731	D: 2nd c.?; M: Selamanes and Mercurios f. Mambogaios; L: G
Heliopolis		Sidon	<i>IGLS</i> 6, 2855	D: ?; M: ? (female); L: G
Herodium	Engedi	Tekoa'	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 54	D: 132–5 CE; M: people from Tekoa'; L: H; N: letter from Shimon bar Kosiba
Herodium	Engedi	Tekoa'	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 55	D: 132–5 CE; M: people from Tekoa'; L: H; N: letter from Shimon bar Kosiba
Herodium	Engedi	Tekoa'	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 61	D: 132–5 CE; M: people from Tekoa'; L: H; N: letter from Shimon bar Kosiba

TABLE 14.1 *A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East (1st c. BCE-3rd c. CE) (cont.)*

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Jerusalem		Zeugma	<i>CIIP</i> 1.2 740	D: 1st c.?.; M: Glaucus f. Artemidoros; L: L
Laodicea ad Libanum		Emesa	<i>IGLS</i> 5, 2683	D: 2nd/3rd c.; M: Flavius Sacerdos; L: G
Mahoza		BT 'SHW	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 7	D: 120 CE; M: NN f. Shipona'; L: A; N: deed of gift
Mahoza	Mahoza (2)	Engedi	<i>P.Yadin</i> 1, 18	D: 128 CE; M: Judas f. Eleazar; Judas Kimber f. Ananios; L: G; N: marriage contract
Mahoza	Mazraas, by Mahoza	Engedi	<i>P.Yadin</i> 1, 20	D: 130 CE; M: Besas f. Yeshua; L: G; N: concession of rights to use of house
Mahoza		Engedi	<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 6	D: 119 CE; M: Yohanna f. Meshuallam; L: N; N: tenancy agreement
Mahoza	Mahoza	Engedi	<i>P.Yadin</i> 1, 26	D: 131 CE; M: Miriam f. Beias; L: G; N: summons to court and reply
Mahoza		Petra	<i>P.Yadin</i> 1, 25	D: 131 CE; M: Maras f. Abdalgos; L: G; N: summonings and countersummonings to court
Mahoza	Mahoza	Sophphath[, by Livias	<i>P.Yadin</i> 1, 37	D: 131 CE; M: Jesus f. Menahem; L: G; N: marriage contract
Masada	Masada (2)	?, ha-Nablaṭa	<i>P.Mur.</i> 19	D: 71/2 CE; M: Joseph f. Naqsan; Miriam f. Jonathan; L: A; N: act of repudiation

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
Nazala (Qaryatein)		Palmyra	<i>PAT</i> 0257	D: 145/6 CE; M: Zabdibol, Ettenur, Malku, Imru, Iedibel f. Barshamash; L: P
Neela (Mushannef)		Bostra	Wad. 2229	D: ?; M: Onemathe f. Severus; L: G
Occariba (‘Aqirbat)		Palmyra	Yon 2010: 106	D: 99 CE; M: Maliku f. Iarhaio; L: G-P
Oriza (Taiyebah)		Abila	Wad. 2631 + <i>PAT</i> 0258	D: 133 CE; M: Agathangelos; L: G-P
Ossa kome		Dura-Europos	<i>P.Dura</i> 23	D: 134 CE; M: Lysias f. Abboueios; L: G; N: antichretic loan; Lysias was from Europos, but did not hold citizenship
Palmyra		Berytus	<i>IGLS</i> 17/1, 551	D: 200–250; M: M.Iulius Maximus Aristides; L: G-P
Palmyra		Hierapolis	<i>AE</i> 2002, 1522	D: ?; Amatata f. Babaeus; L: L
Petra	Gerasa	Petra?	<i>Atlas</i> , MP7	D: ?; M: Petraios f. Threptos; L: N; N: migrant died in Gerasa and is commemorated in Petra
Petra		SWDY (Soada?)	<i>Atlas</i> , MP666	D: c. 76–102 CE; M: ‘Abdalga f. ‘Abdalga; L: N
Phaliga		]erakon kome	<i>P.Dura</i> 20	D: 121 CE; M: Barlaas f. Thathaio; L: G; N: antichretic loan
Rabbath Moab	Mahoza	Engedi	<i>P.Yadin</i> 1, 16	D: 127 CE; M: Judas f. Eleazar; L: G; N: declaration of land
Rimet Hazim		Canatha	Sartre-Fauriat 1991: 1293	D: ?; M: Belaios f. Anamos; L: G

TABLE 14.1 *A list of papyrological and epigraphic sources for migrants in the Roman Near East (1st c. BCE-3rd c. CE) (cont.)*

Finding/Writing	Residence (if known)	Origin	Source	Notes
RMWN (in Moab)	'Aina Shuḥaru'		<i>P.Yadin</i> 2, 1	D: 93/4 CE; M: Moqimu son of 'Awat-'Ilahi; L: N; N: debenture
Sahwet		Bostra	Dunand 1933 n.22	D: ?; M: Eunomos f.
al-Balatah		Phaina (Mismiyyeh)	<i>BE</i> 1988, 216	Papounos; L: G
Scythopolis				D: late-2nd/early 3rd. C.; M: ?; L: G; N: title – <i>laxos</i>
Seleucia Pieria		Apamea	<i>IGLS</i> 3, 1145	D: ?; M: Germanos; L: G; N: title – <i>hiererus</i>
Sepphoris		Gadara; Hippos	Weber 2002: 310 IS65	D: 1st-3rd c.; M: Apion f. Quintus; Philous m. Apion; L: G
Sfireh?		Naboukanath	<i>AE</i> 2002, 1527	D: 2nd-3rd c.; M: Victoria f. Abdous; N: ex-voto
Saccea/ Maximianoupolis		Petra	Wad. 2143	D: 2nd/3rd c.; M: Namele; L: G
Siwaya	Kesalon		<i>P.Mur.</i> 18	D: AD 55/6; M: Zakariah f. Yohanna; L: A; N: acknowledgement of debt
Soada (Suweyda)		Antioch	Wad. 2321	D: 2nd/3rd c.; M: Flavia Charis and her children; L: G-P
Triakome		Omron ('Orman)	Dunand, <i>Musée</i> n. 222	D: 295 CE; M: Diogenes; L: G
Triakome		Rimea (Rimet al-Lohf)	Wad. 2005	D: ? M: Aleos son of Salmanos; L: G
Tyre		Arra (al-Raha?)	<i>INTyr</i> 54	D: 3rd/4th c.; M: Dionysios; L: G
Tyre		Sarepta	<i>IJO</i> 3, Syr1	D: 3rd/4th c. ?; M: Theodoros aka Iakobos; L: G
Zeugma		Hierapolis	Ergeç and Yon 2012: 191 n.54	D: ?; M: ? (male); L: G
Zeugma		Phadana	Wagner 1976: 205 n.57	D: ?; M: Marcia Valeria; L: G

Moving Epigrams: Migration and Mobility in the Greek East*

Laurens E. Tacoma and Rolf A. Tybout

Introduction

Ἴδριν Ἀθηναίης πάντων Διονύσιον ἔργων
 ἡ ξείνη Πατάρων γῆ με λαβοῦσα κρατεῖ,
 Τμώλου ἀπ' ἀμπελόεντος· ἔχω δὲ κλέος καὶ ἐσαῦθις
 4 ὠδεῖω μεγάλην ἀμφιβαλὼν ὀροφήν.

I Dionysios, experienced in all the crafts of Athena, the foreign earth of Patara has received and possesses me, coming from vine-clad Tmolos; but I shall be famous even in the future since I decked the *odeion* with a large roof. (17/09/03, found in Patara)

The Lydian architect praised in these verses for his work on the *odeion* of Lycian Patara was not alone in moving, working and finally dying abroad. Many other Greek texts testify to movement over significant distances, for shorter or longer periods.

Especially in the analysis of regional patterns of mobility, inscriptions have much to offer. Hence it comes as no surprise that epigraphers have contributed their fair share of regional studies. Although the situation is changing, up to now studies of the Greek world seem to have been lacking, at least as far as the post-classical period is concerned.¹ The upshot is that in many respects the rich epigraphic sources of the Greek East remain untapped.

* This paper was presented at two different seminars in Leiden in November 2012 and May 2013 and then in Rome in January 2014; our thanks to the participants for their helpful comments. We would also like to thank Gerard Boter, Angelos Chaniotis, Miriam Groen-Vallinga, Onno van Nijf and Harry W. Pleket.

1 See the papers of Hin and Zerbini in this volume; in addition, an edited diachronic overview of mobility in the Near East is in preparation by J. Yoo and A. Zerbini. There are of course studies of the presence of foreigners in individual areas or cities which contain plenty of useful material; see e.g. Delrieux 2001, discussing the presence of foreigners in Iasos in the 2nd century BCE, or the studies of Romans in the East, for which see Müller and Hasenohr

The sources are rich indeed. They include naturalisation lists and grants of citizenship; manumission records mentioning slaves of different origins; military muster rolls mentioning mercenaries; agonistic inscriptions; temple inventories mentioning foreign dedicants; dedications by foreigners; Hadra vases referring to foreigners at the Ptolemaic court; honorary decrees for foreign judges, envoys, itinerant artists, entertainers and doctors; lists of pilgrims; artists' signatures; and epitaphs of people buried far away from their fatherland. But because of their heterogeneous character and the fact that they rarely survive in comparable numbers in all places and periods, these sources do not easily lend themselves to general analysis.

By contrast, funerary epigrams are a rewarding source from which to analyse mobility in the Greek East as they have survived in this area in sufficient quantities to establish general patterns.² They testify both to attitudes and to the actual movements of individuals. They sometimes provide remarkably detailed information allowing us to reconstruct the context in which such moves occurred. Just as importantly, they permit a study of how mobility was conceptualised as a cultural phenomenon in the post-classical *polis*. Epigrams offer small, highly individualised vignettes containing both facts and representations.

At the same time, a series of such epigrams should not be mistaken for hard data: they are anecdotal and statistical analysis is therefore hardly meaningful. Instead the epigrams provide a series of small windows, and we do believe that through *mise-en-série* we can analyse patterns. In fact, reading epigrams might be compared to taking an evening stroll along a street in a Dutch village. Many of the curtains are left open and the passer-by is rewarded with brief glimpses into sitting-rooms where he catches sight of some of the inhabitants of the houses. Immediately and intuitively his mind begins making inferences about what is going on: about the social relations between the inhabitants, about their life-stories. All the houses are highly individualised, yet all are also similar, and follow stylistic conventions. It is this type of combination of individuality and similarity which gives us the opportunity to discern broad patterns. At the same time, much has to remain based on inferences and educated guesses: we do not know what happens in the other rooms of the house, and who knows whether the houses which have their curtains closed would display similar characteristics?

2002. For a study of female mobility in the Hellenistic period, including discussion of inscriptions, see Loman 2004. For Classical Athens, see Osborne 1991. For a collection of late-antique inscriptions, see Avraméa 1995. The essays in Capdetrey and Zurbach 2012 discuss various types of Greek mobility up until the Hellenistic period.

2 Contrast Hamdoune 2006 who found only 15 funerary epigrams in North Africa testifying to some form of mobility.

Strictly speaking, the epigrams reflect the ideas of the commemorators who wrote or commissioned them rather than those of the deceased. Though the individual perspectives of migrants might occasionally have been at variance with what is expressed in their epitaphs (in which case they will inevitably elude us forever),³ we consider the possible manipulation of the voices of the dead insignificant in the reconstruction of mainstream mentalities. The fact that movement could form an important element in the way the deceased was represented is of real social significance.

In what follows we offer an analysis of mobility in the Greek East and of the way it was represented on the basis of a selection of 146 Greek funerary epigrams spanning the Hellenistic and Roman periods. What types of moves were made? Who were the people who undertook the moves? How was mobility perceived?

We base ourselves on an analysis of the corpus of Greek epigrams from Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine and Arabia compiled by Merkelbach and Stauber,⁴ whose volumes present an easily accessible, uniformly edited and coherent corpus. From this corpus we have selected 142 epigrams unequivocally testifying to some form of mobility,⁵ and have added four other texts published since.⁶ Our selection ranges from the later fourth century BCE to the fourth century CE; the majority come from the early Roman period. We have omitted the Christian epigrams which concern only a few late texts but would require

3 With the exception, probably, of poems written or commissioned by the deceased during his or her lifetime; the examples from our collection are 14/06/19, 16/32/02 and 16/63/01.

4 Merkelbach and Stauber 1998–2004, containing 2,122 epigrams (including a few Latin ones) from the area between the Bosphorus, the modern Suez Canal and the regions beyond the Euphrates settled by Greeks; the last, included in vol. 3 (Section 12: Bactriane, Media, Armenia Maior), does not contain material relevant to our purposes. When we speak about ‘the Greek East’, we are referring to the area covered by their volumes, excluding the area east of the Euphrates. All references of the type 01/09/99 refer to their corpus.

5 We have omitted some uncertain cases. Among them in 01/03/01 from Loryma (Rhodian Peraea) [σῶμα δ]᾽ Φοινίκῃ κατέχει (v. 2) which either refers to “the region of (the) Phoinix” (i.e. Mount Phoinix or the homonymous city in the Peraea) or to Phoenicia (cf. also *LRhod. Per.* 15; Bresson, *Recueil Pérée* 184: “On se gardera...de trancher”). In the latter case, the brothers of Agoranax are supposed to have travelled to Phoenicia to bury him there “according to the paternal rights”, *vel sim.* (restoration of line 3 by W. Peek: [χεῖθι?] κασίγνητοι θάψαμ πατρίοισι ν[όμοισι]) and also to have erected a cenotaph at home – a procedure unparalleled in our series. If, however, the body did lie in the Rhodian Peraea (requiring a restoration like that of P.M. Fraser and G.E. Bean: [καὶ με?] κασίγνητοι θάψαμ πατρίοισιν [ἐν ἀγροῖς?]), the epigram does not testify to migration at all.

6 In our catalogue, the new texts are marked by an *. Another epigram from Bactria (*Jenseits des Euphrat* no. 105, *SEG* 54, 1568) falls outside the area covered by our article and differs in more than one respect from the texts in our catalogue.

a significant amount of additional explanation while adding little to our knowledge. We have also confined ourselves to funerary epigrams on the grounds that, given their commemorative function, they are more likely to contain relevant biographical information, whereas honorific epigrams, which are fewer in number anyway, tend to focus on local, official achievements.

Any selection is bound to produce borderline cases, and ours is no exception. For example, although it is likely that all gladiators lived extremely mobile lives, we have only used those epigrams of gladiators which explicitly refer to their whereabouts or contain otherwise useful information. The same applies to *naukleroi* and people of similar background: only when some concrete information is given have they been included. After some consideration, we decided not to supplement our selection with epigrams from Greek areas not covered by the corpus of Merkelbach and Stauber (especially Greece proper, the northern shore of the Black Sea and Egypt), though we occasionally refer to some of these texts. Including them in our *corpusculum* would have broadened our knowledge, but it would also have diminished the uniformity and accessibility of our catalogue and it would have forced us to take the different epigraphic habits of these regions into account. The chances that they would have altered our conclusions significantly seem very slight.

We have listed our main findings in the form of a catalogue, drawing on Merkelbach-Stauber for the basic data: the reference number of the text, the provenance of the stone and the date of text. We have also noted the (original) provenance of the migrant; the destination of the migrant; whether the move was made alone or included others; the gender and age of the migrant and the identity of the commemorator. In the column for remarks, we mention the circumstances of the burial and occasionally add some other specifications.

Our discussion is structured as follows. We begin by focusing on definitions and categorisations of the types of mobility found in the epigrams. Then we analyse which part of the ancient world was involved in the moves. In the next section we continue with a discussion of the social composition of the movers. Finally, we discuss some demographic characteristics of the movers, with special reference to the presence of women. The epigrams testify to a culture of mobility in which a surprisingly large cross-section of the urban population participated. Their geographical horizon was not limitless, but the world in which they could and did move was surprisingly large.

A Spectrum of Mobility

[Δαίδαλέ]ου κόσμου [τὸν ἀγάκλυ]τον ἀργυροτέχνην
[Χρ]ήσιμον ἐκ Θυρίης ἐλθόντα με σύν τε [γ]υναικί

- παισί θ' [ό]μοῦ τέχνη τ' ἀνὰ ἄστῳ με κυδιόων[τ]α
 4 Μοῖρ' ἔλε βασκήνασ'· ἱερὴ δέ με δακρ[ύ]σασα
 γαῖα φίλῃ τῷδ' ἀμφιχύτῳ ὑπὸ σήματι κεύθει·
 μνήμη ἐν θανάτῳ στήλης· μούνην δὲ γυναι[ῖ]κα
 κεύθοι ἔπειτ', ἄλλοισι δ' ἀπειρήσθω πολιήταις.

I, Chresimos, the renowned smith of cunningly wrought (?) silver trinkets, who came from Thyrie (?)⁷ with my wife and children and by my craft had won fame throughout the city – I who the jealous Moira snatched away; but the holy, beloved earth has wept for me and covers me under this heaped-up grave mound. The stele commemorates my death – may it later cover my wife alone, but be forbidden to other citizens. (18/01/16, found in Termessos)

The epigrams record a variety of moves, ranging from permanent resettlement to short visits. Some of the moves, such as that of the silversmith Chresimos just quoted, could unquestionably be classified as migration. However, there are many more cases of mobility which are not as clear cut and this blurriness raises questions about definition and classification.

In defining what exactly constitutes migration, historians have stressed that migration applies to the more permanent end of a wide spectrum of forms of geographical mobility. As stated in the introduction to this volume, migration is normally defined as the movement of humans by which they change their residence from one place to another on a permanent or semi-permanent basis.⁸ Permanency is the key, but permanency is not as absolute a concept as it might seem. Therefore, any demarcation of migration within the spectrum of mobility is bound to be to some extent arbitrary.⁹ Meanwhile, migration historians have been increasingly emphasising that various forms of mobility other than permanent migration should be studied. What in retrospect appears to be a single permanent move has actually often occurred in stages, and involved considerable return movement. In practice, migration is a much fuzzier process than it appears in theory, and involves considerable interplay between multiple forms of mobility.

As a consequence of this fuzziness, when compiling our list we decided not to limit ourselves to clear-cut cases of migration, and not to worry too much about its exact demarcation: we have included all the forms of mobility we

7 Or Syria, on emending Θυρίης (line 2) into Συρίης (see Merkelbach and Stauber, app.cr.).

8 Moch 2003: 18; Hoerder, Lucassen and Lucassen 2007: 36.

9 Tilly 1978: 51.

could trace with a much more liberal hand. What is more interesting than the exact demarcation of cases of permanent migration, is the extent to which the epigrams cover the full spectrum of mobility. Obviously epigrams are selective: choices have been made about what shall or shall not be represented, so the question is what types of moves were considered worthy of mention.

Unsurprisingly such forms of local mobility as movement within the territory of a *polis* are rarely found in the epigrams, and the same can also be said of rural mobility. Given the fact that epigraphy is largely an urban phenomenon, movements from one village to another or from the countryside to the city by and large remain hidden from our gaze.¹⁰ We have failed to come across peasants travelling to the market or villagers finding seasonal work elsewhere.¹¹

Instead the epigrams document movements between *poleis*. The patterns seem to follow those of the distribution of epigrams in general. They suggest a type of inter-*polis* mobility closely connected to patterns of urbanisation. As Pooley and Turnbull have stated in the case of migration patterns in Britain during the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, a map of all migration origins and destinations should be very similar to a map of population distribution in general. When a large part of the population lives in clustered settlements, a network is established in which cities form the nodal points and are connected by streams of migrants.¹²

However, in any strongly articulated urban system with large differences in population sizes, it might be hypothesised that people also move *upwards* into the urban hierarchy, to settlements of larger size. This idea is given more formal expression in the Urban Graveyard Theory which is discussed in various papers in this volume. It is based on the assumption that the larger pre-industrial cities were unable to maintain their populations at a stable size by relying on natural reproduction, and therefore required large numbers of immigrants. We are aware that it is not self-evident that the theoretical predictions following from such models can be traced in a particular set of anecdotal sources. Still it remains remarkable that our catalogue does not support the idea that large urban centres attracted far more migrants than smaller cities. As could be expected, outside the area covered by our corpus Athens and

10 One exception comes from the army: 09/06/14 for a *protector* from a *vicus* in Dacia; cf. also 20/02/28, but this concerns a landowner rather than a peasant.

11 For an exception outside our corpus, see *ILS* 7457, the well-known Latin epigram of the harvester from Mactar (modern Tunisia) testifying to seasonal agricultural work. Seasonal labour in the Roman Republic is discussed by Erdkamp 2008, and id., in this volume. For rural mobility see also Zerbini, in this volume; note that in the Near East many inscriptions come from villages.

12 Pooley and Turnbull 1998: 53.

Rome receive a significant number of attestations (7 and 11 resp.).¹³ Otherwise, no clear hierarchy in destinations is distinguishable. Ephesos occurs four times, but so does Patara in Lycia. Kyzikos receives eight mentions, Nikomedeia six.¹⁴ Certainly, some of the more frequently mentioned places were important regional centres in their own right – Kyzikos and Patara had important harbours. The dearth of clear patterns is at least partly accounted for by the individualised nature of the epigrams, but they might also perhaps be associated with the arguments of Saskia Hin that models of unidirectional and permanent migration to large urban centres should be replaced by more complex patterns of temporary mobility to and from settlements, and by assuming a step-wise rather than direct migration.¹⁵

Few texts testify unambiguously to permanent migration. Numerous epigrams express a variant of the idea that death came untimely, that death intruded while a person was on a journey. As a consequence, it is difficult to find cases of voluntary resettlement in which it is indisputably obvious that the move was intended to be permanent. One such case concerns the silver-smith whose epigram was quoted at the beginning of this section: he resettled to Pisidian Termessos from an otherwise unidentified Thurie. A possible hint at permanent resettlement is also suggested by cases in which the person who is commemorated had reached old age.¹⁶ However, in many texts permanent migration can be neither excluded nor confirmed.¹⁷ It is possible that when people had resettled permanently their origin became less interesting: identifying with the new community might have been more important. Nevertheless, the relative absence of references to permanent resettlement might also indicate the predominance of temporary forms of mobility.

In the epigrams, the great majority of moves is represented as being linear; from A to B. There are five cases of return movement (A-B-A): a person had gone somewhere else, returned and subsequently died.¹⁸ A separate form is that of *post-mortem* return migration discussed by Tybout in this volume.

A few epigrams record more complex moves involving more than two places. It seems likely that such complex moves are under-represented in the

13 Rome: 01/15/03; 04/16/01; 05/03/03; 08/01/36; 08/08/06; 10/02/03; 10/02/32; 15/02/03; 20/27/02 = 24/34; 21/03/01 (implied); 22/33/03. Athens: 02/14/09; 03/05/02; 08/01/36; 09/05/04-08; 09/07/02; 09/06/21; 22/21/02.

14 Kyzikos: 10/03/02 plus those listed under Mysia. Nikomedeia: 02/14/09; 06/02/28; 09/06/05; 09/06/14; 09/06/21; 09/10/03.

15 Hin 2013: 224–228, also Hin, in this volume.

16 E.g. 03/01/04.

17 E.g. 01/03/01; 01/12/17; 01/12/18.

18 01/15/03; 02/06/14; 09/05/12; 16/05/02; 16/31/08.

epigrams, as normally the place of origin (birth) and final destination will have been considered the most cogent facts in a person's life.¹⁹ One text records a family of which the father originated from Prousius (Bithynia); subsequently the family moved to the Rhine and then the son studied in Ephesos for five years (the text will be quoted at the beginning of Section 4). Such a double move is also revealed in a text in which the parents are stated to have come from Italy; the daughter was raised in Phrygia and died, as yet unmarried, in Gerasa. Another tells of a career of someone who first studied Latin literature and law in Berytos, then became a judge in Palaestina, and subsequently moved to Egypt, to become an *assessor* of a *praeses* of the Thebais.²⁰ However, complex moves are more often alluded to more vaguely: the deceased is said to have been in (or to be known in, or have seen, *vel sim.*) many places.²¹

A number of texts refer to temporary spells of longer duration. Soldiers might have been stationed elsewhere. Young men travelled to the major cities of the Empire in search of a rounded education, or to work as an apprentice. Scholars travelled to the major centres of wisdom and learning.²² These sojourns were certainly not meant to be permanent, but could involve months if not years of living elsewhere.

Short-term trips are likely to have been made often, but only feature in the epigrams in particular circumstances. A good example is provided by those sent on embassies; as diplomatic representatives were chosen from the higher echelons of society, such appointments were markers of high status and therefore worth recording.²³

Some people were permanently on the move. Among them were first and foremost gladiators, who appear in the epigrams in surprising numbers.²⁴ Then there were athletes and people working in the theatrical profession, including dancers and actors, a flautist, a Homeric scholar and a sophist.²⁵ They travelled

19 See 21/33/03, where most information comes from external sources.

20 Parents from Italy: *21/23/10. Assessor: 18/18/01.

21 I.a. 02/06/14; 02/13/03; 03/01/04; 08/02/01; 09/05/12; 09/09/16; 10/06/08; 11/08/02; 16/34/39; 16/55/04.

22 Soldier: e.g. 01/9/99. Education: e.g. 03/02/61. Apprentice: e.g. 16/05/02. Centres of learning: e.g. 03/05/02.

23 05/03/03; 09/05/04-08; 16/71/01. For their occurrence in epitaphs in general, see Habicht 2001 with further literature.

24 02/14/09; 03/02/53; 04/24/04; 06/02/28; 07/05/01; 08/01/32; 09/06/05; 09/09/01; 17/10/05; cf. 15/02/03.

25 Athletes: 01/12/14; 01/20/31; 03/02/70; 10/03/02; 14/07/08; 18/01/19. Dancers and actors: 01/20/41; 04/02/13 = 23/05; 09/09/07; 09/09/16; 09/11/02; 10/06/09; 11/08/02. Flautist: 16/23/14. Homeric scholar: 10/05/04. Sophist: 22/21/02.

continuously, journeying from city to city, from venue to venue.²⁶ To them can be added the doctors known as *Wanderärzte*.²⁷ The list of such itinerant workers is long but contains few surprises. Compared to other types of migrants they might be over-represented in the list, but not all of these people chose to underline their moves: in the Merkelbach-Stauber corpus there are many more examples of such persons who do not explicitly mention mobility.

As there is a high propensity in epigrams to focus on the free civilian population, naturally the emphasis is on the voluntary movement of individuals. Therefore, the fact that no collective forced movement is recorded is not surprising. Nevertheless, there are also some hints at individuals experiencing forced or state-organised movement.

One example is the state-organised mobility of soldiers. We can safely assume that most soldiers joined the army voluntarily, but once enlisted they could be dispatched over significant distances.²⁸ Unsurprisingly, some of them are commemorated because they died in battle.²⁹ Most of the soldiers recorded originate from Greece proper, and the epigrams in which they are mentioned date to the Hellenistic period. It seems reasonable to suppose that they were recruited as mercenaries, as was certainly the case with the two brothers-in-law who died in Gaza.³⁰ Whether people entered the army at their birthplace or where they were deployed is impossible to establish, but significant distances were involved in all these Hellenistic cases. Given the shift to local recruitment in the later Roman period, it is perhaps not completely coincidental that one late Roman example seems to concern recruitment within the soldier's native region.³¹

Forced movement is a particular characteristic of slavery. Four slaves and ex-slaves occur in our catalogue.³² Three of them were transported over longer distances: one from Athens to Rome; one from Lydia to Rome; in a third case a

26 Chaniotis 1990 for their itineraries; there may have been significant variation in the mobility patterns of individual performers depending on their success – some remained only regionally active.

27 09/05/12; perhaps 11/15/01; 14/16/03.

28 08/06/03 is an epitaph from Mysia commemorating a soldier who had crossed the Danube to fight barbarian tribes, probably in the campaign of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomanni. 16/08/03 commemorates the child of a soldier who for some unknown reason had been transferred from Moesia to Phrygia.

29 04/22/06; 06/01/01; 09/05/16. 10/02/28 for a soldier who returned home and died in old age.

30 03/01/05, cf. 01/09/99 and 16/52/02. Two brothers-in law: 21/05/01.

31 09/10/03 for possible local recruitment, though cf. 09/06/14. Though the chronology is debated, the shift itself is not in doubt. See Wesch-Klein 2007, with further bibliography.

32 08/01/36; 04/16/01; 21/03/01; 17/09/07.

freedwoman moved from Rome to Caesarea Maritima (though her movement could just as well have been voluntary); a fourth individual appears to have been enslaved in the vicinity. One case was clearly the result of war (the capture of Athens by Sulla), another hints at the possibility of a sale by the family. Strikingly, in all cases the forced character of the movement is played down in its presentation. In one case, the phrasing of the status is so vague that we can only infer that the person commemorated must have been employed as a slave – all that is said is that she went to Rome to work at the imperial court. In another case, a woman who had been transferred to Rome was manumitted so that she could marry and went to Kyzikos with her husband. In a third, the emphasis is on the fact that the slave had been manumitted and had obtained Roman citizenship. In the fourth, it remains ambiguous whether the movement was forced or voluntary.

In short, the epigrams do not cover the full spectrum of mobility. Nevertheless, they still present a relatively wide variety of moves. Some of the moves were intended to be permanent, but the majority seem to have been for shorter periods.

Geographical Horizons

- Νήπιος οὐκ ᾔδειν Μοίρ[α]ς δύναμις τις ὑπάρχει
 δς κατέλειψ' ἄλυστρος γαίην κέ μητέρα τήν με τεκοῦσαν
 καὶ πλεῦσιν ἐθέλησα, πολλὰς δὲ πόλεις ἰσαθρήσαι·
 4 ἐν νήσῳ δὲ τέθηκα· Ἀλέξανδρός ποτε κληθεὶς,
 καὶ πατριδ[α] οὐκ ἐσορῶ οὐδ' ἐμὸν γενέτην· βαρυδέμων,
 [ἀλ]λά πικρὸς δαίμων [ζ]ωῆς φωτὸς μὲ πέπαυκεν.

Fool that I was, I knew not the power of Moira – I was wrong to leave my land and the mother who gave birth to me, eager to set sail and see many cities. On the island I died; Alexandros was once my name, and I gaze no more on my homeland nor on my father, unlucky me, but a bitter demon deprived me of the light of my life. (08/02/01, found in Prokonnesos)

The epigrams testify to individual movements which, taken together, provide a sense of the geographical horizons of the movers. As does the text just quoted, some epigrams make the claim that the person commemorated had seen many places in the world.³³ To what extent was theirs a world without frontiers?

33 02/13/03; 02/06/14; 03/01/04; 09/05/12; 16/55/04.

Literary sources such as comedies and novels depict a Mediterranean world in which people moved around fairly easily, unhindered by state boundaries.³⁴ Under the Roman Principate, anyone with time and money could travel from one end of the Empire to the other without encountering serious obstacles, and of course traders, soldiers and administrators seized the opportunity to do precisely this: they moved from province to province. But what were the geographical horizons of the people for whom our epigrams were written? How should we regard the boundaries they might have met: were they political, or cultural? To what extent did physical obstacles and the inadequacies of transport play a role in their movements?

As we have already seen, the representation of moves is selective. We can expect the epigrams to provide a better guide to the higher ends of the mobility spectrum, to the more noteworthy moves. This bias is not a hindrance because it helps to sketch the contours of the world in which people moved.

Many epigrams mention places which are quite distant from each other, involving itineraries covering hundreds of kilometres. Of course, many of the larger centres were integrated into a wider communications network but, given the inadequacies and irregularities of travel, we can safely assume that very serious efforts were often made to reach such a faraway destination. Sea transport will frequently have been the preferred means of transport, but many routes must have still included significant stretches of overland travel. Moreover, in view of the fact that the inconvenience of travelling was a *topos* in ancient literature,³⁵ it is remarkable that the epigrams make no reference to the difficulties involved in reaching such destinations.

Many of the epigrams testify to long-distance mobility, but it is striking that most of the itineraries are confined to the Greek world. The corpus on which we have based our selection is itself confined to the Greek East: Asia Minor, Syria, Arabia, but the destinations mentioned encompass the whole of the Greek-speaking world, including the parts not covered by our corpus: Egypt, the Greek mainland and the Greek islands are all mentioned. Admittedly, the 'Greek world' is itself a somewhat elastic concept. The appearance of someone originating from Syracuse in an epigram from fourth-century BCE Miletos is a case in point: at that time Sicily was by all accounts still an integral part of the

34 See Knapp 1907 on travel in Plautus and Greek forerunners; Millar 1981 on social reality in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*; Moatti 2000: 925–927 on the idea of unrestricted mobility in Roman times.

35 André and Baslez 1993: 483–540 for a general overview; Habicht 2001 on epigraphically attested difficulties in the case of embassies; Leyerle 2009 for a useful brief overview of the infrastructure of travel, providing further references.

Greek world. The same might be said about an early reference to what is possibly Thourioi in Magna Graecia.³⁶ Notwithstanding the shifts in cultural boundaries, the bulk of the epigrams testify to movement within the Greek-speaking world, and far less so to movement outside it.

In the Hellenistic states, state boundaries do not seem to have impeded movement. Any precise analysis of the subject is difficult because political boundaries were subject to frequent changes and many of the epigrams are imprecisely dated. Mercenaries could certainly have moved around, but there were also some other moves in the Hellenistic world which crossed state boundaries.³⁷ The epigrams present a Greek world which in this respect seemed unified.

Within this world, the idea of *patris* was very important. As the immense efforts undertaken to return the ashes of the deceased home (Tybout, this volume) demonstrate, a person's birthplace was regarded as the place where one belonged, but this idea was only slightly connected with a concept of the *polis* as a political space with particular boundaries. Local citizenship hardly functions as identity marker in our epigrams, nor is the *polis* presented as a strictly delineated space with almost insurmountable boundaries. It is quite clear that in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds the *polis* in its redefined form continued to be a very important point of reference,³⁸ but as far as our migratory epigrams are concerned, this post-classical *polis* was open.

It is also remarkable that the mobility patterns on record in our epigrams were barely affected by the arrival of the Romans, despite the fact that from an early date Romans and Italians had settled in the East in significant numbers, both as colonists and as voluntary migrants.³⁹ The one noticeable change resulting from the integration of the East into the Roman world is that the city of Rome begins to appear on the map. Two elements loom large in the epigrams in which Rome figures: the imperial court and slavery. One epigram combines both, mentioning a girl who was sent from Tabala in Lydia to work at the imperial court, presumably as slave. Rome also appears as the place where a person had been sold as a slave, or the place where a person had been born as an imperial slave. Besides being the centre of slavery and the court, it could also be the city in which it was possible to find work as a doctor, as an architect,

36 Syracuse: 01/20/28; Thourioi: 01/12/23.

37 e.g. 01/12/23 (Thouria (Messenia) or Thourioi (South Italy) to Halicarnassus); 01/20/28 (Syracuse to Miletus); 03/01/04 (Hermopolis to Priene).

38 See e.g. Van Nijf 2012 on the meaning of multiple citizenship of athletes, with further bibliography.

39 Wilson 1966: 85–198; Müller and Hasenohr 2002 with further bibliography.

or to be a member of a *collegium* of *summarudes*; Rome could even be the place in which a foreign prince might have been accorded an honorary reburial.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, despite its centrality most of the epigrams in which Rome occurs are of relatively late date. Given the fact that the regions covered by our texts had a long-standing tradition of contact with Rome even before their incorporation into the Empire, this is surely surprising.

The rest of the western part of the Roman Empire occurs only occasionally.⁴¹ We have already referred to an epigram testifying to movement from Prousius to the Rhine and back to Ephesos. This text surely, as Merkelbach and Stauber write in their commentary, “zeigt, wie das römische Reich eine Einheit bildete”, but it should be stressed that in our list such spectacular moves back and forth across the length and breadth of the Empire were very rare indeed. Even Italy outside of Rome hardly figures in the epigrams. Someone born in Ravenna was appointed prefect of the Pontic fleet; a woman raised in Galatia is said to have “seen Italy”, a girl has parents who are natives of Italy, a freedwoman originates from Italy. That is about all.⁴² Although the epigrams tend to emphasise things Greek, there is no obvious reason why journeys to the western parts of the Empire should have been excluded from the texts had they been made in significant numbers.

A comparison with the findings from the city of Rome is instructive. Literary sources suggest the presence of significant numbers of immigrants from the Greek East.⁴³ This is corroborated by the number of such immigrants epigraphically attested to in the City. The discrepancy in the figures is noteworthy: Noy has listed 213 persons from the Greek East who occur in Rome,⁴⁴ whereas our own list contains only eleven epigrams in which Rome is mentioned. The explanation should be sought primarily in the fact that Noy used all types of inscriptions, whereas our list is based on one specific type of text only.⁴⁵ The figures might in fact have been very similar were they to be set against the total number

40 Imperial court: 04/16/01, cf. also 21/03/01. Sale as slave: 08/01/36. Born as slave: 10/02/32. Doctor: 08/08/06. Architect: 01/15/03. *Summarudes* (15/02/03). Probable reburial: 20/27/02 = 24/34.

41 Cf. 16/08/03, for a soldier probably normally stationed in Moesia, and 08/06/03, for a soldier who had crossed the Danube to fight barbarian tribes.

42 Ravenna: 08/01/37. “seen Italy”: 18/05/01. Parents from Italy: *21/23/10. Freedwoman from Italy: 21/03/01. Cf. 01/20/28 (Syracuse) and 01/12/23 (possibly Thourioi), discussed above.

43 Noy 2000: 227–245.

44 Noy 2000: 59–60 Table 1, 289–327: Asia, Bithynia, Galatia, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Syria/Palestine have produced 36 military and 177 civilian immigrants.

45 The comparison is also not completely justifiable in other respects: Noy lists persons rather than stones, and uses somewhat different criteria for inclusion (discussed in Noy 2000: 6–7) to those we have chosen. But these differences cannot explain the wide discrepancy.

of inscriptions from which they were selected: 213 out of an estimated number of 60,000 inscriptions from Rome,⁴⁶ against eleven out of 2,122 Greek epigrams would in both cases result in a percentage in the order of 0.4–0.5 per cent. Although neither Noy's list nor our own catalogue allows precise quantitative assessments of the volume of mobility to be made, Noy's much higher numbers do suggest that our own list forms only the tip of an iceberg, but our findings also put those from the City into a different perspective. Indubitably, Rome had become a true cosmopolis, attracting people from all over the Empire, including those from the Greek East. However, our epigrams strongly suggest that what applied to Rome did not apply to other parts of the Empire: people did move to Rome, but this does not imply that they also moved to many other places outside their own cultural zone. Rome was the world, but the world was not Rome.

Social Profile

Λ(ουκίωι) Καλπουρνίωι Καλπουρνιανῶι Τ(ίτος) Καλπούρνιος Κυϊντιανὸς
Ἀφρικανὸς κατεσκεύασεν σὺν τῇ ἐκβασμειδῶσει τὸν βωμόν·

Ῥήνωι παρ ποταμῶι γενόμην· Πώλιττα δὲ μήτηρ,
Κυϊντιανὸς δὲ πατήρ, Προυσιάδος δὲ πάτρης·
Καλπουρνιανὸς δ' οὖνομα· ἔτη δ' ἐπὶ πέντε λόγοισιν

4 ἰν Ἐφέσῳι σχολάσας εἰκοσέτης ἔθανον·

ὁ ἐνοχλήσας τούτῳι τῶι βωμῶι ἢ τῶι τόπῳι καταβαλεῖ εἰς τὸν φίσκον δηνάρια
μύρια.

Titus Calpurnius Quintianus Africanus erected this funerary altar with its base for Lucius Calpurnius Calpurnianus.

On the river Rhine I was born. Politta was my mother, Quintianus my father, Prouusias my father's town. Calpurnianus is my name; after I devoted myself to the study of letters in Ephesos for five years, I died twenty years old.

46 The number of Roman inscriptions is admittedly a guess, and the figure is dependent on the criteria used. The Clauss-Slaby database as of April 2015 lists slightly over 40,000 inscriptions for *CIL* 6, but almost 120,000 inscriptions found in Rome. The former excludes inscriptions published post-*CIL*, while the latter includes *instrumentum domesticum*, and Republican and Late Antique material. The actual number must be somewhere in-between. Subtracting from the c.120,000 the c.20,000 texts of the *instrumentum* published in *CIL* 15 and the c.40,000 texts of *ICUR* (Christian catacombs, mainly) results in 60,000 inscriptions. See also De Ligt and Garnsey, this volume.

Who damages this altar or the plot will pay to the *fiscus* 10,000 *denarii*.
(03/02/61, found in Ephesos)

As all texts, epigrams can be read on several levels. We might envisage the *polis* society in which they were created as a field of negotiation in which people were continuously making claims about their own status and judging the claims of others. One important venue for making such claims was Greek literary culture. Independently of the question of who actually wrote the verses, and leaving aside the question of whether the claims might say more about the commemorators than about those commemorated, epigrams can be read as claims to cultural competence. In other words (and phrased in more traditional terms of social analysis), the epigrams can be seen as the product of a cultured sub-set of the population. This raises the question of how this sub-set was composed. No doubt there was an upwardly mobile social bias, but to what extent was this a world restricted to the elite? The question also has wider implications, because it is often assumed that mobility is status-dependent: the more important the person, the more he would have been able to travel.⁴⁷

Before investigating this topic, a general remark about the representativity of our material is in order. We have conducted our analysis of the social profile on the basis of our selection of epigrams, nevertheless we believe the social composition of the movers does not diverge from that of their sedentary counterparts. A cursory reading of the remaining part of the corpus suggests no marked differences in the status or in the types of persons mentioned.

Some epigrams in our list clearly originate from an elite context. Unsurprisingly, among them we find high-ranking Roman citizens such as those who appear in the text quoted at the beginning of this section, but it has to be reiterated – and this phenomenon is well-known – that most texts display a studied vagueness about official positions.⁴⁸ As to involvement with urban institutions, we find one person being honoured by the *demos* and being an honorary citizen of many cities. In one case, a vague claim to “fame in Cilicia, Syria [and] Asia” is accompanied by more precise information: the deceased

47 See Wierschowski 1995: 16, 21, on mobility as a prerogative of the elite, while the mass of the rural population remained fixed in its place, and 209–257 for detailed analysis on the basis of the epigraphy of Roman Gaul. But cf. Hin 2013: 216 for almost the completely opposite view: “although mobility is not confined to the poorer segments of a population, the degree of mobility of those without significant property tends to be higher”. The relationship between mobility and status and wealth obviously needs to be researched in greater depth.

48 Demonstrated by 22/33/03, where most information derives from external sources. For a contrast, see 18/18/01.

had been a councillor, had presided over a city council and had also been a member of the *gerousia*. There is one Caucasian prince, but his elevated position is exceptional. In a nutshell, the number of people unambiguously belonging to the elite (local or otherwise) is in fact relatively small.⁴⁹

The onomastics of the persons commemorated in the epigrams often do not suggest an elite status either. Most of the names are standard Greek ones. Some seem to have an ethnic ring which can be traced to a particular region, an observation which applies especially to women.⁵⁰ Although onomastics are notoriously unreliable as status indicators, at least they do not suggest that those commemorated enjoyed a particularly high status.

Some names appear to be typically Roman, which might or might not imply actual Roman citizenship. One case explicitly describes the acquisition of Roman citizenship, but this concerns a manumitted slave.⁵¹ *Tria nomina* are rare, though admittedly these were hardly suited to fitting into a metrical inscription – as the addition of the name in prose above the verses in the epigram quoted at the beginning of this section demonstrates. All the same, we find few elements indicative of Roman citizenship.

Some of the professions mentioned seem to belong to the higher echelons of the occupational ladder. Besides some *Wanderärzte*, some regular doctors also appear. Two legal professionals are mentioned: a lawyer and a jurist who was also *synhedros* (assessor) of the *conventus* of Bithynia. Architects, sculptors and traders perhaps as well might have belonged to the same social stratum, just below that of the bouleutic elite.⁵²

A remarkable fact is the appearance of two craftsmen. Admittedly, it is likely that the category of craftsmen covered a fairly wide spectrum rather than a homogeneous group. The two examples in our list surely belong to the higher end of this spectrum: a gem-carver and a smith working with precious metals.⁵³

49 *Demos*: 05/03/05. Honorary citizen: 15/02/03. Councillor: 16/55/04. Prince: 20/27/02 = 24/34. Add also 05/03/03, an ambassador whose wife is reported to have been victorious in a chariot race, which probably means she owned the chariot and had someone else driving it for her. Contrast Wierschowski 1995: 209–257, who found widespread mentions of elite membership in the migratory epigraphy of Gaul (mostly prose inscriptions).

50 For ethnic names e.g. 11/07/14, though here one name is thought to refer to a Celt and the other to an Iranian. For female names e.g. 04/02/10.

51 Citizenship: 08/08/06; 10/02/29; 16/33/03; cf. *17/22/01. Freedman: 17/09/07.

52 *Wanderärzte*: 09/05/12; perhaps 11/15/01; 14/16/03. Regular doctors: 08/08/06; 11/15/01. Lawyer: 10/03/07. Jurist: 11/07/12. Architects: 01/15/03; 16/31/08; 17/09/03. Sculptor: 17/17/01. Trader: 16/34/39.

53 Gem-cutter: 04/24/09. Smith: 16/05/02.

The appearance of literary scholars and stage artists is hardly surprising. A Homerist, a sophist: these were the sort of people who are known to have travelled around, and were in many ways exemplary representatives of Greek culture. Similarly, the presence of some students is not unexpected.⁵⁴ What is more remarkable is the relatively high number of athletes, dancers, gladiators and other types of performing artists. Such persons are well attested to in other types of inscriptions, and they were known to have been travellers *par excellence*.⁵⁵ Van Nijf has argued that athletes might be seen as cultural brokers: because of their itinerant travels and continuous public appearances, their movements spun a web between different cities and created possibilities for cultural transfer from one area to another.⁵⁶ His arguments might also be applied to other performers; it is certainly relevant that gladiators, who had in many other respects a rather ambiguous status, placed themselves in the tradition of Greek athletics.⁵⁷

Some soldiers appear in the epigrams, and they were certainly not confined to the upper echelons of the army: mostly they seem to have been rank-and-file, though, compared to craftsmen, this might still imply that they were relatively well-off.⁵⁸ Many of them can be assumed to have been mercenaries on whom the states in the Greek East relied. In the case of these mercenaries, we can assume that the epigrams underlined their Greek-ness: they were outsiders, but not strangers.⁵⁹

Remarkably, some slaves were also commemorated.⁶⁰ However, as stated in the second section, their inclusion was exceptional. With some variation, the slaves were represented as individuals who if not technically free in fact, were at least free in spirit. They had overcome their servile status.

Those who wanted to participate in Greek *polis*-culture and made claims about their cultural competence by arranging for epigrams form a surprisingly large group. Although they certainly comprised only a relatively small part of

54 Homerist: 10/05/04. Sophist: 22/21/02. Students: 03/02/61; 03/02/72; *09/06/21; 14/09/02; 18/18/01.

55 See e.g. Wierschowski 1995: 224–225 on the mobility of gladiators in Gaul; Robert 1940 and Mann 2011 on their appearance in Greek inscriptions.

56 Van Nijf 2011.

57 For the complex cultural dynamics of gladiatorial games in the Greek East, see Carter 2010 and Mann 2010 and 2011.

58 Possibly 01/09/99; 03/01/05; 08/06/03; 09/05/16; 09/06/14; 09/10/03; 10/02/28 (landowner with dependent peasants); 16/08/03; possibly 16/52/02; 21/05/01; cf. 09/07/02.

59 Cf. 09/06/14 for almost the opposite case: a Latin text for a *protector* from Dacia.

60 Probably 04/16/01; 08/01/36; 17/09/07; 21/03/01; cf. 03/06/04 (father is imperial freedman).

the population, equally certainly they were not confined to the elite (no matter how defined). The extent to which there was any correlation between status and mobility is more difficult to ascertain. There are some indications which suggest that the highest-placed persons were also the most-travelled,⁶¹ but the general impression conveyed by the epigrams is different: they present a world in which many people could and did move freely, over long distances.

Gender and the Family

- Νεικαίης πάτρης με πολεῖτιν ὁρᾷς παροδεῖτα
 Χρυσόπολιν, τὸ πάλαι πολλοῖς θεάτροις ἀρέσσασαν·
 ἄνδρα δὲ Λονγεῖνον ἐπὶ ξενίῃ προλιπούσα
 4 ὦδ' ἔλθοῦσ' ἔθανον προπετῶς θερμοῖσι λυθεῖσα·
 μούνος Ἰουλιανὸς δι' εὐσεβίῃν δέ μ' ἔθαψε·

Λονγεῖνος Χρυσοπόλει συνβίῳ μνήμης χάριν ζησάσῃ κοσμίως ἔτη μὴ' χαίρετε.

You see me, a citizen of Nikaia, my hometown, traveller: Chrysopolis, who used to be appreciated in many theatres. My husband Longinus I left behind while I was abroad, when I came here to die, consumed untimely by fevers.⁶² Julianus alone reverently buried me.

Longinus in memory of his wife Chrysopolis, who lived a decent life for 48 years; farewell (09/09/07, found in Klaudioupolis)

A subject which has only gradually been finding its way onto the agenda of ancient mobility studies is that of gender and family.⁶³ The more general point that migration is gendered is an important one: it is possible that there were significant differences in the mobility patterns of men and women.

Many of the epigrams record ages. Normally, these detail the moment of death, and though this might have been long after the actual moment of moving they do at least provide a *terminus ante quem*. Although the general

⁶¹ Like 03/02/61, quoted at the beginning of this section.

⁶² We prefer this interpretation (cf. *LSJ* s.v. θερμός), which we owe to Angelos Chaniotis, to that of Merkelbach and Stauber ("und starb, vorzeitig beim Gebrauch der Thermen verblichen").

⁶³ See Loman 2004; Woolf 2013a; Foubert 2013b and in this volume, the papers of Hin, Foubert and Bruun.

tendency of epigrams to commemorate young men should be borne in mind,⁶⁴ it is striking that many of the ages of male migrants recorded in these texts fall in the category 15–25. In other cases in which the specific age is not recorded, youth is suggested by the simple fact that the deceased was commemorated by parents, by grandparents or had died unmarried.⁶⁵ All this suggests that, as far as the epigrams are concerned, young men between the onset of puberty and marriage, which in the case of males occurred relatively late, were the principal migrants.

In a separate column of our catalogue we have listed whether the move to another place was a solitary one or whether the whole family was involved. It is important to bear in mind that many cases are open to debate. Of course, given the individualised nature of commemoration, there is bound to be a natural emphasis on individual movement. Nevertheless, even if some allowance is made for this statistical bias, it still seems likely that the great majority of the persons mentioned in the epigrams migrated on their own, as solitary movers.⁶⁶

Twenty-four cases *might* concern the migration of families.⁶⁷ In itself this is a high number, but many of these cases are highly uncertain, especially because it is often very difficult to ascertain whether commemorators came over specifically to bury the deceased or had migrated with them. A relatively certain indicator is given in those cases in which younger children are commemorated by members of their own family, suggesting they had moved collectively.⁶⁸ Many of the other cases concern couples rather than families proper (that is, with children).⁶⁹ In fact, there is only one case in which the text of the epigram itself explicitly and unambiguously refers to a migration *en famille*: the silver-smith who moved to Termessos accompanied by his wife and children (see the epigram quoted at the beginning of Section 2). The fact that there are only few hints of such family mobility points to a phenomenon well-known from other societies: marriage and begetting children formed a natural point for settling down.

64 Tybout 2003: 359–361; Hin 2013: 237.

65 Parents: 01/12/17. Grandparents: 01/12/18. Unmarried: 01/03/01, a *pais* buried by his brothers.

66 The epigrams do not dilate upon the practicalities of travel; it is certainly conceivable that people travelled in groups rather than on their own.

67 Poss. 01/12/17; poss. 01/12/20; 01/12/23; 03/02/61; poss. 04/24/09; poss. 05/01/36; 06/02/28; 08/01/36; poss. 08/01/39; poss. 09/05/04-08; poss. 09/05/12; 09/07/02; *09/06/21; poss. 10/02/32; 16/08/03; 16/32/02; 16/62/02; poss. 16/63/01; 18/01/16; poss. 18/05/01; poss. 18/13/06; 21/23/02; *21/23/10; 22/36/01;

68 01/12/17 (possibly); 01/12/23; 18/13/06; *21/23/10.

69 06/02/28 (presumably); 08/01/36; 09/07/02; possibly 10/02/32; 16/32/02; 18/05/01; 21/23/02, cf. 16/62/02; 16/63/01.

There are no specific cases of particularly young (pre-pubescent) children moving on their own, at least no cases in which this is explicitly mentioned. Their absence is hardly surprising, because the most probable context in which such a movement would have occurred is that of slavery and slaves do not figure largely in the epigrams. In one or two cases adoption might actually have been the motive for the move.⁷⁰

In thirty epigrams, accounting for about 20 per cent of the sample, women are the persons who moved.⁷¹ Given the biases in the sample this figure is not highly significant, and it should also be recalled that women in general are under-represented in the epigrams. The context of such female movement requires some elucidation. In one case, that of the actress cited at the beginning of this section, there can be little doubt that she moved independently (probably with a troop of actors, one of whom took care of her burial) and her husband remained at home. Other cases might also suggest the possibility of independent movement, but are more ambiguous. In one case, that of a woman who had reached old age, no commemorators are mentioned, suggesting that she had moved on her own, although she might also simply have outlived her family. There is one case of a fifteen-year-old girl dying far away from home, in an unknown context.⁷² In many of these cases actual freedom of movement is possible but not very likely. Nevertheless, the simple fact that the epigrams leave the possibility of independent female movement open is in itself socially significant.⁷³

The actress just referred to seems to have moved while her husband remained at home – at least this was the situation at the time she died. It seems reasonable to suppose that, once married, some women accompanied their husbands when the latter took the road to distant places. In one case a woman followed her husband into a war, in another a woman accompanied her husband when he was posted abroad for administrative duties.⁷⁴ The point is of interest since in Roman imperial times there was a debate about whether wives should accompany their husbands when they were posted to

70 Poss. 05/01/36; 16/33/03.

71 01/12/20; 03/01/04; 03/06/04; 04/02/10; 04/16/01; 04/23/03; 04/24/06; 08/01/36; 08/01/42; 08/08/09; 09/07/02; 09/09/07; 10/02/32; 14/02/02; 14/06/19; 16/06/02; 16/31/16; 16/32/02; 16/33/03; 16/55/03; 16/62/02; 17/03/03; 18/05/01; 18/13/06; 20/15/03; 21/03/01; 21/23/02; *21/23/10; 22/36/01; 22/37/01. 05/03/03 is an epitaph for a woman, but her husband was the one who moved.

72 Old age: 03/01/04. Girl: 03/06/04; cf. also 04/24/06 and 16/33/03.

73 See, besides the texts already cited, also 18/05/01 (movement possibly before marriage, but context unclear).

74 09/07/02; 10/02/32.

the provinces.⁷⁵ What the standard situation was is difficult to say on the basis of the epigrams: few officials, and even fewer wives of such officials, feature in them.⁷⁶

Although there is a risk of interpreting all female mobility as part of marital mobility simply because it concerned women, in many cases it seems if not certain at least highly probable that female movement did result from marriage. As pointed out in the introduction to this volume, marriage was viri-local: newly-wed women moved into the home of their husbands (or his family).⁷⁷ In some cases the distances involved in such marital mobility are surprisingly large. It is tempting to assume that most people tended to marry partners living in the same area.⁷⁸ It also seems sensible to correlate distance with status: more highly placed people tended to cast their net more widely. This would suggest that long-distance marriages would have been found mainly among the regional elite. However, in our epigrams status plays no discernible role: the patterns seem much more random.

The texts give no indications as to how marriages were arranged. The most economical hypothesis is that somehow in the course of their travels men met their brides or their families. This would fit in with a scenario of temporary sojourns and subsequent return migration, and also with the idea that many of the movers were young, unmarried males. It is well known that decisions about the marriage of young girls were made by parents. In the case of men, both their higher age and the geographical distances involved suggest a more independent decision making on their part.

Despite the viri-local nature of marriage, the epigrams suggest that the ties with the bride's original family were not completely broken, at least not in all cases. There is one case in which a mother might have actually moved into her daughter's house after the latter's marriage.⁷⁹ In another case a son died in his mother's native place, suggesting a family visit or suchlike. The possibility that a married woman might temporarily return to her birth place is also

75 Tac. *Ann.* 3.33.1-35.3 for a senatorial debate of 21 CE. Cf. also Juv. *Sat.* 6.82-84, 98-105, 575-576.

76 Cf. 05/03/03 for a wife remaining at home while her husband goes to Rome on an embassy.

77 01/12/20; 04/02/10; 04/23/03 (a remarriage); 08/01/36; 08/01/42; 08/08/09; 14/02/02 (though the context is obscure); 14/06/19; 16/06/02; 16/31/16; 16/55/03; 16/62/02; 17/03/03; possibly 21/23/02. Our catalogue includes one case suggesting the reverse process, when upon marriage a man moved to his wife's city (uxori-local marriage) (17/19/02), and one case in which both spouses are said to have each come from a different place (16/32/02).

78 For a case of marital mobility covering a small distance, see 04/23/03.

79 01/12/20; the commemorator is the mother (rather than the husband), note that no mention is made of the father, suggesting he had died earlier.

mentioned occasionally, for example, as the place where she could be reunited with her father, brothers and friends, suggesting again that the ties were not completely severed.⁸⁰

In the epigrams, most movers are young adult males. Although movement of families cannot be excluded, it is not visible on a large scale. Female mobility occurred mainly in the context of marriage. However, marital mobility was much more widespread than expected: it occurred over longer distances, and elite women were not the only category involved.

Conclusion

Μναμείον τόδε σείο πατήρ ἐπόνησεν ἑαυτοῦ
 χερσίν, πᾶσιν ὁρᾶν, σᾶς ἀρετᾶς ἔνεκεν,
 καὶ ἐγὼ ὕπερθε ἐστῶσα προσημαίνω παριοῦσιν
 4 ὥς υἱὸν Μόσχου τόνδ' ἔχω Ἑρμοκράτην
 Χαλκιδέων χώρας ἐνθάδε ἀποφθίμενον.

This tomb of yours your father has built with great effort, using his own hands, for all to see, because of your goodness, and I, standing on top, proclaim to the passers-by that I hold this son of Moschos, Hermokrates from the land of the Chalkideis, who has died here. (01/12/17, found in Halikarnassos)

As was stated at the beginning of this paper, reading epigrams might be compared to taking an evening stroll along a street in a Dutch village: we obtain brief glimpses into some of the houses, and begin to make inferences from them. We are of course looking at what people want us to see: their living rooms are show-cases of their lives, with everything skilfully arranged. In the epigrams we have studied, it is not only striking that movements were recorded in some detail, but the simple fact that they were mentioned at all implies that they were considered an integral part of a person's self-representation. They mattered.

As for the *facts* which were represented, the epigrams suggest a relatively high degree of mobility. The distances recorded could be large, frequently involving hundreds of kilometres, and journeys were often undertaken between places which had no obvious connection with each other. Moving between these places will have required a significant effort.

80 Death in maternal birthplace: 21/21/01. Possibility reunion: 22/36/01; cf. 21/23/02.

Not all settlements recorded in our list of epigrams will have had *polis* status, and some places are relatively obscure. Regardless of the formal status of the settlements referred to, the epigrams might be regarded as portraying a world full of inter-*polis* mobility. The individual moves created a network between hundreds of settlements.

Geographically, the epigrams sketch the contours of a world which was not entirely unrestricted. The places mentioned suggest movement predominantly within the Greek East. Moves which include the western part of the Empire are rare. The only exception is unsurprising: Rome formed the apex of the migration system. Even this city appears on the scene relatively late. The epigrams evoke the picture of a world which was quite homogeneous in itself, but only partially integrated into the western part of the Mediterranean. As far as the people who commissioned or wrote these texts were concerned, cultural and linguistic boundaries appear to have remained strong.

The range of people participating in this culture of mobility was relatively large. It is unsurprising to find members of the elite, but their number is relatively small. Among the movers there were also many more people belonging to a much wider stratum of the urban population, including gladiators, craftsmen and even some slaves.

In the background looms the much wider question of how the inhabitants of the Greek *poleis* of the post-classical age came to terms with the realities of the Hellenistic and Roman empires which incorporated their *poleis*. This question is far too large to address here. Despite the continued centrality of the *polis* in Hellenistic and Roman times, the epigrams suggest that *polis* boundaries did not form impediments to movement. Interestingly, boundaries between Hellenistic states do not seem to have mattered much either. To judge by our epigrams, Greek-ness functioned not just as a marker of identity, it also seems to have structured mobility patterns. Perceptions influenced behaviour and vice versa: people constructed their world not only in their heads, but also with their feet.

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text ^a	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
Caria				
01/09/99	Kaunos	4 BCE	Pheneos, Arkadia	Kaunos
01/12/14	Halikarnassos	3–1 BCE	Antioch (in Syria?)	Halikarnassos
01/12/17	Halikarnassos	1 BCE – 1 CE ?	region of Chalkis, Euboia	Halikarnassos
01/12/18	Halikarnassos	1–3 CE	Halikarnassos	Patara, Lycia
01/12/20	Halikarnassos	3–1 BCE	Myndos	Halikarnassos
01/12/23	Halikarnassos	4 BCE	Thouria (Messenia) or Thourioi (S-Italy)	Halikarnassos
01/15/03	Mylassa	3–4 CE	Mylasa	Rome
01/20/27	Miletos	2 CE?	Miletos	far from Miletos
01/20/28	Miletos	4 BCE?	Syracuse	Miletos
01/20/31	Miletos	3 BCE	Miletos	Olympia
01/20/41	Miletos	2 CE?	Krete	Miletos
Caria, hinterland				
02/04/02 = 23/03	Alabanda	2–3 CE	Alabanda?	‘whole province’ (Asia)
02/06/14	Stratonikeia	2–3 CE?	Egypt	Stratonikeia
02/13/03	Herakleia-on-the-Salbake	2 CE [172 AD]	Herakleia-on-the-Salbake	‘many cities’
02/14/09	Laodikeia	1–3 CE	–	Athens, Nikomedia

^a 3 BCE = 3rd cent. BCE, etc.

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks ^b
–	M	–	Burial abroad. Poss. a soldier.
S	M, adult	friend	Burial abroad. Wrestler
S or Fam?	M, with living father	father	Burial abroad. Unclear whether father had moved with him or travelled to Halikarnassos to bury him
S	M, with living parents or grandparents	parents or grandparents	Repatriation
S or Fam	F, 19, married, leaving a baby behind	mother	Burial abroad. Poss. the mother moved into household of her daughter after the latter's marriage
Fam	2M, 12 and 18	mother	Burial abroad
S	M	prob. father-in-law	Return prior to death. Architect
S	M, with living brother	brother	Repatriation
S	M, with living sons	sons	Burial abroad. Sons prob. born in Miletos
S	M	brother	Return prior to death. Olympionike
S	M, 24	–	Burial abroad. Dancer/pantomime
S	M	–	Return prior to death? Gladiator
S	M, adult	–	Return prior to death
S	M	–	Return prior to death
S	M, 30	his wife	Burial abroad. Gladiator

^b In the column Remarks we use the following shorthand notations: Burial abroad = Death, burial and monument outside the *patris*; Cenotaph = Death and burial abroad; monument (cenotaph) in the *patris*; Repatriation = Death abroad; repatriation of mortal remains (ashes or bones); burial and monument in the *patris*; Return prior to death = Death, burial and monument in the *patris*; travel/migration in earlier years.

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals* (cont.)

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
Ionia				
03/01/04	Priene	3–1 BCE	Hermopolis	Priene
03/01/05	Priene	3 BCE	Messenia	Priene
03/01/06	Priene	3 BCE	Priene	abroad
03/02/53	Ephesos	1–3 CE	Egypt	Ephesos
03/02/61	Ephesos	3 CE	Rhine-area	Ephesos
03/02/70	Ephesos	–	Ephesos	Pisa (i.e. Olympia), Nemea
03/02/72	Ephesos	1–3 CE	Ephesos	Lesbos
03/05/02	Notion	1 BCE	Notion	Athens
03/06/04	Teos	1–2 CE	Teos	Phrygia
03/07/11	Erythrai	1 BCE – 1 CE	Erythrai	Lesbos
03/07/17	Erythrai	2 BCE	Erythrai	–
03/07/19	Erythrai	1 CE	Erythrai	Klaros

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
S	F, in old age	–	Burial abroad
S	M, adult	–	Burial abroad. Soldier, slain in battle?
S	M, with living father	father (sister also mentioned)	Cenotaph. Double commemoration
S	M, adult	–	Burial abroad. Gladiator
Fam	M, 20	father	Burial abroad. Roman citizens (not Aurelii). Father originating from Prusias (Bithynia), subsequently the family moved to the Rhine. Son studied in Ephesos for five years. Mother Politta (rare name with two other attestations, both from Lydia; cf. <i>SEG</i> 48, 1451) might have already predeceased him.
S	M	city of Ephesos	Return prior to death. Pankratiast.
S	M, 18	parents, brother	Repatriation (by brother). Student
S	M, old	–	Cenotaph. Mythographer. Servant of Apollo at Klaros sanctuary
S	F, 15	parents	Repatriation or cenotaph? Double commemoration. Father is imperial freedman. Latin/Greek
S	M, with living mother	mother	Cenotaph. Died on his way to Lesbos
S	M, young adult	mother	Repatriation. Died on his voyage. Father had already predeceased him.
S	M, young adult	mother	Repatriation. Died while visiting sanctuary of Klaros

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
Lydia				
04/02/10	Sardis	3 BCE	Kelainai, Phrygia	Sardis
04/02/13	Sardis	1–3 CE	Antiochia, poss.	Sardis
= 23/05			Syria	
*04/06/04 ^c	Attaleia	1–3 CE	Attaleia	–
04/16/01	Tabala	3 CE	Kouara	Rome
04/19/04	Iaza	3 CE	Kolyda, Lydia	Iaza
04/22/06	Karaoba	3–2 BCE	Mysia	near Karaoba
04/23/03	Kastollos	4 CE [323/4	Kadoi	Kastollos
= 24/11		or 377/8 CE]		
04/24/04	Philadelphia	2–3 CE	–	Philadelphia
04/24/05	Philadelphia	3 CE	Perge	Philadelphia
04/24/06	Philadelphia	2 CE	poss. Antiochia	Philadelphia
04/24/09	Philadelphia	–	Sardis	Philadelphia
Smyrna/Aiolis				
05/01/36	Smyrna?	2 BCE – 2 CE	‘foreign land’	Smyrna?
05/01/42	Smyrna	3 BCE	Smyrna	Tmolos
05/01/48	Smyrna	3 BCE	Smyrna	Tmolos
05/03/03	Kyme	1 BCE	Kyme	Rome
05/03/05	Kyme	2/1 BCE	Chios	Kyme

c Not in Merkelbach and Stauber. M.-S.-no. assigned by edd.pr. Staab and Petzl 2010: 4–6, no. 2. Now also in *SEG* 60, 1288.

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
S	F, mother of 4 children	husband	Burial abroad. Matis (name Mate(i)s attested in Phrygia, Pisidia, Galatia, Cilicia) prob. married into a Sardinian family.
S	M, adult	prob. friends	Burial abroad. Actor of comedy
S	M, 13	mother	Repatriation (by friends). Unclear whether father was still alive.
S	F, 18	brother and parents	Cenotaph. Went to the imperial court at Rome, prob. as imperial slave
S	M, married	<i>threptos</i> and wife	Burial abroad
S	M	–	Burial abroad. Soldier, died in battle
S	F	stepson	Burial abroad. Marriage mobility
S	M	his wife	Burial abroad. Gladiator
S	M, adult	–	Burial abroad. Gladiator
S?	F, <i>koure</i>	–	Burial abroad. Fragm. text
S or Fam	M, 18, unmarried	prob. parents	Burial abroad. Gem-cutter. Father said to be from Lydia.
S or Fam	M	prob. parents	Burial abroad? Poss. adopted by father in foreign land
S	M, adult	friends	Cenotaph. Double commemoration
S	M, age unknown	unknown	Cenotaph. Double commemoration
S	M, adult, married, with one child	–	Ambassador; mentioned in epitaph of his wife as being abroad when she died
S	M, 25	father; honoured by demos	Burial abroad. Repatriation of mother, who had previously died abroad at age 25, to Chios

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
Kaikos Valley, Pergamon				
o6/o1/o1	Elaia	3 BCE	Elaia	abroad
o6/o2/28	Pergamon	2/3 CE	Nikomedea	Pergamon
Troas				
o7/o5/o1	Alexandreia Troas	3 CE	Tarsos?	Alexandreia Troas
Mysia				
o8/o1/31	Kyzikos	2–3 CE	Apri (Thracia)	at sea, departing from Kyzikos
o8/o1/32	Kyzikos	2–3 CE	Laodikeia on the Lykos (Phrygia)	Kyzikos
o8/o1/33	Kyzikos	1 BCE–1 CE	Alexandria (Troas?)	departing from Kyzikos
o8/o1/36	Kyzikos (Anth. Pal.)	1 BCE	Athens	Rome, then Kyzikos
o8/o1/37	Kyzikos	3 CE	Ravenna	Kyzikos
o8/o1/39	Kyzikos	2–1 BCE	Limnai (in Thracian Chersonesos)	Kyzikos
o8/o1/42	Kyzikos	2 BCE	Kallatis	Kyzikos
o8/o2/o1	Prokonnesos	—	—	Prokonnesos
o8/o6/o3	Hadrianouthera	2 CE	Hadrianouthera?	Danube -area
o8/o8/o6	Hadrianoi	2 CE	Hadrianoi	Rome

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
S Fam	M, adult, married M, adult, married	parents (and wife?) wife	Cenotaph. Died in battle with Celts Burial abroad. Gladiator
S	M, adult	a man and a woman, relation not specified	Burial abroad. Gladiator
S	M, adult	friend	Repatriation or cenotaph? Drowned at sea. Changed poss. occupation from gladiator to <i>nautes</i>
S	M, adult	–	Burial abroad. Gladiator
S	M, adult ('not grandfather')	–	Repatriation or cenotaph? Drowned at sea
S, Fam	F, adult	–	Burial abroad. Prob. brought to Rome from Athens as slave and subsequently manumitted there.
S.	M, adult	–	Burial abroad. <i>Praefectus classis Ponticae</i>
S or Fam	M, adult	prob. by family members	Burial abroad. Relief depicts a funerary banquet with family members, and a ship
S	F, 18, died while giving birth	prob. husband	Burial abroad. Prob. marriage mobility
S	M, young (<i>nepios</i>)	–	Burial abroad. Many sea voyages
S	M	–	Repatriation or cenotaph? Legionary, prob. participating in war against the Marcomanni
S	M, young adult	nurse	Cenotaph. Double commemoration. Being trained as doctor; parents have Roman sounding names

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
08/08/09	Hadrianoi	1–3 CE	Therma near Apollonia on the Rhyndakos	Hadrianoi
Bithynia				
09/05/04-08 (= <i>Anth. Pal.</i> 15.4-8)	Nikaia	2 CE	Nikaia	Athens
09/05/12	Nikaia	3–4 CE?	Nikaia	many travels, ending in Nikaia
09/05/16	Nikaia	281 BCE?	Nikaia	Kourou pedion
09/06/05	Nikomedea	3 CE	Apamea, poss. Bithynia	Nikomedea
09/06/14	Nikomedea	3–4 CE [prob. Diocle-tian]	Dissena, Dacia	Nikomedea
09/07/02	Kalchedon (lit. sources)	339 BCE	Athens	Kalchedon
09/09/01	Klaudioupolis	–	Macedonia	Klaudioupolis
09/09/07	Klaudioupolis	2 CE	Nikaia	Klaudioupolis
*09/06/21 ^d	Nikomedea	undated [2–3 CE]	Nikomedea	Athens
09/09/16	Klaudioupolis	3 CE	Klaudioupolis	‘the largest cities’
09/10/03	Kreteia	2–3 CE	Nikomedea	Kreteia
09/11/02	Herakleia Pontike	2–3 CE	Alexandria (Egypt)	Herakleia Pontike

d Not in Merkelbach and Stauber; M.-S.-no. assigned by us. Ed.pr. Akyürek Şahin 2011: 349–356, with the corrections of Jones 2014: 29–30. See also B. Puech, *AE* 2011 [2014], 1260.

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
S?	F, married	husband	Burial abroad. Marriage mobility
Fam (?)	M, married, with son	son	Repatriation. Priest (of imperial cult and/or Helios?); took part in Hadrian's reconstruction of Nikaia after the earthquake of 120 CE
S or Fam	M, 55 (wife, also buried, is 50)	–	Return prior to death. <i>Wanderarzt</i> and priest (poss. Christian or Jewish). Wife might have been buried later
S	M, adult	–	Repatriation. Soldier, fallen in battle
S	M, adult	wife	Burial abroad
S	M, 50	colleague (‘brother’)	Burial abroad. Soldier serving as <i>protector</i> , died during service. Latin text
Fam	F, adult	husband	Burial abroad. Other sources indicate that she succumbed to a disease while accompanying her husband, who was serving as a <i>strategos</i> .
S	M, married	his wife	Burial abroad. Gladiator (<i>retiarius</i>)
S	F, 48	friend, husband	Burial abroad. Actress, died at the baths
Fam (two brothers)	M, 20	brother and one other relative	Repatriation. Two brothers travelled together to Athens to study, where one of them died
S	M, 24		Return prior to death (?). Dionysiac dancer
S	M, 22	‘brother’ (in arms?)	Burial abroad. Soldier
S	M, 29	–	Burial abroad. Pantomime, had travelled the whole world

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
Paphlagonia				
10/02/03	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	Rome
10/02/26 ^e	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	Attica
10/02/28	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	2 CE [Trajan – Hadrian]	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	prob. Parthia
10/02/29	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	–
10/02/32	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	3 CE	Rome	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis
10/03/02	Amastris	155 CE	Amastris	Kyzikos, Pergamon; died in ‘Doric land’: Herakleia Pontike?
10/03/07 ^f	Amastris	144 CE	Amastris	Troas
10/05/04	Pompeioupolis	2–3 CE	Lampsakos	Pompeioupolis
10/06/08	Sinope	–	Sinope	‘many sea voyages’
10/06/09	Sinope	2 CE	Sinope	unknown
10/06/11	Sinope	1–3 CE	Tarsos	Sinope
10/06/13	Sinope	3 CE	Sinope	unknown; died at sea
Pontos				
11/07/12	Amaseia	3 CE	Amaseia	Bithynia

^e See the Appendix to Tybout, ‘Dead men walking’, in this volume.

^f See Corsten 2007: 133–135 for a brother of the deceased who settled in Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis (*SEG* 33, 1103; cf. 57, 1294); he is possibly to be identified with the (anonymous) brother mentioned in the epigram who shared the responsibility for the repatriation and burial with his father.

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
S?	M, adult, married	wife?	Repatriation
S	M	–	Repatriation. Prob. orator or sophist
S	M, adult	–	Return prior to death. Standard-bearer, prob. participating in Parthian campaign Trajan; veteran turned landowner
S	M, adult, married with 3 children	wife, and 3 children	Repatriation. Some Roman(ized) names
S or Fam	F, adult, married, with 4 children	poss. by husband and children	Burial abroad
S	M, 30	foster father	Repatriation. Athlete and dancer
S	M, 24	father and brother	Repatriation. Lawyer
S	M, 25	colleague	Burial abroad. Homerist
S	M, 32	–	Return prior to death. Naukleros. A brother had deceased long before, at 14.
S	M	–	Cenotaph. Prob. actor
S?	M, young	–	Burial abroad. Fragmentary text; prob. an artist
S?	M, young adult?	<i>suntrophos</i>	Cenotaph
S	M, young adult	father	Repatriation. Bones in family grave. Jurist, <i>sunedros</i> (assessor) of the <i>conventus</i> of Bithynia

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
11/07/14	Amaseia	1 BCE	unknown	Amaseia
11/08/02	Amaseia	3 CE	Amaseia?	'many theatres'
11/09/01	Chiliokomon pedion (territory of Amaseia)	1–3 CE	Phrygia, then Kaisareia (in Cappadocia?)	Chiliokomon pedion, territory of Amaseia
11/15/01	Nikopolis	1–3 CE	Nikopolis	–
Cappadocia				
13/05/02	Komana	4 CE	Komana	unknown
13/06/03	Kaisareia Mazaka	–	–	Kaisareia Mazaka
13/10/01	Venasa	1–3 CE	Armenia	Venasa
Lycaonia, Isauria				
14/02/02	Gdanmaua	–	Peltai	Gdanmaua
14/06/19	Laodikeia Katakekaumene	–	Kaisareia (in Cappadocia?)	Laodikeia Katakekaumene
14/07/08	Ikonion	3 CE	–	Ikonion
14/09/02 = 24/24	Savatra	–	Savatra	Tarsos
14/16/03	Vasada	–	Krounoi	Vasada
15/02/03	Ankyra	2 CE	Pergamon	Ankyra
Phrygia				
16/05/02	Konana	1–3 CE	Konana	Alexandria
16/06/02	Eumenia	2–3 CE	Smyrna	Eumenia

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
S	M, died 'all too young'	–	Burial abroad. Name possibly Celtic; father's name Persian
S	M	–	Return prior to death? Actor
S	M, adult	–	Burial abroad
S	M, young adult with living parents	parents	Repatriation (defined as reburial). Doctor and 'servant of the Muses'
S	M, with living father	father	Cenotaph
S	M, 16	foster father	Burial abroad
S	M	–	Burial abroad. Eunuch
S	F, married, with children	Husband and children	Burial abroad. Perh. midwife
S	F	couple, <i>inter vivos</i>	Burial abroad. Marriage mobility
S	M, 22	–	Burial abroad. Prob. athlete, citizenship of Ikonion
S	M, 17	Parents	Repatriation, cenotaph or return prior to death? Student of law and rhetoric
S	M, adult	–	Burial abroad. <i>Wanderarzt</i>
S	M, 37	–	Burial abroad. Member of <i>collegium</i> of <i>summarudes</i> in Rome, honorary citizen of multiple cities
S?	M, poss. as apprentice	–	Return prior to death. Silver- and goldsmith
S?	F, married	husband	Burial abroad. Poss. marital mobility

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
16/08/03	Temenouthyrai	1 CE	–	Temenouthyrai
16/23/05	Aizanoi	1–2 CE	Aizanoi	Smyrna
16/23/14	Aizanoi	–	Aizanoi	–
16/31/08	Appia	3 CE	Appia	–
16/31/16	Kallisto	1–3 CE	Kisamos, Crete	Kallisto
16/32/02	Kotiaion	3 CE	–	Kotiaion
16/32/05	Kotiaion	1–2 CE	Kotiaion?	Prymnessos
16/33/03	Lamounia	–	Lamounia	–
16/33/04	Lamounia	–	Pyrgos or Pyrgoi (Elis)	Lamounia
16/34/14	Dorylaion	–	Dorylaion	–
16/34/39 = 23/15	Dorylaion	3–4 CE	Dorylaion?	–
16/35/03	Nakoleia	–	–	Nakoleia
16/35/04	Nakoleia or Dorylaion	1–3 CE	Nakoleia or Dorylaion	Syria
16/52/02	Prymnessos or Dokimeion	3–1 BCE	Tela, region Elymeia, Macedon	Prymnessos/ or Dokimeion
16/55/03	Philomelion	–	Thyateira in Lydia	Philomelion

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
Fam	M, 4	Parents	Son of a <i>signifer</i> of legio I Italica. Parents (bearing Roman name) are said to live abroad
S?	M, young	parents	Cenotaph
S	M	two brothers and <i>suntrophos</i>	Burial abroad. Flute-player
S	M, 25, unmarried	parents, brothers and sisters-in-law	Return prior to death. Supervisor of 'great works' in the temporary service of the prefect, perh. architect
S	F, married with 2 children	husband	Burial abroad. Marital mobility
Fam	M and F	couple, <i>inter vivos</i>	Burial abroad (at least of one of them): husband and wife originated from different places
S	M	–	Return prior to death?. Dancer, <i>threptos</i>
S?	F, unmarried, 13	parents	Repatriation. Roman names. Prob. lived in the house of her uncle as the result of adoption.
S?	M, 25, unmarried	parents and brother	Burial abroad. Family members either travelled to bury him or had migrated with him
S	M, one deceased son	–	Repatriation
S	M	–	Return prior to death? Trader.
S	F, young, married, without children	husband	Repatriation or cenotaph? Woman prob. died in the town of her parents.
S	M, married and with one son	–	Cenotaph. Mentioned in epitaph of his wife, composed by their son
S	M	–	Burial abroad. Poss. colonist or soldier
S	F, married with three young children	husband	Burial abroad. Prob. marital mobility

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
16/55/04	Philomelion	3 CE	Antiochia at the Meander	Philomelion
16/62/02	Apollonia Mordiaion	–	Antioch, poss. Syria	Apollonia Mordiaion
16/63/01	Metropolis	2 CE	Sinope, Pontos	Metropolis
16/71/01	unknown, Phrygia	3 CE	unknown, Phrygia	[the emperor]
Lycia				
17/01/07	Kibyra	3–1 BCE	Rhaukos, Crete	Kibyra
17/03/03	Telmessos	1–3 CE	Korinth	Telmessos
17/09/03	Patara	2–3 CE	near Sardis	Patara
17/09/06	Patara	2 CE	–	Patara
17/09/07	Patara	2–3 CE	near Sardis	Patara
17/10/05	Xanthos	2 CE	Libya	Xanthos
17/17/01	Choma	–	Perge	Choma
17/19/02	Olympos	3 CE	Bithynia	Olympos
*17/22/01 ^g		undated [2–3 CE?]	Arsada	Bithynia
Pisidia, Pamphylia				
18/01/16	Termessos	1–3 CE	Thyrie, unidentified (or Syria on emending the text)	Termessos
18/01/19	Termessos	2–3 CE	Termessos	–

^g Not in Merkelbach and Stauber; ed.pr. Staab 2012: 42–45, with provisional M.-S.-no. (*17/22/02) for the definitive M.S.-no. (*17/22/01) and the provenance of the stone see Staab 2013: 68.

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
S	M	–	Burial abroad. ‘Famous in Cilicia, Syria, Asia’. Councillor and president of city council, member of <i>gerousia</i>
Fam	F, married	husband	Burial abroad. Poss. a Jewish woman. Husband originated from Sillyon in Pamphilia; marital mobility
Fam?	M, married	couple, <i>inter vivos</i>	Burial abroad. Tax-collector
S	M, married	wife	Cenotaph. Served twice as ambassador
S	M, young	prob. by friends	Burial abroad
S	F, married, with 2 children	husband	Burial abroad. Prob. marital mobility
S	M	–	Burial abroad. Architect
S	M	friend	Cenotaph
S	M	prob. master	Burial abroad. Manumitted slave with Roman citizenship. Latin
S	M	wife	Burial abroad. Gladiator
S	M	–	Sculptor responsible for the stele
S	M, married	prob. wife and child	Burial abroad. Wife originated from Olympos
S	M, 23	parents, brother	Cenotaph. Brother has Roman(ized) name
Fam	M	prob. wife	Burial abroad. Silversmith; came to Termessos with his wife and children
S	M, with living father	friends	Cenotaph. Athlete

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
18/05/01	Pogla	1–3 CE	Galatia	Pogla
18/12/05	Attaleia	1–3 CE	Attaleia	Lycia
18/13/06	Perge	1–3 CE	Byzantion	Perge
18/18/01	Kolybrassos	4 CE	Kolybrassos	Palaestina/Syria (Berytos; Antioch); Egypt (Thebai)
Cilicia				
19/05/03	Seleukia	2 BCE	Seleukia	–
Syria				
20/01/03	Seleukia Pieria	1 BCE	Seleukia	one at Delos, one at Rhodes
20/15/03	Tyros or Sidon	3–1 BCE	Tyros	Sidon
20/27/02 = 24/34 [preserved in Renaissance manuscr.]	prob. first Nisibis, then Rome	2 CE (114–117 CE)	Iberia	Nisibis
Palestina				
21/03/01	Caesarea Maritima	1–4 CE	Italy	Caesarea Maritima
21/05/01	Gaza	3 BCE	Anapolis, Crete	Gaza
21/21/01	Hippos	ca 2 CE	Gadara	Hippos

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
Fam?	F	husband	Burial abroad. Seen many countries, been in Italy
S	M, child	father	Cenotaph
Fam?	F, 13	–	Burial abroad
S	M, adult	father	Repatriation. Student of Latin literature and law (Berytos); judge in Palaestina; assessor of a praeses of the Thebais.
S	M, 19	father (?)	Cenotaph. Drowned at sea
S	M, two brothers; sister and mother died at home	father	Cenotaph (partially)
S	F, died before giving birth	–	Burial abroad
S	M, adult	–	Caucasian prince participating in Parthian expedition of Trajan who died and was buried near Nisibis; reburial in Rome (transfer of mortal remains and monument)
S	F	–	Burial abroad. Imperial freedwoman
S	M	father-inlaw	Burial abroad. A soldier from Aetolia commemorates his son-in-law from Anapolis; both serve in the Ptolemaic army
S	M 22	parent(s)	Burial abroad. Mother originates from Hippos; son died there

TABLE 15.1 *Catalogue of funerary epigrams referring to mobile individuals (cont.)*

M-S	Provenance stone	Date text	Prov. migrant	Destination migrant
21/23/02	Gerasa	3 CE	Antiochia, prob. Syria	Gerasa
*21/23/10 ^h	Gerasa	2–3 CE	Phrygia	Gerasa
Arabia				
22/21/02 ⁱ	Maximianopolis	2–3 CE	Maximianopolis	Athens
22/33/03 ^j	Migdala	2–4 CE (ca. 360?)	Migdala	Rome (or Constantinople)
22/36/01	Soada	2–3 CE	Antiochia	Soada
22/37/01	Namara	2–3 CE	Namara	–
22/43/01	Adraha	–	–	Adraha
22/49/01	Hauran?	3 CE (prob. ca 270)	–	Egypt

h Not in Merkelbach and Stauber; M.-S.-no. assigned by us. Edd.pr. Augusta-Boularot, Seigne and El Majjid Mujjali 2011: 103–106.

i See Tybout, this volume, appendix.

j See now Angiò 2010.

S(ingle) or Fam(ily)	M(ale)/ F(emale), Age or Age class	Commemorator	Remarks
Fam	F, married	husband	Burial abroad
Fam	F, unmarried	prob. parents	Burial abroad. Parents born in Italy
S	M	–	Repatriation. Sophist
S	M, 50	–	Cenotaph. Death on an embassy to Rome (or Constantinople). Also on record in 22/33/02 as a rhetor who built a tomb for his parents and himself in Migdala.
Fam	F, married with children	husband	Burial abroad
S	M and F	nephew	Repatriation from different places: man and wife seem to have moved away from their hometown in different directions
S	M	–	Burial abroad. Prob. drowned at sea
S	M, adult	mother and uncle	Repatriation. Prob. soldier

Dead Men Walking: The Repatriation of Mortal Remains

Rolf A. Tybout

*For Harry W. Pleket,
on the occasion of his 85th birthday*



Introduction

The return of dead men and women to their native land is a peculiar yet well-attested variant of mobility. The repatriation of mortal remains is a practice which has been observed for kings, rulers and other grandees, from King Saul (2 *Sam* 21.12–14) to the present day. The transference of the remains of Nelson Mandela prior to his burial on 5 December 2013, to the family tomb in Qunu, with all pomp and circumstance befitting his outstanding personality, illustrates that its ideological and ritual importance is still alive in modern society. Nor is such a practice restricted to the great and the good. More common mortals are subjected to this treatment as well, though in a more sober fashion, and provided that they happen to have lived in a well-organised society and have duly insured themselves. *Mutatis mutandis*, more or less the same applies to Graeco-Roman antiquity: literary sources offer a wide range of information about the transference of great leaders, kings and emperors and the honours paid to their mortal remains, from Leonidas to Valentinian II,¹ and inscriptions, ranging from the early Hellenistic to the late Roman period, remind us of the

¹ E.g. Pelopidas (Plut. *Pelop.* 33f.); Leonidas (Paus. 3.14.1); Themistokles (Thuc. 1.138); Thucydides (Plut. *Kim.* 4); Demetrios Poliorketes (Plut. *Dem.* 53); Aratos (Plut. *Arat.* 53); Philopoimen (Plut. *Philop.* 21); cf. Pfister 1912: 433–437; on the *translationes* of mythical heroes (Arkas, Oidipous, Pelops, Theseus, and others) *ibid.* 188–216 and 439–443; on Roman emperors see below notes 6 and 83; on the dramatic death of Valentinian II in 392, the transference of his corpse from Vienna to Milan, where it lay unburied in the palace for two months, finally to be placed in a splendid porphyry sarcophagus and interred after an eloquent funeral oration by St Ambrose, see Dudden 1935: 418–421, with references to the sources.

fact that numerous men and women who have left no other trace than their epitaphs were carried home by loving hands after death.² The repatriation of corpses appears to have been more widely spread, both geographically and socially, than has generally been acknowledged (if taken into account at all) in studies of ancient funerary culture or in archaeological reports. Obviously the practice will have implications for migration studies: if either funerary contexts or isotopic evidence points to a local provenance, this does not necessarily imply that *all* the individuals in question did not share in supra-regional mobility.

The reflections which follow are the outcome of an examination of funerary epigrams from the Greek East undertaken with the aim of shedding some new light on mobility and migration.³ Section 2 can be read as a complement to the conclusions concerning mobility and migration which can be drawn from the epitaphs of people who died and were buried in localities different from those where they had been born. At the same time its results serve as a backdrop to the exploration of further evidence, Greek and Latin, epigraphical and literary. For the sake of convenience, the epigraphical harvest is stored in two tabular surveys (Tables 16.2 and 16.3; below, the inscriptions testifying to posthumous repatriation are referred to by the numbers in these tables, preceded by 'G' for the 43 Greek [46 including G21bis, G36bis and G41bis: see Postscript] and by 'L' for the 32 Latin inscriptions; 'G' and 'L' are arranged according to the geographical order of *SEG* and *AE*, respectively). Most texts explicitly record (or at least allude to) the repatriation of remains of any sort; some mention both death abroad and the presence of a body, bones or ashes in the grave, thereby implicitly attesting the transfer. Both catalogues would have been expanded considerably, had I included epitaphs recording death abroad without specifying the place of burial.⁴ Of course,

2 In this study, 'repatriation' is used in the sense of the remains being returned to the birth-place of the deceased. In some cases, the *patria* is of an ideological nature, as e.g. Alexandria was for Alexander the Great, Rome for emperors not born in the City (below notes 6 and 83; cf. also the reburial of a Caucasian prince: below note 26) or Besara (Beth Shearim) for diaspora Jewry (Rajak 2001).

3 Tacoma and Tybout (in this volume). From the 146 epigrams listed in the Catalogue at the end of our joint article, four are irrelevant to the purpose of the present study, which leaves us with 142 items in Table 16.1. For the details of the epigrams in Merkelbach and Stauber (1998–2004) see the Catalogue of Tacoma and Tybout. Below, texts from M.-S. not in our Table 16.2 are referred to by M.-S.'s numbers. Irrelevant: 05/03/03, 16/08/03, and 17/17/01 (migrant/traveller is not the deceased); 14/09/02 (unclear: repatriation or cenotaph or return prior to death?). For nos. G21bis, G36bis and G41bis see the Postscript at the end of this article.

4 Some authors adduce such inscriptions as evidence of posthumous repatriation, e.g. Pflaum 1955: 171 (*CIL* 8, 3660 and 5606) and Habicht 2001: 15f. (*CIL* 3, 5031 and 12, 1750; see below note 39). For different approaches see below note 70.

TABLE 16.1 *Location of death, burial and monument (abroad or in patria) in 142 funerary epigrams for migrants/travellers in Merkelbach-Stauber, Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*

1	Death, burial and monument abroad	78
2	Death and burial abroad; monument (also) <i>in patria</i> (cenotaph)	21
3	Death abroad; remains repatriated; (re)burial and monument (also) <i>in patria</i>	22 (+1 ^a)
4	Death abroad; monument <i>in patria</i> , either a cenotaph or covering remains repatriated	5 ^b
5	Death, burial and monument in <i>patria</i> (travels in earlier years)	15
6	Death, burial and monument in <i>patria</i> (Caucasia); possibly reburial and monument in Rome	1

a 05/03/05 (Table 16.2 G21), also included sub (1) since it commemorates a deceased buried abroad, alludes to the repatriation of the deceased's mother at some earlier point in time.

b 03/06/04, 08/01/31, 08/01/33, 08/06/03, and 16/35/03 record death abroad without specifying the place of burial.

some of these might be cenotaphs, and since archaeological evidence which might have testified to the contrary is generally lacking, we had better remain on the safe side.

Curiously, Greek inscriptions have almost never been discussed⁵ in the not so numerous studies of the subject,⁶ which are based on Latin literary and epigraphical sources and focus on specific groups, notably emperors and soldiers, or on legal aspects. In what follows the emphasis will be placed on these neglected Greek sources, putting them into a wider perspective to show that the repatriation of corpses is a phenomenon too significant to be left neglected.

5 With the single exception of G9 (cf. below note 30) and G10 by Noy 2000: 193.

6 For Roman grandees and emperors see especially Cracco Ruggini 1995: 118–125 (cf. also below note 83), in a wider chronological perspective including the early Christian martyr cults (for Julian see the commentary of Merkelbach and Stauber *ad* 19/13/13; for Valentinian 11 see above note 1). Roman soldiers: Pflaum 1955: 170–172; Carroll 2009; legal aspects: Estiez 1995; Schoen 2000: 203–213; Laubry 2007 (exhaustively); for a case study (on L14) Gabba and Tibiletti 1960, with parallels from Latin epigraphy; for collections of Latin inscriptions see also Cracco Ruggini 1995: 121 note 15 (repeating the references in Gabba and Tibiletti, but introducing several errors); di Stefano Manzella 1987: 191f.; Noy 2000: 192–194, and 2010b: 209f. (deceased repatriated to or from Rome); Arena and Bitto 2006, on the motif of ‘morte in terra straniera’ in Latin epigrams, including some recording repatriation.

Bones, Ashes and the Power of the *patris*: The Epigrams from the Greek East

Unsurprisingly, the overwhelming majority of the travellers or migrants in Merkelbach-Stauber's *Steinepigramme des griechischen Ostens* died in places other than those in which they saw the light of day (Table 16.1 nos. 1–4): the very fact that men lost their lives in foreign regions was usually the reason for recording their provenance or movements. An epigram from Ephesos tells us the story of a student whom death cruelly seized on Lesbos at a tender age:

- Ὅκτωκαιδεκάτου με καταρχόμενον λυκάβαντος
 ἄρτι τε ῥητορικῆς ἔργα διδασκόμενον
 Λέσβῳ ἐν εὐδένδρῳ βαρυαλγῆς νοῦσος ἐδάμνα
 4 κούκέτι ἐς ἡμερτὴν γαίαν ἔβην Ἐφέσου·
 αὐτοκασίγνητος δὲ καμῶν μάλα πολλά, τοκεῦσι
 πένθος ἐπ' ὠκυάλου νηὸς ἔδωκε φέρων·
 ναίῳ δ' ἡρώων ἱερὸν δόμον, οὐκ Ἀχέροντος·
 8 τοῖον γὰρ βίότου τέρμα σοφοῖσι ἐνι.

As I entered my eighteenth year and was just beginning to be taught the art of rhetoric, a most grievous illness befell me on well-wooded Lesbos and I returned no more to the beloved earth of Ephesos. But my own brother has taken great pains to transport their grief⁷ to our parents on a sea-swift ship. I dwell in the sacred house of the heroes, not of the Acheron; for such is the end of life for the cultured.

G14; found in Ephesos

The deceased was relatively well off, posthumously at least: his caring brother and parents not only believed that he had found a place among the blissful few who had escaped the cheerless darkness of the Underworld,⁸ they also had

7 I.e., 'me, the object of their grief'; for the metaphor cf. G24 v. 5: ὅθεν περισσὸν βαρὺ φέρει λύπης δάκρυ, likewise referring to a student whose corpse was transported home by his brother. For another periphrastic reference to a corpse brought home cf. G21 v. 5: ξείνισεν ἡ γενέταιρ' ἀργαλέοις ξενίοις; rightly Merkelbach and Stauber, *ad loc.*: "Das schlimme Gastgeschenk war die Urne, in welcher die Gebeine der Mutter zurückgebracht worden sind." Cf. also ὅστέα δὲ ᾧδε μητρί τε καὶ ἀδελφῇ ἀνηρὸν κήδος ἵκανεν in G1.

8 Tybout 2003 concludes that pessimistic feelings dominate in c. 70% of the funerary epigrams in Merkelbach and Stauber, vol. 1; subsequent, as yet unpublished research shows that this percentage also applies to their collection as a whole; Wypustek 2013: 10 underlines that "on one and the same tombstone we may sometimes find a combination of

brought his mortal remains back to Ephesos so that he was ensured of a proper burial: at home, in his dearly beloved earth. The epigram they commissioned, though exceptional in the way it emphasises two themes, the great trouble involved in the operation of bringing his remains home⁹ and the means of transport, is one of a group of between twenty-three and twenty-seven poems testifying to the repatriation of mortal remains (Table 16.1 no. 3 [and no. 4]; Table 16.2).¹⁰

The disconcerting message that the student had not been able to return to his native city during his lifetime is nicely countered by the comforting reassurance that he did in fact reach this destination in the end. The desirability of being buried in native soil, here embodied in the latter's epithet *himerte*, is expressed in various ways in other epigrams. The dead are depicted as rejoicing in the knowledge that they had been brought home from foreign soil (G12: γεινώσκων ὅτι ἐκ γῆς Παταρέων εἰς πάτρην μετηνέχθης, "knowing that you were brought from the land of Patara to your fatherland"; G30: [χρῆ]ν δὲ κασιγνήτῳ με χάριν γενετῆρι τε δοῦναι, "I have to thank my brother and father"); they were unlucky to have died as "a foreigner among foreigners" (ξείνος ἐνι ξείνοις ἔθανον... τλήμων), but are better off now that the earth of the *patris* covers their bones (G28). After having been transported to their homeland, they lie in the company of their ancestors and the people dear to them (G31). Dying abroad was a grievous matter in itself: although it could cause relatives excessive sorrow

contradicting views", so that "epigrams in their entirety constitute a spectrum ranging from 'optimism' to 'pessimism'"; true as this general formulation might be, it obscures the fact that a mood of pessimism prevails.

- 9 A parallel is found in G9 v. 13 (καὶ καμάτους ὑπέμεινε); cf. also G19, commemorating three brothers from Attaleia who died soon after one another. Attikos had suffered death abroad (v. 4: ἐπὶ ξενίης) aged 13; P. Hamon, *BE* 2011: no. 518, wonders whether he was living in another city – Pergamon? – in order to pursue his studies; his corpse was transported back to Attaleia: ἐς πατρίδαν δὲ νέκυν κόμισαν μολίς ἄνδρες ἑταῖροι. The editors (Staab and Petzl 2010: 4–6) translate, "Ins Vaterland überführten den Leichnam schließlich seine Gefährten", with Staab adding (6 note 5) that the temporal meaning of μολίς also underlines 'die ehrenwerte fromme Leistung der Gefährten...' ("schließlich doch noch"). Cf. however *LSJ*, s.v. μολίς: "with toil and pain, i.e. hardly, scarcely"; like κάμνω in G9 and 14, the adverb expresses the exertions undertaken by Attikos' companions to bring him home.
- 10 G12–14, 16/17, 19, 21–24, 26–32, 34–39; G21 records the repatriation of a mother in an epigram for her son buried abroad; on G27 see the Appendix. We do not include in Table 16.2 five epigrams on monuments erected in the homeland for persons either repatriated or buried abroad, which consequently may be cenotaphs (Table 16.1 no. 4): 03/06/04 (see below note 19), 08/01/31 and 08/01/33 (see below note 19), 08/06/03, and 16/35/03; we also exclude 20/27/02 = 24/34 (Table 16.1 no. 6), for which see below note 26.

(G19), this might be mitigated somewhat by being able to grant the deceased his last journey home; the latter was the more important especially in such sad cases as that of the girl who did not live to see her own wedding (G34) or the man who met death in an unbecoming manner (οὐχ ὁσίως φθίμενον; G35). The autochthonous tomb of those who had managed to return from abroad before death claimed them (Table 16.1 no. 5) was considered a “reward of life” (κέρδος ἔχων βίотου τὸν τάφον ἐν πατρίδι, “as a reward of life having a grave in your fatherland”; 02/06/14). The contrast between (the earth in) foreign parts and (the earth in) the homeland is highlighted in most epigrams recording posthumous repatriation,¹¹ and is implicit in poems which allude to the return more succinctly or indirectly.¹²

The epigrams for those who were buried in far-off regions offer a mirror-image of such feelings. To be left to lie in alien soil, far away from family and native community, is a frequent source of lamentation: the *patra* Antiochia “still laments” a wrestler lying in the *gaia xeina* of Halikarnassos (01/12/14); the foreign soil is a poor substitute for that of the homeland (14/16/03), and dying abroad is defined in terms of a failure to return.¹³ The contrast between the (earth of the) *patris* and the (earth of the) non-native region is also a *Leitmotiv* in poems of this category.¹⁴

If it was impossible to retrieve the body, the next best option open to the bereaved family was to erect a cenotaph in a graveyard in the deceased’s hometown, so that its members would at least have a tangible and lasting focus for commemoration: a place where the traditional funerary ceremonies could duly be performed, commencing with a symbolic funeral which in the Roman cultural context was called *funus imaginarium*,¹⁵ and which remained a perpetual “object of tears” (δακρύων σκόπος; 18/12/05 v. 4). At least twenty-one (at most twenty-six) stones belong to this category (Table 16.1 no. 2 [and no. 4]).¹⁶

11 01/12/18; 01/20/27; 03/02/72; 04/06/04; 09/05/05–07; 10/02/03; 10/02/26; 10/02/29; 10/03/02; 11/07/12; 11/15/01; 22/21/02.

12 03/07/17; 03/07/19; 05/03/05; 09/05/16; 10/03/07; 16/33/03; 16/34/14; 22/49/01 (for the repatriation implied cf. Seyrig 1954: 216).

13 08/01/42; 08/02/01; 16/23/05; 16/52/02; 22/36/01.

14 04/24/06; 06/01/01; 08/08/06; 13/06/03; 16/23/14; 16/35/04; 16/52/02; 17/09/03; 18/12/05; 20/01/03; 22/43/01.

15 *CIL* 14, 2112 (*ILS* 7212; cf. below note 68) 11, lines 3–5; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 264E/265B) for the custom, both in Greece and Rome, to organize a burial and erect a monument for a missing person. See Schoen 2000: 206–210, for a survey of the rituals, and the legal and emotional implications, with further references.

16 03/01/06; 03/05/02; 03/07/11; 04/16/01; 05/01/42; 05/01/48; 06/01/01; 08/08/06; 10/06/09; 10/06/13; 13/05/02; 16/23/05; 16/35/04; 16/71/01; 17/09/06; *17/22/01; 18/01/19; 18/12/05;

Some explicitly define the grave as an empty one,¹⁷ but most resort to tactful paraphrases: the stele bears only the name, but the sea has the body (03/07/11); a soldier who died in battle has been denied the earth of the *patra* (06/01/01); the grave lacks the father whom the Syrian earth received (16/35/04); (unspecified) earth covers an athlete who died far from the *patre* (18/01/19); a father could no longer see his son, but erected an altar “on the soil of home” (ἐν πατρίῳ γῆ; 18/12/05); a student drowned at sea, where the Nymphs have hidden him in a cave, has his grave “in the earth of the fatherland” (πατρίω γᾶι δ’ ἐν; 19/05/03); a mother and two sons do not share the same dust (κόνης), since another earth holds each of them, but a single grave preserves their memory (20/01/03). Three texts simply record the facts (death abroad), allowing the reader to conclude that he is in fact standing in front of a cenotaph.¹⁸ Five epitaphs on monuments erected *in patria* are either inscribed on cenotaphs or on graves containing repatriated remains (Table 16.1 no. 4); two of these commemorate men lost at sea (08/01/31; 08/01/33); their bodies could conceivably have been rescued from the waves and brought home.¹⁹ The motif of (non-)native earth is, as might be expected, also played upon in epigrams on monuments raised for those buried in foreign lands. Some of the deceased were commemorated by two monuments in different places,²⁰ as explicitly recorded in 03/01/06 (inscription accompanying a statue in Priene which mentions a tomb “elsewhere”) and

19/05/03; 20/01/03; 22/33/03; for five poems which are possibly cenotaphs see above note 10. Ricci 2006b records only five of these: 05/01/42 = R. 60 no. 56; 05/01/48 = R. 61 no. 60; 08/08/06 = R. 61 no. 59; 10/06/13 = R. 57 no. 44; 16/23/05 = R. 61 no. 58.

17 08/08/06, 16/23/05: κενὸς τάφος; 16/71/01: τάφος καὶ κενός; 05/01/42: κενόμα τάφου; 05/01/48: κενὸς τύμβος; 17/09/06: σῆμα κενόν; 10/06/13: στήλη κενεῶ δ’ ἐπὶ σήματι. κενὸς τύμβος occurs also in 01/23/03 (v. 5), classified by Ricci 2006b: 61 no. 57, as belonging to her ‘Tipo A’, i.e., the category of the ‘cenotafi veri e propri (*stricto sensu* o di necessità)’ (39). However, the epigram clearly states that the ‘tomb covers me’ (v. 1: [Τύ]μβος μὲν κρύπτει με...); consequently the grave is not empty: κενὸς τύμβος is used in the general sense of ‘tomb’ or ‘funerary chamber’; similarly, κενοτάφιον occasionally occurs in this sense in prose inscriptions from Asia Minor (Ricci 2006b: 20–23).

18 03/01/06; 03/05/02; 04/16/01.

19 G16 records a mother bringing back the ashes of her son who had drowned at sea to the *polis* (Erythrai); death on sea also in G8; 22/43/01 states that “sea and land divided me (among them), and thirdly fire” (v. 4), which is best interpreted as a cremation after the body had been rescued from the sea and brought ashore. As to 03/06/04 (Latin/Greek; from Teos): the *tumulus* covers the *ossa* (v. 2); cremation took place in Phrygia (v. 5), “so that the hill (*tellus*) could receive my bones” (v. 6). It is unclear whether the *tumulus/tellus* should be located in Phrygia (cenotaph) or Teos (repatriation).

20 Cf. Ricci 2006b: 39f. (“Tipo B”).

05/01/42, a cenotaph on Smyrna's shore evoking a tomb with a rock-cut inscription in the foothills of Mount Tmolos (third century BCE):²¹

- [Ὁ]στέα μὲν κρύπτει Τμῶλος νεάταισιν ὑπ' ὄχθαις
 Ἑρμίου, ὄγκωτ' ἀμφιβέβακε κόνις
 [τ]ηλεφάης· ξεστὰ δὲ πέτρα καθύπερθε ἀγορεύει
 4 [τ]ὸν νέκυν ἀφθόγγῳ φθεγγομένα στόματι·
 τοῦτο δὲ οἱ κενέωμα τάφου ποθέοντες ἑταῖροι
 Σμύρνης ἀγχιάλοις χεῦαν ἐπ' αἴοσιν.

The bones of Hermias the Tmolos covers under its foothills, and piled-up sand surrounds them, visible from afar; from above the smoothed rock proclaims (the name of) the deceased speaking with a voiceless mouth; but his friends, longing for him, erected this cenotaph on Smyrna's shore near the sea. (05/01/42)

Returning to the repatriation of corpses, the obvious question this elicits is, is it possible to gather some details about its frequency and about its practical aspects from the epigrams? The chronological range of the texts concerned is roughly in line with the limits set for the larger collection brought together by Tacoma and me for the purpose of our inquiry into migration and mobility: they date from the fourth century BCE to the fourth century CE, the emphasis falling in the Imperial period (which yielded the larger part of the epigrammatic harvest *in toto*). The same applies to the geographical horizon: most of the mortal remains were carried from one place to another in the Greek East, often covering vast distances over land and by sea. Indeed, those of the priest Sakerdos (G22) and the orators/sophists Marcellus (G27; see Appendix) and Proklos (G37) travelled all the way from Athens to Nikaia in Bithynia, to Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis in Paphlagonia and to Maximianopolis in Arabia, respectively; the remains of the jurist Konon were moved from Egypt (Thebais) to Pamphylian Kolybrassos (G36), and those of a certain Alexander from Rome to Kaisareia/Hadrianoupolis (G29). The means of transport is rarely specified. Exceptions include the Ephesian student in the epigram just mentioned who was brought home in a “sea-swift ship” and Konon, who crossed “the vast Nile and the sea” (G36 v. 17).

Most of the deceased commemorated were young men in their twenties and thirties, which is not surprising, since this category dominates the corpus

21 Other epigrams also testify to a double commemoration (burial abroad, though not necessarily crowned by a monument): 03/06/04; 05/01/48; 08/08/06.

of funerary poetry in general. Strikingly, there are only two females, despite the fact that about one-third of all funerary epigrams are dedicated to women: a thirteen-year-old unmarried girl who had left her hometown, Lamounia, probably to live in the household of her uncle, and was brought home at long last by her parents (G34); G21 alludes to the repatriation of the remains of the mother of the deceased. The virtual absence of women is not adequately explained by their low number in the entire collection of ‘migratory epigrams’ (30 out of 146 in Tacoma and Tybout); the principal reason for their non-appearance is that marriage mobility seems to have been the prime reason of their movements. Therefore they were buried with their husbands, if possible, in the family graves of the latter.

Thirteen epigrams offer some evidence of social profiles: we have two students (G14, 24), a physician and “servant of the Muses” (G32), an eloquent priest and urban benefactor (G22), three legal experts (G30/31, 36), two orators/sophists (G27, 37), an athlete/dancer for whom noble birth is claimed (G29), not to mention one or two soldiers (G23; possibly 39; cf. also 08/06/03). Although this sample is certainly not enough to yield a well-defined general pattern, it is perhaps no coincidence that the educated and cultured element prevails.

Obviously, the considerable time span involved in the whole process meant that the bodies could not be brought home intact. The speed at which the process of natural decay of a human body sets in varies according to a number of circumstances, notably climate, but it is clear that some form of preservation of the corpse was required for long-distance repatriation. In our collection of epigrams, there is no hint of embalming (but see below, Section 4). Cremation would have been necessary to strip the flesh and reduce the body to ashes or bones. The latter perhaps requires some explanation: bones are likely to survive intact when heated for a relatively short duration and not subjected to the very high maximum temperature of the funeral pyre.²² Several poems speak of bones (ὀστέα) lying in the grave at home, but the term itself does not indicate cremation since it could refer to what had remained after the inhumation of the intact body. Two poems certainly describe the transportation of bones, though without alluding to the cremation required (G29; G31: ὀστέα δ’ εἰς πατρίην ὁ πατήρ ἤνέ[γκ]ατο, “but the father brought the bones to the fatherland”). Unambiguous cases include G17, mentioning a cremation in Klaros (φθονερῇι φλογὶ κάππεσον, “I fell down by the jealous fire”) and the subsequent transference of the ashes (σποδιή) to Erythrai,²³ and G16 recording ashes being

22 Shipman et al. 1984: 322f., cited by Graham 2011: 103; cf. also Bennett 2010: 217f.

23 Cf. also G16 for σποδιή returned to the same city.

returned to the same city. Two other poems refer to cremation abroad and repatriation of the bones; one is from Kaisareia/Hadrianoupolis (G28):

- Ξείνος ἐνὶ ξείνοις ἔθανον Πατροεῖνος ὁ τλήμων
καὶ λίπον ἐν φλόγῳ σῶμα καταχθόνιον·
ὅστέα δ' ἐνθάδε μοι ἐν πατρίδι γαῖα καλύπτει·
4 τοῦτο τὸ σῆμ' ἐποίησεν Ἀκυλὴν ἢ πολὺδακρυς
χυῖοι Ἀκυλιανὸς καὶ Πατροεῖνος ὁμοῦ
Ματρῶνα ἢ ποθέουσα πατρός ποτε νόστον ἀκοῦσαι,
νῦν δὲ καταφθιμένῳ μνημοσύνης ἔνεκεν.

I, unlucky Patroeinos, died as a stranger among strangers, and I left in the flames my body under the earth;²⁴ but my bones the earth covers here in my fatherland; Aquilia with many a tear made this gravestone, and my sons Aquilianus and Patroeinos together with Matrona, who once longed to hear about the return of her father – but now (they made the grave) in commemoration of the deceased.

The other is G22 (i.e., the series of poems 09/05/04–07), commemorating a man who was evidently a prominent priest and benefactor of his native city Nikaia, where his bones were buried after cremation in Attica (05 v. 7/8 depicts the two regions rivalling each other in paying respect to his remains).²⁵ In all its conceivable variants, the repatriation of corpses can be defined as a reburial. G32 gives evidence of this: once the earth of a foreign land covered the deceased, but now he is ensconced in a tomb in his native

24 The succinct expression implies that the body was cremated with the ashes left for burial: see the Appendix.

25 The four epigrams (which we assigned the single number G22) belong to a series of five for the Nikaian priest (of the imperial cult or Helios?) Sakerdos and his wife (09/05/04–08 = *AP* 15.4–8; 09/05/05 vv. 7/8: ἄ νέκυν ἐν πυρὶ θείσα / Ἀτθίς χά κόλποις ὅστέα δεξαμένα; cf. also 09/05/06 v. 7/8: δν πάτρη μὲν ἔδεκτο φίλον νέκυν, ἦγγισε δ' Ἀτθίς / πυρκαϊῇ; 09/05/07 v. 5/6: ἐπὶ γαῖας / Ἀτθίδος ἀρχηγόνου πυρκαϊᾶς ἐπέβαν). For the variant of cremation prior to repatriation cf. also G3, 7 and 42. For fire consuming the σάρκας and leaving the ὅστέα to be buried see also 09/05/12 (v. 1: πῦρ μὲν σάρκας ἔκαυσε, τὰ δ' ὅστέα ἐνθάδ' ἔνεστι) and 22/43/01 (v. 1/2: ὅστέ(α)... / ...λίψανα πυρκαϊῆς); cf. also *IG* 2² 12378 (G V 1747; Athens; σάρκας μὲν πῦρ...ἀφείλετο / ὅστέα δ' ...χώρος δδ' ἔχει); G V 1748 (Demetrias; v. 1/2: σῶμα μὲν Ἥφαιστος κατενήρατο, καλπὶς ἔχει δὲ / ὅστέα μου). The same implications in 03/06/04 (see above note 19) and 18/01/23 (Termessos): νέρθε σοροῦ καύστηρ· τὰ δὲ ὅστέα ἀπέθηκε / ...οὐ τότε μνήμ' ἐσορᾶς, contrasting the place of cremation “beneath the sarcophagus” with the bones ensconced in it; Merkelbach-Stauber's translation “Unter in dem Sarkophag ist die Urne” is erroneous.

city, Nikopolis.²⁶ Another epigram, from Arabia (G38), tells us that what remained of a couple long after they had died in different places was brought together in a grave at home by their nephew.

Needless to say, the operation was complex and must have involved considerable trouble and all sorts of expenses. In the ideal situation, implicit in some epigrams, relatives already present at the place of death accompanied the body on its way to its homeland. But in most cases companions or colleagues will have taken care of a traveller's or migrant's funeral. Days, even weeks must have passed before relatives even received notice of the death of their loved one; they would have had to travel, perhaps after deliberations in the family circle, to destinations often beyond their horizons, where they would have had to find out how the body had been dealt with so far and where the remains were located. They would have found either an urn or another receptacle containing the ashes or bones or a grave in which the bones or the intact body had been interred. In the latter case, they would have had to obtain permission to disinter the remains. If time had not already dissolved the flesh, cremation would have been inevitable after disentanglement. Finally they would have had to organise transport home.

In all its variants, the whole procedure of repatriation might have taken months rather than weeks. Two epigrams allude to the efforts involved (G14, 19; cf. also G9).²⁷ That at least twenty-three of the 142 epigrams considered in this study attest to repatriation *post mortem*, implying that about one-sixth of the relatives opted to spare no effort to achieve this end *and* accomplished their objective, is indicative of its vital role and ritual function in the contemporary ways of coping with grief and bereavement.

More Moving Bones on Stones

Though the remaining epigraphical material could not be explored systematically for the purpose of this study, a miscellaneous collection of funerary

26 Transport of the corpse and reburial, though under very different circumstances, possibly appears in 20/27/02 (Table 16.1 no. 6): the text describes a grave in Nisibis, but the stone, now lost, must have been re-erected in Rome (see the comments of Merkelbach-Stauber). This epigram is anomalous in all respects: it was written for a Caucasian prince, Amazaspos, who died while he was accompanying Trajan on his Parthian expedition of 114–117 CE. Possibly Hadrian himself was its author (see *SEG* 52, 986); the epigram is the only one in our series to provide possible evidence of the transfer of mortal remains from a homeland to another place.

27 See above note 9.

epigrams from outside Asia Minor confirms the picture sketched so far while adding some nuances. In the case of the Greek inscriptions, instances of bodies, bones or ashes being sent home could be traced in eleven funerary epigrams from other regions (G1–5, 7–10, 42/43), seven prose epitaphs (G6, 11, 20, 25, 33, 40/41 [to which G36bis and G41bis should be added: see Postscript]) and two honorary inscriptions (G15, 18 [add G 21bis: see Postscript]). As might be expected, the epigrams reflect feelings similar to those expressed in the poems from Asia Minor. We read, for example, about bones having been brought home “since the native soil is sweet also after death and not merely for the living” (G2 vv. 3/4), bones arriving and causing “painful grief” to relatives (G1; ὁστέα δὲ ᾧδε μητρὶ τε καὶ ἀδελφῇ ἀνιερὸν κῆδος ἵκανεν, “but the bones came here to his mother and brother, a painful grief” [or “grievous mourning”])²⁸ or bones received by parents in the *patris* of a young athlete as the bitter substitute of the victorious wreaths he had been expected to bring home (G4).²⁹ We find bones transported in an urn (κάλλις; G5) and “pale bones” (ὁστέα πηγὰ) carried home after cremation of the flesh (σάρκας) at the place of death (G42). An epigram from Rome tells us the captivating story of a loving widow and a sea-faring corpse (G9): Rufinus left Rome for “the city of the Nile” (probably Alexandria), where he “gave his soul to the air, but his body to the earth” (v. 6). His wife, Damostrateia, accomplished the arduous journey to Egypt to return with the body “over the waves” (vv. 12/13: καὶ πέλαγος διέπλευσε καὶ ἤγαγε σῶμα βυθοῖσιν / καὶ καμάτους ὑπέμεινε, “and she crossed the sea and brought the body over the waves and took great pains”) and rebury it in the tomb where their two children were later also interred.³⁰ The transportation of the disinterred dead is evoked in a very vivid image: “and he saw again the light as a corpse and sailed across the sea and went to his own land” (vv. 8/9: καὶ πάλιν εἶδε τὸ φῶς νεκρὸς ὦν καὶ πόντον ἔπλευσε / καὶ χώρας ἰδίης ἐπέβη); “such was Damostrateia’s love for her husband” (v. 15: Δαμοστρατείας ταῦτα τῆς φιλανδρίας). Another

28 Cairon 2009: 228–231 no. 72, misses the point, as is evident from her translation which renders ᾧδε by “ainsi” and her comment “Il est possible que le rite préalable de la crémation soit la raison du choix de ce mot”. We do not include in Table 16.2 the fragment *ICBulg* 4, 1967 (Serdica; undated), though with ὁστέα γάρ μου (L. 5), ἐπ’ οἶκειαν (L. 6) and a form of the aorist participle of κομίζω (L. 7: κομισα[–]) it is very likely to record the repatriation of bones.

29 For Smyrna as a station on his way from Tomis to Delphi see Robert 1967: 28.

30 Noy 2000: 193, misinterpreted the epitaph: “Rufinus of ‘Nilopolis’, although commemorated in Rome, his remains were taken back to Egypt by his wife, and placed in the tomb where his children were later buried”; cf., however, vv. 2–5: ὅς προλιπὼν Ῥώμης δάπεδον Νείλου πόλιν ἔλθων (...) Μοιρῶν οὐκ ἔφυγεν τρισσῶν μίτον: “who after having left the floor of Rome and having come to the city of the Nile (...) did not escape the threefold thread of the Moirai”.

epigram from Rome (G10) is unique both in referring to a repatriation not yet accomplished, and in commemorating a baby aged eleven months: the mother of Salome made a solemn vow to have her daughter's remains brought to her homeland, presumably Syria or Palestine.³¹ Yet another epigram offers a glimpse of the cremation ceremony taking place prior to repatriation (G7): after Akrisios of Paros had died in Mylasa, where his city had sent him as a judge, "the Mylasians honoured me with funerary gifts, crowning me with golden branches; and they slaughtered a bull near the fire, paying pious honours to my *daimon* dwelling below with the chthonic gods" (vv. 3–6: ἐκτέρισαν δὲ / Μυλασέες χρυσέοις στεψάμενοί με κλάδοις / ταῦρον δ' ἀμφὶ πυρῇ σφάξαν τιμαῖσι σέβοντες / δαίμονί μου νέρθεν σὺν χθονίοισι θεοῖς). His homonymous son, who had accompanied him as his secretary, took over his father's judicial duties and, after accomplishing their mission, "carried with his dear hands the bones to the fatherland, burying his Parian father in Parian soil" (vv. 11/12). In a series of four epigrams on a family grave for an older and a younger couple (G2), the same transfer of bones is proudly mentioned both in the father's and the mother's epitaph; the son travelled from Edessa to Dyrrhachion to fetch the remains of his father and bury them on behalf of his widowed mother (vv. 7–9: ὅστ' αὖ δὲ πατὴρ / εἰσενέθηκεν ἐμοὶ Δυρραχίου κομίσας / ...ἦχι Φίλιππον ἔθαψεν, ἐμὸν πόσιν; "and he brought me the bones of his father from Dyrrhachion [...and he buried me] where he buried Philippos, my husband"). Strikingly, he accomplished this as a youngster, who had not yet reached the eighteenth year of his life: at that age he interred his mother beside her husband.

Remarkably in view of the thirty-four epigrams mentioned so far, I could trace no more than seven Greek prose epitaphs recording repatriation (but see Postscript for two more testimonia: G36bis and G41bis). Though more examples might lurk in the numerous *corpora*, this is all the more significant when we recall that only 2 or 3 per cent of the epitaphs on stone consists of epigrams. The reason for this disproportion must be that there are no standard formulas to convey the message of the body being repatriated (which also makes it difficult to trace them in electronic sources). Such additional information finds its way more easily into funerary poetry, often more generous in providing biographical detail than the generally concise and formulaic prose epitaphs.³² Two of the latter commemorate young members of elite families in more than average detail. One (G11) is a now anonymous Aphrodisian, son of a consul,

31 See L. Moretti's comments *ad IGUR* 1323.

32 Cf. Renberg 2010: 42f., for similar considerations on the relatively high proportion of epigrams in the epigraphical records of dream narratives.

whose corpse (πτωμάτιον) was transported and buried by his friend Tib. Cl. Eutychianos, who also erected his image.³³ Interestingly, he is also remembered as “contest-president in perpetuity” of the Megala Gordiana Attalea, suggesting that he had travelled to the City to obtain the emperor’s permission to upgrade what had been the local Attaleia into a ἱερὸς ἄγων: the name Gordiana refers to an imperial favour (δωρεά) to Aphrodisias. On coins dating to Gordian’s reign, the *agon* is called (Γορδιανήα) Ἀττάληα Καπετώλια, which very probably implies a further promotion to a ἱερὸς εἰσελαστικός ἄγων. In either case, the emperor’s permission was required. The other (G33) is P. Aelius Cyrillus, who was accompanied *post mortem* to his native city Ankyra by two brothers from Alexandria.³⁴ Though he is said to have just begun to enjoy the prime of his life, he had been a councillor not only in Ankyra but also in other cities, implying that he belonged to an influential family with supra-regional affiliations. The other five Greek prose epitaphs concern three soldiers (G20, 40/41³⁵), a young lawyer (G25) and a father brought “to his own premises” by his son, through the

33 I owe most of the reflections on this text to follow to H.W. Pleket; for the coin issues and further evidence for the contest see Roueché 1993, comment *ad* no. 56, and *SEG* 31, 1638; for δωρεά cf. Robert, *OMS* 5: 795, and 6: 712f.

34 S. Mitchell, *ad I. Ancyra* 306: “It is likely that Kyrillos had gone to Alexandria as a student, perhaps of medicine”; in the ed.pr. (see *SEG* 27, 866), S. Mitchell suggested that “perhaps P. Aelius Cyrillus had business interests in Egypt”; and L. Robert, *BE* 1978: no. 491, has argued that καταξιωθέντες διαδοχής (L. 12) refers to the succession of Cyrillus’ brothers as heads of a philosophical school.

35 G41 states that a soldier qualified as φιλόπατρις, “after having returned from Germania and having died in the *ala Agrippiana*, was transferred to his place of birth” (Eitha, Hauran; [—]νετο|ς καὶ φιλόπατρις, ἀπὸ Γερμανίας ἀν|ελθὼν καὶ | ἐν εἰλῃ Ἀγρι|ππ|ανῇ ἀπο|θανών, εἰς | τὰ ἴδια με|θιγέχθη); this is most naturally interpreted to mean that his detachment was moved from Germany to a place somewhere in the Syro-Arabian region, where he died; Sartre-Fauriat 2001: 152, assumes that his corpse was transported from Germany, which seems incompatible with the Greek text; her argument that no *ala Agrippiana* is attested in Arabia in the third century CE is invalid, since an *ala* of this name is similarly unknown for Germany after the early first century CE (for the latter see *CIL* 13, 6235 [*ILS* 2503]; cf. also 12, 2231). The stone, known from *LBW* 2121 only, is no longer extant and might be dated to the (later?) second century as well. The research on the various formations known under this or an expanded name (*ala* (I/II) (*Flavia*) *Agrippiana*; *ala Agrippiana Miniata*), which does not yield a coherent picture, cannot be resumed here. Dąbrowa 1985 curiously twice mentions G41 only in passing (231 note 24; 233 note 31), without taking into account the phrase, “after having come from Germany”; see most recently Weiß 2006: 226 and 281f., on *ala I Flavia Agrippiana*: “die neue Einheit dürfte von Anfang an in Syria gelegen haben” (282; founded c. 90, attested in Syria in 129 CE); presumably the *ala* of our text is either this formation or its twin, *ala II Flavia Agrippiana*, known to have been still extant in the early

mediation of the latter's foster-father and tutor, assisted by a friend and trustee of the deceased (G6).

Further evidence of the return of elite members after their deaths comes from posthumous honorary inscriptions (to the following add G21bis: see Postscript). In the troubles which befell western Asia Minor after the death of Attalos III, when the Romans intervened in Asian affairs by helping to put down the revolt of Aristonikos, Apollonios son of Attalos, a citizen of Metropolis, was put in charge of a military detachment sent out by his city to join a large Greek force assembled by the Greek cities to support the Roman cause in a camp near Thyateira (G15; 132 BCE); he was killed in the ensuing clashes. Metropolis resolved "to give his sons permission to construct a *heroon* before the gate on their private property; and to effect speedily the return of the bones, so that (...[Apollonios]...) may receive a fitting burial".³⁶ The collection of bones from more or less distant battle fields for burial in the native city might be a *sous-entendu* in many epigrams for soldiers.³⁷ Another category of persons who risked dying far from home were ambassadors, among them Poseidippos who had successfully pleaded the cause of his city Stratonikeia before the Senate in the first century BCE, but died while still in Rome and was given a state burial at home (G18, line 1: [Ὁ] δῆμος ἔθαψεν Ποσειδιππον, "the People buried Poseidippos").³⁸ An inscription from Rhodes dating to the later Imperial period tells a very similar story, but since there is no reference to burial this might be a cenotaph.³⁹

It will have become clear that much of the evidence from the twenty Greek inscriptions discussed so far in this section fits the profile which emerged from the epigrams from Asia Minor. The remains being transported are those of (mostly young) males, with the exception of baby Salome (G10), whose mother perhaps did not succeed in fulfilling her intentions. Where the remains are described, they are almost invariably "bones" (ὀστέα); in G3, "the remains of the ashes" (ashes or bones or both?) are returned; cremation prior to transfer

third century (TAM 5.2.935 [IGR 4, 1213]). Anyhow, it was apparently sent on an expedition to Germany in the second or third century CE, after which it returned to its base in Syria/Arabia.

36 Lines 42/43; translation Jones 2004: 473; we follow Jones' reconstruction of the events; on the term *heroon*, probably implying cultic honors, *ibid.* 483.

37 E.g. GV 767 (Ξάνθον ἐγὼ στάλα κεύθω), 994, 1230, 1417, 1521.

38 Habicht 2001: 14.

39 *Clara Rhodos* 2 (1932) 202 no. 34; it is unclear why Habicht 2001: 16, considers it certain that the ambassador was actually interred by his *phyle* Lindos. The same applies to two *decuriones* from Virunum and Lyon who died on embassies in Rome (CIL 3, 5031 [ILS 7715] and CIL 12, 1750 [ILS 7026], respectively; Habicht 2001: 15f.).

of the bones is recorded explicitly in G7 and G42. Looking at social stratification, five men clearly belong to local elites: two represented their cities as ambassadors to Rome (G11, 18), one was a foreign judge (G7), another commanded a military unit of his city (G15), and there is a councillor who held multiple offices (G33); a young athlete (G4) and a young lawyer (G25) might also have been members of esteemed families. Finally, there are three soldiers serving in the Roman army (G20, 40/41; 20 and 41 are cavalry men). The remaining eight (excluding the two children in G8 and G10) apparently could not boast any public qualities worth recording.

For funerary inscriptions written in Latin, I have relied on previous publications.⁴⁰ Sifting out doubles, *dubia* and reburials in a local context,⁴¹ the harvest amounts to thirty-two attestations recording supra-regional transport of thirty-four corpses (Table 16.3; L6 and L20⁴² both concern two corpses). Systematic investigation of the entire Latin epigraphical corpus would no doubt bring to light more examples, but these would hardly change the overall picture, which by and large fits the evidence from the Greek inscriptions. With ten epigrams (L5–7, 13, 18, 20, 22, 24, 27, 28; some partly in prose), the proportion between poetry and prose is somewhat more balanced, although still imbalanced when it is related to the rare occurrence of epigrams in the corpus of funerary epigraphy in general. As might be expected, Latin epigraphy widens the geographical perspective towards the West, with Rome as the focal point from which and to which transference of corpses took place (to Rome: L1/2, 4, 6/7, 23 [also G9]; from Rome: L3, 5, 15, 17, 19/20, 22, 24, 31 [also G 10/11, 18, 26]). Bodies were sent from the City to northern Italy, Alpes Poeninae, Gaul, Lusitania, Dalmatia, Pannonia and Africa, and others were transported from Spain, Dacia, Pannonia, Britannia and Cilicia to Rome. We have seen from the Greek evidence that the deceased could be commemorated in two monuments: a tomb containing the body and a cenotaph. There are Latin parallels for this custom and from a number of epigrams we learn that the ashes were left at the place of death whereas the bones were returned to the homeland (L3, 5, 7, 13, 18).⁴³ As in the Greek

40 See above note 6. Laubry 2007: 181–188, offers a catalogue of and valuable comments on 21 inscriptions.

41 *Dubia*: see above note 4; local context: e.g. Laubry 2007: nos. 2, 6, and 21; *CIL* 6, 2366 (cf. 2365 for the woman's first burial). Also omitted is *CIL* 13, 8648 (*ILS* 2244), providing for the future transference of the bones of a *centurio* from Bononia from a battlefield in the *Bellum Varianum* to Xanthen, where his brother erected a cenotaph: *ossa...inferre licebit*.

42 Erroneously considered a cenotaph by Ricci 2006b: 83 no. 121.

43 As in the Greek epitaphs, differentiating between ὁστέα and σποδιή, or referring to cremation in another way, *ossa* cannot be taken as a metonym for any kind of mortal remains if paired with *cineres*; cf. Laubry 2007: 151 and note 21.

inscriptions, most of the deceased were in their twenties or thirties, and men prevail, though with nine examples women score better than their Greek counterparts. Looking at social profile, one quarter concerns soldiers (L2/3, 11, 24–27, 32 [2, 27 and 32 are *centuriones*]; cf. also 30: wife of an *a militiis*); we have three *liberti* in charge of high offices in the imperial administration (L1, 4, 23, the latter a *procurator* of the gold-mines in Dacia) and a subordinate administrator in the bureau of the *praefectus praetorio* in Ravenna (L21; fifth century CE); a purple merchant-*libertus* (L9) and a woman who was the associate of her husband as a merchant (L28); a freedman-physician, buried by his *patronus* (L13), two students (L16, 22) and a priestess of the imperial cult belonging to a prominent local freedmen family (L19); one woman is termed a *concubina* (L8). No qualifications are given for fourteen deceased in twelve epitaphs (L5–7, 10,⁴⁴ 12, 14/15, 17/18, 20, 30/31). On the whole, the army, the imperial administration and an elevated freedman/trade milieu appear to be the strata best represented. This yields a pattern somewhat distinct from that emerging from the Greek evidence, in which freeborn local elites, political as well as intellectual, prevail.

A comparison with the Greek inscriptions testifying to repatriation reveals some other dissimilarities as well. Firstly, the chronological range of the Latin inscriptions is more limited: they all belong to the Imperial period. If it is not the result of a different epigraphical habit, the absence of evidence for Republican times might be coincidental, since from literary sources we know of statesmen and generals transferred to Rome for state burial with elaborate ceremony in the first century BCE,⁴⁵ of the magnanimity of victors towards their slain opponents (Caesar sent home the remains of Pompey, Mark Antony those of Brutus; Plut. *Pomp.* 80; *Brut.* 53.3), and of the practice of soldiers killed in battle being brought to Rome until during the Social War the Senate decreed in 90 BCE that, “those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army” (App. *BC* 1.43). Servius (*Aen.* 5.64) states that repatriation was the standard procedure for the Romans in a remote past; accordingly, the possibility of returning the dead from abroad was already provided for in the Law of the Twelve Tables (Cic. *Leg.* 2.24.60).

A more essential difference is that some Latin inscriptions include a cardinal element lacking in the Greek sources: the official permission for the

44 The body transport does not concern Egnatia Aulina, as stated by Carroll 2009: 824, but the second deceased, Lucius Caecilus Longus; correct in Laubry 2007: 184.

45 For Sulla (78 BCE, Cumae to Rome) and the consuls Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius Pansa (43 BCE, Mutina to Rome) see Cracco Ruggini 1995: 118f.

relocation of the corpse, granted either by the pontiffs (*pontifices*) for transfers from the provinces to Rome or within Italy (L1, 10) or by the emperor in his capacity of *pontifex maximus* (L4, 23), or by the provincial governor for transportation within his territory (L29). One of these texts concerns a freedman of Trajan, Marcus Ulpius Phaedimus, who died in Selinous in Cilicia in 117 CE; however, his remains were sent to Rome only thirteen years later (L1) *ex permissu collegii pontific(um) piaculo facto*, “with permission of the college of *pontifices* after carrying out a propitiatory sacrifice”.⁴⁶ The requirement of a propitiatory sacrifice shows that a *translatio corporis* (or disinterment for whatever reason) had legal as well as religious implications, also well attested in Roman legal sources.⁴⁷ In a recent comprehensive study of the subject, it has been argued that the record of the transfer in Latin epitaphs served the purpose of public certification of its legal validity in both respects.⁴⁸ Confirmation of this might be found in the observation that the emotional element abundantly present in the Greek records is only an undercurrent in their Latin counterparts. The personal touch is not absent, but generally expressed in a pretty sober tone: there is the *pietas* towards the beloved deceased, tangible in the *dulcissima memoria* of a *libertus* for his patron (L1), in a mother addressing her *filius carissimus* (L16), in sisters referring to their dead sister as “more dear to them than their own souls” (L19), or in an “unhappy father” burying the corpse of his son which he had repatriated (L17). Widowers bring home their wives because they had deserved such an honour (L14: *ob merita eius ad maiorum sepulcra*, “because of her merits to the tombs of the ancestors”; L12: *q[ua] p[ro]p[ri]etate ac castitate cum eo [vivens ta]li merito hoc meruerim*, “so that I have deserved this by such a virtue, by my sense of duty and moral purity during my life with him”). The single text pulling out all the stops is an epigram (L28) in which a merchant envelopes his spouse, business associate and housewife in the warmest of terms, deeply mourning her death. With the words *per maria et terras* (L30), another husband discreetly refers to the trouble he took in transporting his wife all the way from Dacia to Lambaesis. The nostalgia for the fatherland, though certainly a key motif in Latin funerary poetry in general,⁴⁹ rarely emerges (L. 27: *coniunx patriae gremio mandat...corpus*, “his wife confided his

46 A (much shorter) lapse in time between death and (re)burial is also recorded in L21. Cf. also G38 for a man and wife united in a grave at home long after they had died in different places.

47 Laubry 2007, especially 160–167.

48 *Ibid.* 176: “elle certifie à la communauté que l’auteur du transfert a agi dans la légalité la plus complète, face au droit et face aux dieux”.

49 Arena and Bitto 2006.

body to the lap of the fatherland"; L28: *cum in patria mecum rediret*, "when she returned with me to our fatherland"). The reticence in adding a personal element to inscriptions on Latin tombstones on the one hand and the avoidance of the legal aspect on the Greek stones (though the Greek population of the Empire was similarly subject to Roman legislation) on the other, most likely is the result of differences in epigraphical convention.

A general conclusion drawn from our epigraphical *tour d'horizon* might be that the importance of being buried in home soil emerges from both Greek and Latin epitaphs from over the entire ancient world, ranging from the early Hellenistic to the late Imperial period, and that the actual repatriation of corpses was a persistent and structural phenomenon. It might be added that the expectation of being repatriated in the event of death abroad is implicit in the widespread convention of erecting a grave in the *patris* for oneself during one's lifetime.

No Bones, No Ashes: Bodies Embalmed for Transport

The repatriation of P. Aelius Cyrillus (G33) offers the occasion for a brief interlude on embalmment. Considering that Cyrillus' epitaph is engraved on a large sarcophagus, and that he was transported from Egypt, it has recently been argued that his body had probably been mummified in preparation for its return to Ankyra.⁵⁰ Papyrological evidence and mummy labels do indeed yield abundant evidence of mummies being transported to the hometowns of deceased individuals within Egypt itself.⁵¹ However, the people concerned are all Egyptians, for whom the unity of body and spirit expressed by this most thorough variant of embalmment was of vital importance. Greeks and Romans, who shared in the age-old belief that the spirit should be set free by the decay of the body, did not consider the latter's perpetual conservation an appropriate treatment. We have seen that cremation, with the ashes and bones remaining, was the normal way for Greeks and Romans to evade the problem of putrefaction during transport.⁵² There is no reason to suppose that this was not the

50 Bennett 2010. It should be noted that a sarcophagus is not necessarily indicative of the presence of a corpse or skeleton, "as cremated bodies occasionally were also deposited in sarcophagi" (Carroll 2009: 828, referring to Ortalli 2001: 225–227); a well-known example of a sarcophagus containing a cinerary urn is the Simpelveld Sarcophagus in the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

51 Drexhage 1994; Boyaval 1995.

52 Cf. also Tac. *Ann.* 3.5: *sane corpus ob longinquitatem itinerum externis terris quoque modo crematum* (Drusus' son Germanicus, brought from Syria to Rome in 19 CE); the bodies of

case with Cyrillus, or, for that matter, with other deceased transported from Egypt to their homelands (G9, 36). It should be underlined that the remains of travellers or migrants sent from places other than Egypt could end up in a sarcophagus (G24, L12, 16 and 19, sent from Athens, Auximum, the Pennine Valley and Rome, respectively).

Nevertheless, this does not categorically preclude some form of embalmment, as is indicated by a passage in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* (2.16) concerning Euodianos of Smyrna who, after successfully occupying some prestigious offices in his native city, held the chair of rhetoric in Rome in the second century CE.⁵³ He had already buried his son in the City. When he felt his own end was drawing nigh, his intimate friends gathered by his bedside and

...were consulting about his body, whether they ought to bury it there or embalm it and ship it to Smyrna, when Euodianos exclaimed in a loud voice: "I will not leave my son behind alone". Thus did he clearly enjoin on them that he should be buried in the same grave as his son.

As an alternative to burial in Rome, embalmment would not have been practised for its own sake, but would have been resorted to for the specific purpose of transporting the corpse. The verb used is *ταριχεύω*, which in classical authors like Herodotus and some later writers, also in papyri, refers to the Egyptian way of dealing with corpses. Nevertheless, the mummification of a Greek in Rome is even more implausible than if it had happened in Egypt.⁵⁴ Since *ταριχεύω* in other contexts indicates salting, pickling, drying or smoking meat and fish (also in Philostratos: VA 3.55, of salting fish for preservation, "as is done in the Pontos"), Euodianos' friends might have been thinking of a less rigorous form of the preservation of the body, probably a treatment with ointments, honey or wax to achieve some sort of rudimentary embalmment which would have lasted long enough to ensure its transfer to Smyrna. Ancient authors knew of the preservative qualities of honey and wax, and some also testify to the use of this technique for embalmment.⁵⁵ The Spartan kings Agesipolis (Xen. *HG* 5.3.19) and Agesilaos (Diod. 15.93.6; Nepos, *Ages.* 7), for instance, died outside

Trajan and Septimus Severus brought back from Asia Minor and Britannia, respectively, were also cremated. For details see Cracco Ruggini 1995: 119–121.

53 Rothe 1988: 163–172; cf. W. Schmid, 'Euodianos', in: *RE* 6 (1909): 1153; Bowersock 1969: 24.

54 *LSJ*, s.v. *ταριχεύω* e.g. Hdt. 2.86.1; Plato, *Phaedo* 80c8f. For some exceptional Egyptian-styled mummies found in or near Rome see below note 60.

55 Sacco 1978: 77f. note 7; Chioffi 1998: 23; Oziol 1999; Biondi and Manganaro 2010: 62f.

Sparta and were laid in honey and wax, respectively, so that they might be brought home; and the body of the exiled Judaeon ruler Aristoboulos II, poisoned in Rome in 49 BCE, was embalmed in honey so that it could be sent back to the family tomb of the Hasmonaeans (Jos. *Ant.* 14.124).

Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.6) qualifies the embalmment of Poppaea Sabina, the second wife of Nero, as a foreign rite,⁵⁶ as opposed to the Roman *mos* of cremation. Tacitus' view undoubtedly takes into account that Poppaea's treatment was intended to be permanent. However, embalmment for the purpose of transporting a body is pictured as a Roman custom by Poppaea's contemporary Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 13.459–465), when he gives the ghost of Appius Claudius, the consul who had died during the siege of Capua in the battle against Hannibal, a voice.⁵⁷ Silius makes him appear to Scipio, bewailing the fact that he has not yet been buried:

But the tardy care of my family, while observing vain rites and the people's ceremonies, is slow to place my corpse on the pyre, in order to bring the body all the way to the ancestral tomb. What I beg from you by our rival deeds in war: keep away the ointments [*medicamina*] that would preserve my rotting limbs and allow my wandering spirit to enter the gates of Acheron as soon as possible.

Transl. C.M. VAN DER KEUR

Appius' body was to be treated to last the long journey from Capua to Rome, where it would be cremated; conceivably, the allusion to embalmment is not merely a reference to a quasi-mythical past, but a practice not unfamiliar to Silius' readers.⁵⁸ Some epitaphs also record that the body of the deceased is "lying in honey".⁵⁹ All this permits the conclusion that temporary embalmment

56 In a similar sense Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1.45.108; cf. also Lucr. 3.890–893.

57 Bassett 1963.

58 In *Pun.* 477f. *medicata* (cf. *medicamina* in 464) is used to refer to the Pontic ritual of embalmment; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 2.138f. (*putresque arcanis roribus artus ambrosiaeque rigat sucis*), where Iris is charged with preserving the bodies of the Argive leaders, likewise for future cremation. For these references I thank C.W. van der Keur.

59 Sacco 1978; Chioffi 1998: nos. 39, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49. Cf. also *I. Kition* 2090 (GV 1201; SEG 49, 1966): ἐν ἀρώμασι καὶ στεφάνοις ῥοδινοῖς καὶ σινδόνι λεπτοφυλῇ τρυφερᾷ: "parmi les plantes aromatiques et les couronnes de roses, et dans un linceul délicatement tissé" (Oziol 1999). Merkelbach-Stauber's translation of με...τάρχυσε in 09/12/04 v. 3 as "hat mich (...) einbalsamiert" is erroneous (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. τάρχυνω: not connected with ταρχεύω); correct Mitchell 1982b: 131f.: "gave me burial".

using ointments, herbs, wax, honey, *vel sim.*, was occasionally practised for bringing home the dead.⁶⁰

Narratives: The Return to the Homeland as a Cultural Norm

At this point a selection of narratives will be adduced to show how deeply the wish to be buried in native soil was anchored in ancient society as a cultural ideal. Occasionally, this material sheds some light on the process of decision making among family and friends which eludes us in the epigraphical evidence.⁶¹

The anecdote of Euodianos' deathbed is a case in point. What matters is that his comrades spontaneously raised the issue of repatriation rather than that the dying man frustrated their expectations. The situation shows some overtones very similar to the moving story of the death of Augustine's mother, Monica, as reported in the *Confessiones* (9.11). The family was dwelling in Ostia, awaiting embarkation for their native town Thagaste when she fell ill. Long ago Monica had made arrangements for her body to be buried with her husband, and her earnest desire had long been:

...to make this addition unto that happiness (...) that God had granted unto her, after a long pilgrimage beyond the seas, to have now at last in her own native country, the earthly part of both man and wife covered with the same earth.

60 For the archaeological evidence see Chioffi 1998; *ibid.* 24 for mummification (including desiccation, removal of the brains and evisceration) as opposed (and occasionally overlapping with) embalmment (leaving the body intact and merely applying ointments, etc.). Chioffi does not take into account the practical purpose of transport, which – rather than religious or doctrinal considerations – is probably the rationale underlying the embalmment of at least a proportion of the corpses listed in her catalogue. Some exceptional Egyptian-style mummies found in Rome might belong to Egyptian immigrants (Toynbee 1971: 41f.), though this is not self-evident in view of the popularity of Aegyptiaca; in the case of the 'Grottarossa girl' (Chioffi 1998: 47–50 no. 10), it is now virtually certain that mummification was applied locally by people originating from Rome or its vicinity: see Ciufarella 1998, with further references.

61 For reasons of space, I omit the posthumous returns of individuals which add to the epigraphical *testimonia* (e.g. Mart. *Ep.* 9.30; 6.85; 9.76: Cappadocia to Rome; Philostr. *VA* 8.14: Rome to Melos), including the glorious homecomings of emperors and other leaders who died outside Rome (cf. above note 6 and below note 83).

However, on her deathbed she changed her mind, considering that God would be able to raise her up from any place in the world. “Nothing is far from God”, she responded to Augustine’s friends, much to their astonishment, to their question of “whether she was not afraid to leave her body so far from her own city?”

Somewhat ironically, the location of Monica’s bones turned out to be less indifferent to posterity: first buried in an unknown place, they were transferred to the church of Sant’Aurea in Ostia in the late 6th or early 7th century.⁶² In 1430 Pope Martin V ordered the relics of Santa Monica to be brought to Rome, where they were to become the subject of veneration in the Church of Sant’Agostino.

Monica’s defiance of conventions was not a generally accepted stance among early Christians. We know of bishops leaving their see in old age and returning to their native places to be buried there,⁶³ and for examples of the transport of Christian corpses other than those of saints we can turn to our texts G2 and L21. A nice parallel for Monica’s argument comes from a very different context: Cicero (*Tusc. Disp.* 1.43.104) reports on the answer the Ionian philosopher Anaxagoras gave on this deathbed, in Lampsakos in 428 BCE,

to his friends’ inquiry about whether he wished in the event of need to be taken away to Clazomenae, his native land: “There is no necessity”, said he, “for from any place the road to the lower world is just as far”.

Irrespective of whether these three deathbed scenes reflect historical truth, they make it clear that posthumous repatriation was the cultural norm. Like Monica, other people made provisions during their lifetime to ensure that they

62 In 1945 a Latin funerary epigram for Monica was found near the Church of Sant’Aurea in Ostia (the text was already known from a manuscript); first considered the original epitaph dating to the period after her death in 387 AD, it has now been shown to date to the late 6th or early 7th century, when “both Monica’s memory and another funerary memorial (...) were erected as part of a concerted campaign to honor important figures from Ostia’s Christian past” (Boin 2013: 228–230 [quotation on 229], summarizing Boin 2010: 202–207).

63 Wilhelm 1928: 409; for bishops buried outside their diocese Feissel 1989: 812–813; cf. also Habicht ad *AvP* 8.3.21, on p. 58; Jakobielsky and Van der Vliet 2011 (epitaph of Joseph, bishop of Aswan and buried in Dongola in 668 CE; *SEG* 61, 1543; the editors’ assumption [29] that Joseph had suffered exile – supposedly “a turning point and (...) the single most important event in his entire career” – is unfounded).

would reach homely ground also in case of death. The Roman jurist Quintus Mucius Scaevola (*Dig.* 34.4.30.2) records the case of a *paterfamilias* who, before travelling from Campania to an unspecified province, instructed his heirs both by testament and by codicil to care for his body, to return it to Campania and to bury it in the tomb of his sons. To ensure that his wishes were obeyed, his heirs were to pay a fixed sum (60 gold coins) to a person called Lucius Tutius – probably a travelling companion, who could immediately take care that his testamentary disposition was carried out.

The desirability of being buried in the *patris* is formulated in an exemplary fashion by some authors of rhetorical exercises, those storehouses of *idées reçues*. In Lucian's *Praise of the Native Land* (9) it is taken for granted that:

every aged man yearns and prays to end his life in it, that there, in the place where he began to live, he may deposit his body in the earth which nurtured him and which contains the graves of his fathers. He thinks it a calamity to be guilty of being a man without a country even after death, through lying buried in a strange land.

In one of his exercises in comparison Libanius opposes the life of the sailor to that of the farmer, arguing that

The sweetest thing is to be buried in one's native city and to depart from life having said something to one's family. Farming provides this to farmers, but for many of those who have sailed, there is nowhere a grave, but in shipwrecks they have filled the bellies of fish.

Transl. GIBSON 2009: 345

Shipwreck as a particularly horrific form of death is the subject of numerous literary epigrams, which developed into a genre of their own.⁶⁴

In discussing themes from epigrams on stone, I mentioned that dying far from home was considered an aggravating circumstance in itself and caused great grief also for the deceased's relatives. We find this confirmed in a letter of Pliny (5.21) in which he deplores the fate of a dear friend:

But it is more than sad, it is tragic that Julius Avitus should have died, and died at sea on his way home from the province where he had been

⁶⁴ Bruss 2005: 88–96; Haussker 2009; on death at sea in epigrams on stone see *ibid.* 30–32 (cf. SEG 59, 1967) and Struffalino 2010.

quaestor, far from his loving brother, his mother and his sisters. All this cannot affect him now that he is dead, but must have done while he was dying; and it affects those he leaves behind.

For exiles, the prospect of being deprived of their fatherland and of loving relatives not only during life but also in death, was a hideous one. Such a fate is depicted most eloquently by Ovid in his *Tristia* (3.3.29–46 and 59–72).⁶⁵

(29–46) Still if my lot has filled out its destined years and if the end of living is come so quickly upon me, how small a thing, ye mighty gods, to show mercy to one on the eve of death so that at least I might have been covered with my native soil! (...) So far away, then, on a strange shore I shall die, and the very place shall render harsh my fate; neither shall my body grow weak upon the familiar couch, nor when I am at the point of death shall there be any to weep, nor shall my lady's tears fall upon my face adding brief moments to my life; nor shall I utter parting words, nor with a last lament shall a loved hand close my fluttering eyes, but without funeral rites, without the honour of a tomb, this head shall lie unmourned in a barbarian land!

(...)

(59–72) O that our souls might perish with the body and that so no part of me might escape the greedy pyre! (...) But my bones – see that they are carried home in a little urn; so shall I not be an exile even in death. This nobody forbids (...) and mingling with my bones the leaves and powder of the nard lay them to rest in soil close to the city, and on the marble tomb carve lines for the wayfarer to read with hasty eye, lines in large characters.

Repatriation: Ideology and Practice

All this puts the picture of widespread, largely voluntary mobility arising from sundry sources into a somewhat different perspective. Perhaps it would have been unlikely for migrants to encounter physical or legal boundaries, but many of them will have had mental barriers to overcome as they set out on their journeys. Numerous inscriptions, especially epigrams, and literary sources testify in one way or another to the extremely strong bonds of affection which connected

⁶⁵ Cf. also Suet. *Cal.* 15.1; Cass. Dio 63(64).3/4c.

them to their ancestral home and native soil, the trusted communities in which they had grown up in the bosom of the loving families they had left behind. These bonds were to last a lifetime, and beyond: repatriation *post mortem* was, in a sense, an act of reparation – of restoring the natural order disturbed by migration. In our sources, voices which contradict this are rare; few will have shared the cosmopolitanism of Petronius Eirenaïos,⁶⁶ who was evidently as happy to have spent his best years in Caesarea (in Cappadocia?) as he was with Amaseia offering him a home in old age (11/09/01; Amaseia; first-third century CE):

Πατρ[ίς] μὲν μοι Φρυγία, θρέψε δέ με κόσμος ὁ σύμπας,
ἤχμασα δ' ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, γῆρας θ' [ὑπε]δέξατο [ο Πόντος (?)]

My native land is Phrygia, but the whole world reared me,
In full bloom I lived in Caesarea, and [Pontos?] received my old age.

Such feelings clearly did not carry much weight with most Greeks or Romans, no matter how much they chose to wander in a world whose open frontiers allowed them to travel or migrate as often as they wished. Whatever fruits 'foreign earth' might have yielded its immigrants, the outside world remained second rate compared to their homeland.

So much for feelings and ideology, now to the more difficult question of to what extent cultural ideals and preferences influenced actual behaviour. The starting point of this discussion was the surprising proportion of texts recording or implying posthumous repatriation in a larger collection of funerary epigrams testifying to mobility. But the majority of travellers were buried abroad (Table 16.1 no. 1). There can be little doubt that the return to the *patris* so longed for by so many could be effectuated only by a minority, which is likely to have been small, if only in view of the considerable burdens involved in the operation, both in terms of finances and of the time and effort relatives or friends had to sacrifice. To mention some evidence *e contrario*: in our inscriptions, we have hit on a fair number of soldiers returned *post mortem*, but we know that the mass of soldiers who died while in service were buried outside the forts

66 Among them would have been Perikles, according to Thuc. 2.43.3: ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος; the formulation points to the opposite view among 'common men'; cf. also Plut. *De exil.* 13, on wise men buried in foreign soil, and 08/01/36, in which the deceased addresses, with uncharacteristically neutral feelings, "the earth which brought me up and that which got me subsequently and that which received me in its bosom at the end", i.e., Athens, Rome and Kyzikos, respectively.

they garrisoned, or in or near the battlefield.⁶⁷ The regulations of the *collegium* of Diana and Antinoos from Lanuvium, founded in 136 CE, include some clauses concerning the death of members outside the city. Differentiation is made according to distance, 20 miles being the watershed for the association to send representatives out to organise the funeral (probably at home, though this is not stated explicitly). Repatriation of bodies is certainly not taken into account for those who died outside this restricted area.⁶⁸ At the other end of the social spectrum, we find some cases of elite members whose relatives were buried in foreign soil, among them Catullus' brother and the half-brother of Cato the Younger, and some rare epigraphical evidence testifies to relatives travelling over vast distances to commemorate their beloved dead.⁶⁹

About half of the epigraphically attested repatriations clearly concern elite families. The other half mentions the deceased by name, without adding public offices, *vel sim.*; they must have been ordinary though not poor civilians. It should also be remembered that among those returning home we find soldiers of ordinary rank, *liberti* and a *concupina*. Admittedly, our epigraphical *corpusculum* is small, but this is what might be expected *a priori* in view of the highly formulaic nature of prose epitaphs, which constitute about 97 per cent of Greek and Latin funeral inscriptions. The high score of repatriation recorded in (especially Greek) epigrams, a genre much more invitingly engaged in elaborations upon biographical details, is certainly meaningful. Furthermore, there is the problem, already addressed, of how to classify the numerous epitaphs erected by relatives which either mention or imply death abroad but are silent about how the body had been dealt with. For this category, it is impossible to assess the proportion of cenotaphs versus bodies transferred; nevertheless, it seems unwise to dismiss it as potential evidence for repatriation altogether.⁷⁰

67 Carroll 2009: 825.

68 *CIL* 16, 2112 (*ILS* 7212), lines 26–33; Gabba and Tibiletti 1960: 257; Cracco Ruggini 1995: 122; Schoen 2000: 205; Laubry 2007: 152; Carroll 2009: 825. The *funeraticium* (the sum to cover burial expenses paid by the *collegium*) reserved for members dying outside the 20 miles radius could be claimed by those who had provided for the funeral abroad if they could submit the required legal evidence; some of those who took pains to travel to Lanuvium for this purpose might have taken the cinerary urn with them as well.

69 Cat. *Carm.* 65 and 101; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 11. *CIL* 3, 14406 (*ILS* 8454; two sisters in honour of their uncle; from Gaul to Beroia) and 5, 2108 (*ILS* 8453; a widow in honour of her husband, travelling 50 days from Gaul to S. Floriano, between Feltre and Vicenza).

70 As Ricci 1994: 15 and 45f., categorically does for the many soldiers of Roman urban *militiae* commemorated by their families at home, pointing to the complications and expenses involved in the *translatio*; in a similar sense Ricci 2006b: 8. For more nuanced views see Gabba and Tibiletti 1960: 256 note 4, Noy 2000: 193, and Laubry 2007: 181.

Clues that much of the information on migration, death abroad and corpses transported will forever elude us in our effort to evaluate the epigraphical evidence might lurk in three intriguing pairs of Latin epitaphs.⁷¹ Each consists of two epitaphs, with texts identical but for some orthographical variants and hence commemorating the same person, yet found in places at vast distances from each other. Evidently the three deceased individuals were travellers or migrants commemorated both at their birthplace and abroad; three of the six memorials must have been cenotaphs, while each of the three corpses might or might not have been repatriated. But nothing of this emerges from the inscriptions, which besides the onomastic data are limited to commonplace utterances on life and death. This reticence loudly proclaims that the epitaphs which do provide details on mobility or the absence or repatriation of mortal remains are but the tip of an iceberg.

A final, and in my view strong reason not to conceive of repatriation as a wholly marginal undertaking is that several provisions were made for it in Roman legislation, in imperial *edicta* and *rescripta*.⁷² The costs of transporting or shipping the remains of a deceased person were part of the privileged funeral expenses according to Ulpian. Other regulations concerned the exemption from customs duties at the provincial borders; no officials were to detain or interfere with corpses or bones, nor was anyone to prevent them from being transported on a public highway. Disinterment and transport to the place of provenance required the formal consent of the local or regional authorities concerned, especially the provincial governor, whereas movements in or to Rome or Italy were to be authorised by the pontiffs.⁷³

All this suggests that the actual number of bodies returned home was considerably higher than we might expect on the basis of inscriptions alone. Therefore, the practice of moving corpses also has repercussions for the study of mobility: an unquantifiable proportion of the dead for whom funerary contexts or skeletal evidence reveal local roots, should in fact be reckoned among the migrants or travellers.

71 di Stefano Manzella 1987: 191f. The couples are *CIL* 6, 11743/*AE* 1980, 767 (Rome/Romula Malva [Dacia]); *CIL* 6, 23942/*CIL* 2, 6130 (Rome/Tarraco); *CIL* 11, 3963/*CLE* 591 (Capena/Illipula [Spain]).

72 For the following see the excellent and exhaustive discussion by Laubry 2007, mainly based on *Dig.* 11.7.12.3/4; 11.7.14.4; 11.7.37–40; 47.12.3/4.

73 *Ibid.* 173; cf. also 155 for the “multicplité des instances reconnues par le droit romain et capables de fournir l'autorisation de transport.”

Appendix. Marcellus from Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis (G27)

The meaning of the distich of which G27 consists does not immediately leap out of the words:

Ὅστέα Μαρκέλλου στήλη φέρει, οὐ τό τε σῶμα
καὶ φωνὴν ἐρατὴν Ἀτθίς ἐδέξατο γῇ

or in Merkelbach-Stauber's translation: "Der Grabstein enthält die Gebeine des Markellos, dessen Leib und liebliche Stimme das attische Land empfangen hat". Now where does Marcellus' body rest: in Paphlagonia (Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis) or in Attica? This problem already puzzled the first two editors, who both suggested emending ὅστέα into ο < ὕνομ > α, since "ὅστέα ne s'oppose pas à σῶμα, mais à ψυχὴ par exemple et une stèle ne peut point 'porter' des ossements, mais bien une inscription" (Legrand);⁷⁴ this would have made the tomb a cenotaph.

As it happens, there are two striking parallels for the opposition σῶμα/ὅστέα in epigrams from the same city. In both, the contrast is between the σῶμα which had been lost abroad⁷⁵ and the bones now lying in a grave at home: G28 tells us that the deceased, "a foreigner among foreigners", left his σῶμα "in the flames, under the earth" (implying burial of the ashes after cremation of the flesh), whereas the earth in the πάτρις covers his bones (vv. 1–3); in G26, the σῶμα "dissolved" in Rome, conceivably by cremation,⁷⁶ whereas the [fatherland] holds the bones (vv. 1/2: σῶμα μὲν ἐν Πρώμῃ λύτ[ο]... / καὶ ὅστ[έ]α ἴσχε[ι] πάτρῃ); the next verse explores the far more common contrast between ψυχὴ and ὅστέα, expected by Legrand for G27: ψυχὴν γὰρ ἔχι σύνπασα π[ά]τρῃ, τὰ δ' ἄρ' ὅστέα θήκη). Yet another parallel, likewise from Paphlagonia but this time from Amastris, is offered by G29, with the σῶμα destroyed by "a demon" and the ὅστέα taken to the hometown and laid to rest in a stone coffin by the

74 Legrand 1897: 94f. no. 5; cf. Foerster 1894: 371f. no. 3; the emendation is reported, but not incorporated into the text by Marek 1993: 206 no. 77. W. Peek (GV 1753) and Merkelbach-Stauber (10/02/26) do not address the problem.

75 Σῶμα in the sense of the 'living body, life' (cf. *LSJ*, s.v. σῶμα 2) or the body still intact immediately after death (as if still living, i.e., with the flesh not yet attacked by corruption); cf. the etymological relationship of 'life' and German 'Leib'/'Leben' (Dutch: 'lijf'/'leven'; 'lijf' [body] is still used in the sense of 'leven' in the stock expression 'het vege lijf reddten'; cf. also the German Hendiadys 'Leib und Leben retten', and such similar Greek expressions as τὸ σῶμα σώζειν/σώζεσθαι or περὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀγωνίζεσθαι, both adduced by *LSJ*).

76 Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. λύω II.6: "in physical sense, *dissolve...melt*", e.g. τὸ θερμὸν λύει (Arist., *Mete.* 384b.11); τὴν πυρὶ λ. (*Hippiat.* 52).

deceased's foster-father (vv. 13–15: καί μου τὸ σῶμα Δωρίας ἐπὶ χθονὸς [i.e., Pergamon: v. 12] / ἐμάρανε δαίμων, ὅστ' ἔν πάτρῃ λαβὼν / τροφεὺς Γέμινος λάρνακα ἐς λιθίνην θέτο).

Returning to Marcellus' epitaph with these texts in mind, it becomes perfectly clear that the grave in Kaisareia-Hadrianoupolis contains Marcellus' bones, transported home after his death in Attica. Attica took Marcellus' "body and beloved voice", that is, silenced him forever. His φωνὴ ἐράτη is likely to imply that he found an audience in Athens as an orator or sophist; two epigrams in our repatriation series record a very similar situation (G22, 37),⁷⁷ and G24 tells about two young brothers who had travelled to Athens to attend the lectures of such teachers. Legrand's objection that "a stele cannot bear bones" is not much of a problem: we can either follow Foerster in assuming that we have a "Grabmal...welches oben den Behälter für den Leichnam trägt"⁷⁸ or, preferably, consider στήλη ('gravestone') a metonym for the grave and interpret φέρει in the sense of 'offers', 'presents', 'provides' (that is, 'contains'; cf. Merkelbach-Stauber's rendering "enthält").⁷⁹ Hence we might translate this epigram as follows: "The grave contains the bones of Marcellus, whose life and dear voice the Attic land received."

Postscript

Three More Posthumous Repatriations in Greek Prose Inscriptions (G21bis, G36bis, G41bis)

Shortly before this volume went into press, a new Greek inscription testifying to posthumous repatriation was kindly brought to my notice by D.F. Graf and H.I. MacAdam (no. G41bis); they will offer the detailed publication⁸⁰ of a short prose epitaph found during recent excavations of a monumental tomb in

77 G22: the priest Sakerdos from Nikaia, who had acquired "the highest gifts of ingenuity and language/eloquence" (09/05/05 v. 6: τὸν φρενὸς ἢ γλώσσας ἄκρα λαχόντα γέρα); G37: the sophist Proklos from Maximianopolis (Arabia); "such was the lot that fell to him, that in famous Athens his spirit flew from his Attic-speaking mouth" (v. 3/4: ὡς ἄρα μὀρσιμον ἦεν ἐνὶ κλειναῖσιν Ἀθηναῖς / θυμὸν ἀποπτῆναι Ἀττικοῦ ἐκ στόματος); for his activities see the commentary of Merkelbach-Stauber *ad* 22/21/02.

78 Foerster 1894: 371f.

79 For a parallel see *GV* 2027 a (*SEG* 16, 829; Meimaris–Makrigianni 2008: no. 68) v. 1: Καρτερῆς τόδε σῆμα λίψανον φέρει φηιτόν.

80 Graf and MacAdam, forthcoming; I warmly thank the authors for sharing their article with me prior to publication.

Dafyana (Arabia, Hauran; 22 kms east of Umm el-Jamal, 7 kms west of Umm al-Quttein, 20 km south of Bostra). Dated 312/313 CE, it states that Bennis son of Germanos, *officialis* of an unnamed governor, had died at age 22 in Diospontos (a province in northern-central Asia Minor created ca 308 CE which existed at least until 325 CE) and was brought home (κομισθείς) by his slave (οἰκέτης) Sisinnios; the latter may also have been responsible for commissioning the inscription. Since Bennis' gravestone was found in a "monumental tomb", he was probably interred with members of his family. The epitaph's opening expression (Ἐνθάδε πρῶτος ἐτάφη) is peculiar; Graf and MacAdam convincingly argue that ἐνθάδε πρῶτος is very likely to mean "Here for the first time", implying that Bennis had not yet been buried in Diospontos: an indirect testimony of the practice of disinterment for the purpose of repatriation, which is explicitly attested in G32 (see above, Section 2 *in fine*). Sisinnios, then, must have accompanied his master to Diospontos; when Bennis died (in circumstances unknown), he was in a position to organize transport immediately. Whether Bennis merely travelled through Diospontos or served in the administration of the new province remains unclear; his title suggests that he held a lower rank on the staff of a governor (cf. e.g. L21), either of Diospontos or of Arabia.

Among the epigraphic parallels for transportation of mortal remains discussed by Graf and MacAdam are two Greek prose inscriptions which had escaped my notice, thus confirming very soon my suspicion that "more examples might lurk in the numerous *corpora*" which are hard to trace (above, p. 402).⁸¹ The first text (G21bis) offers further evidence for the return of elite members; interestingly, it concerns the top echelon of the Roman imperial administration, not represented in the other inscriptions of our collection (but see G11 for a son or relative of a consular). In 117 CE, prior to August, a honorary inscription for C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus⁸² was engraved on the front of a statue base erected in the Asklepieion of his native city Pergamon; these honours were awarded to Bassus by the city of Seleukeia-on-the-Euphrates/ Zeugma in recognition of his governorship of Syria-Phoenicia-Kommagene

81 Characteristically, these two inscriptions were brought to Graf's and MacAdam's attention by Christian Habicht and Frank Trombley, respectively, who evidently could draw on memories from previous research (*AvP* 8.3, 21; Trombley 2004: 82); similarly, I owe my knowledge of the prose epitaph G24 to Georg Petzl's intimacy with the Greek epigraphy of Lydia.

82 For ample comment on his impressive career see C. Habicht *ad AvP* 8.3, 21. Bassus died aged ca. 50.

from 115 to August 117 CE. The right side of the base bears a slightly later addition (LL. 26–37, either engraved later in 117 or early in 118 CE) specifying that the honorand had died during a military campaign in Dacia (where he had served as a governor since August 117), that “his body was brought to Asia [i.e., to Pergamon] lifted by soldiers drawn up under the standards of the chief centurio Quintilius Capito” (τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡνέχθη βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν τεταγμένων ὑπὸ σημεία ἑκατοντάρχου πρεμποπειλαρίου Κυῖντιλίου Καπίτωνος), and that he was given a solemn public burial on the order of Hadrian, with his body being carried “at the head of a procession through the whole city and the military barracks” (γεινομένης αὐτῷ προπομπῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ παρεμβολήν); his tomb was financed by the *fiscus*. The military escort of the corpse and the sumptuous public funerary ceremonial have no parallels in our epigraphic documentation, but they are reminiscent of the illustrious transportations of prominent Roman dead to the City known from literary sources.⁸³

The second text, yet another prose epitaph, evokes a dark scene on the opposite side of the social spectrum: G36bis relates the tragic story of the two cousins Barsephones and Antiochos, murdered at the rural “inn of Theodoros near [Syrian] Laodikeia” in 342 CE. They were brought over (μετενέχθησαν) for burial to their native village, modern Kfeirhaya in the Antiochene, by three brothers of one of the victims, who also erected the tomb (referred to as an εὐψυχία, unusual in this sense).⁸⁴ As pointed out by F. Trombley, most members of the family “have typically Syrian names and seem to have been local folk”.⁸⁵ This observation fits the inscription’s “syntaxe confuse”,⁸⁶ careless lettering and orthographical errors. The unfortunate cousins and their relatives would never have imagined that we welcome them as a valuable addition to the category of “ordinary though not poor civilians” who constitute “about half of the epigraphically attested repatriations” (cf. above, Section 6).

83 Cracco Ruggini 1995: 118–125, inter alia Sulla (Cumae to Rome in 78 BCE); the consuls Hirtius and Pansa (Mutina to Rome in 43 BCE); Drusus (Nola to Rome in 14 CE); Germanicus (Antioch-on-the-Orontes to Rome in 19 CE); Trajan (Cilicia to Rome in 117 CE); Septimius Severus (York to Rome in 211 CE). Cf. also above notes 1 and 6.

84 Literally a ‘tomb to give them courage’; cf. the frequent funerary formula εὐψύχει.

85 Trombley 2004: 82 (with a translation of the inscription).

86 As noted by its first editor H. Seyrig, in Tchalenko 1953: 31.

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains*

	References ^a	Provenance	Date text ^b	Place of death	Place of burial stone
Thessaly					
G1	GV 1752	Demetrias	3 BCE	Eidomene (north of Pella)	Demetrias
Macedonia					
G2	<i>I. Épidamne</i> T 527bis; GV 2036	Edessa	3–4 CE	Dyrrhachion	Edessa
Moesia					
G3	<i>I. Kallatis</i> 138; GV 1279	Kallatis	2–3 CE	Unknown	Kallatis
G4	<i>I. Tomis</i> 189; GV 1026	Tomis	2 CE	Smyrna	Tomis
Aegean islands					
G5	<i>IG</i> 12.1.140; GV 920	Rhodes	3 BCE	Rhodes	Paphos
G6	<i>I. Cos</i> 352	Kos	1 BCE–1 CE	Unknown	Kos
G7	<i>IG</i> 12.5.305; <i>GV</i> 1156; <i>SEG</i> 26, 1003; 30, 1062	Paros	1 BCE	Mylasa	Paros
G8	<i>IG</i> 12.7.445; <i>GV</i> 741; <i>SEG</i> 53, 906 ter	Angiale (Amorgos)	3 CE	Unknown	Angiale
Italy					
G9	<i>IG</i> 14, 1976; <i>IGUR</i> 1321; <i>GV</i> 1169	Rome	3–4 CE	Egypt (Alexandria?)	Rome

a For nos. G 21bis, G 36bis and G 41bis see Postscript.
b 3 BCE = 3rd cent. BCE, etc.

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, young, with living mother	Mother and sister	Lost life (ψυχή) in Eidomene, “but his ὀστέα came here as a painful grief for mother and sister”; painting representing a young man holding a scroll
M, adult with son	Son, younger than 18	The son retrieved the ὀστέα and buried them not yet aged 18; at 18, he buried his mother in the same tomb, where he was also interred himself together with his wife later; probably Christian
M, young, with living parents	Parents	Death by illness “in a foreign land”; return of the “remains from the ashes” (λείψανα ἐκ σποδιῆς) to the parents
M, 17 Athlete	Parents	Death in Smyrna on his way to the (Delphic) Pythia; the ὀστέα are covered “by this stone here”
M, young, with living father	Father and brother	Cenotaph; transport of the ὀστέα in an urn (κάλπις)
M, adult	Son	Death “in a foreign land”; transport by son with the support of his tutor and a friend of his father
M, adult; sent to Mylasa as a judge with his son acting as a secretary	Son	Cremation ceremony in Mylasa (golden branches; sacrifice of a bull); transport and burial of the ὀστέα by son
M, 5	Parents	Death at sea; the boy “lies in this grave” (σῆμα; τάφος); burial by mother
M, adult with two children	Wife	Transport of the deceased (νέκρος) over sea by his wife; reburial in Rome in a grave where his two children were also interred later

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains (cont.)*

	References	Provenance	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
		stone			
G10	<i>IG</i> 14, 2122; <i>IGUR</i> 1323;Rome <i>GV</i> 1456		2–3 CE	Rome	Syria or Palaestina (?)
	Caria				
G11	Roueché, <i>Performers</i> no. 56	Aphrodisias	3 CE (after 238)	Rome	Aphrodisias
G12	M-S 01/12/18	Halikarnassos	1–3 CE	Patara	Halikarnassos
	Ionia				
G13	M-S 01/20/27	Miletos	2 CE?	Unknown	Miletos
G14	M-S 03/02/72	Ephesos	1–3 CE	Lesbos	Ephesos
G15	<i>SEG</i> 53, 1312	Metropolis	132 BCE	Thyateira (area)	Metropolis
G16	M-S 03/07/17	Erythrai	2 BCE	Unknown	Erythrai
G17	M-S 03/07/19	Erythrai	1 CE	Klaros	Erythrai
	Caria				
G18	<i>I. Stratonikeia</i> 1206	Stratonikeia	1 BCE	Rome	Stratonikeia
	Lydia				
G19	M-S *04/06/04 ^c	Attaleia	1–3 CE	Unknown	Attaleia

c Not in Merkelbach and Stauber. M.-S.-no. assigned by edd.pr. Staab and Petzl (2010) 4–6 no. 2. Now also in *SEG* LX 1288.

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
F, 11 months	Mother	Vow of mother to send the remains (λείψανα) “to your fatherland”
M, adult; son or relative of a consular; president for life of the Gordianeia Attalea; prob. ambassador to Rome	Friend	Transport of the corpse (πτωμάτιον; unparalleled diminutive of πτώμα) from Rome, burial and erection of an image by friend
M, with living parents or grandparents	Parents or grandparents	“From the land of the Patarans you were transferred to your fatherland” (ἐκ γῆς Παταρέων εἰς πάτρην μετηνέχθης)
M, with living brother	Brother	Death far away, but “the earth of Neileus, [i.e., Miletos] which had reared you, has received you (again)”
M, 18; student	Parents, brother	Transport by brother “on a sea-swift ship”
M, adult with sons	Sons	Posthumous honorary inscription for a member of the urban elite killed in the war against Aristonikos; transfer of the ὀστέα to a heroon at the family estate
M, young adult	Mother	Death at sea; transport of the ashes (σποδιή) to Erythrai by mother
M, young adult	Mother	Death on a visit of the Apollo sanctuary; cremation in Klaros (τῇ...φλογὶ κάππεσον); transport of ashes (σποδιή) to Erythrai
M, adult Ambassador to the Senate	Demos of Stratonikeia	Posthumous honorary inscription; state burial (ὁ δῆμος ἔθαψεν)
M, 13	Mother (and father?)	Transport of corpse (νέκυς) to the <i>patris</i> by friends

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains (cont.)*

	References	Provenance	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
		stone			
G20	TAM 5.1.474 (+SEG 34, 1203); SEG 45, 1638	Iaza	223/224 CE	Ephesos	Iaza
	Aiolis				
G21	M-S 05/03/05	Kyme	2–1 BCE	Unknown	Chios
	Mysia				
G21 bis	AvP 8.3, 21	Pergamon	117 or 118 CE	Dacia	Pergamon
	Bithynia				
G22	M-S 09/05/04–07	Nikaia	2 CE	Athens	Nikaia
G23	M-S 09/05/16	Nikaia	281 BCE?	Kouropedion	Nikaia
G24	M-S *09/06/21 ^d	Nikomedia	Undated [2–3 CE]	Athens	Nikomedia
G25	Dörner (1952) 58 no. 154	Klaudioupolis	Undated [1–3 CE]	Unknown	Klaudioupolis
	Paphlagonia				
G26	M-S 10/02/03	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Rome	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis

d Not in Merkelbach and Stauber; M.-S.-no. assigned by us. Ed.pr. Akyürek Şahin (2011) 349–356, with the corrections of Jones (2014) 29f. See also B. Puech, *AE* (2011) [2014] no. 1260.

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, adult with living parents; cavalry soldier stationed in Ephesos	Parents	Buried “here at home” (ὧδε ἐτέθην εἰς τὰ ἐμά), after having been “deprived of the fine company of his comrades in Ephesos”
F, 25	Son	Mother of the deceased, who had previously died abroad
M, ca. 50; governor of Dacia with an impressive <i>cursus honorum</i>	The city of Pergamon, on the order of Hadrian	Death during military campaign; military escort of the corpse (τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡνέχθη βασταζόμενον ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν); solemn public burial with a procession through city and barracks (προπομπὴ κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ παρεμβολήν) on the order of Hadrian; tomb financed by the <i>fiscus</i>
M, married, with son Priest; benefactor of Nikaia.	Son	Attica, where the cremation took place (ἀ νέκυν ἐν πυρὶ θεῖσα Ἀτθίς), and the fatherland, which received the bones (ὁστέα δεξαμένα), are rivals for the remains (05); πάτρη μὲν ἔδεκτο φίλον νέκυν, ἤγρισε δ’ Ἀτθίς πυρκαϊῇ (06); ἐπὶ γαίᾳς Ἀτθίδος...πυρκαϊῶς ἐπέβαν (07); large tomb and (or: in the shape of a) pyramid (04)
M, adult; soldier	Unknown	Killed in battle; the ὁστέα lie in a “long tomb” (sc. in Nikaia)
M, 20; student	Brother and one other relative	Two brothers travelled together to study in Athens, where one of them died; transport by brother; “whom Greece had reared, now a stone holds”; Sarcophagus (σόρος)
M, 20, with living parents Jurist	Parents	Death “in a foreign land” and transport home; “already a famous lawyer”
M, adult, married	Wife	σῶμα lost in Rome, ὁστέα in the fatherland in a θήκη (i.e., cremation with the bones left for transport)

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains (cont.)*

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
G27	M-S 10/02/26 (see Appendix)	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Attica	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis
G28	M-S 10/02/29	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis	1–3 CE	Unknown	Kaisareia – Hadrianoupolis
G29	M-S 10/03/02	Amastris	155 CE	“Doric land”: Herakleia Pontike?	Amastris
G30	M-S 10/03/07	Amastris	144 CE	Troas	Amastris
Pontos					
G31	M-S 11/07/12	Amaseia	3 CE	Bithynia	Amaseia
G32	M-S 11/15/01	Nikopolis	1–3 CE	Unknown	Nikopolis
Galatia					
G33	<i>I. Ancyra</i> 306; <i>SEG</i> 27, 866	Ankyra	2 CE	Alexandria	Ankyra
Phrygia					
G34	M-S 16/33/05	Lamounia	?	unknown	Lamounia
G35	M-S 16/34/14	Dorylaion	?	unknown	Dorylaion
Cilicia					
G36	M-S 18/18/01	Kolybrassos	4 CE	Thebais (Egypt)	Kolybrassos

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M Sophist/orator	Unknown	Attica holds the σῶμα, the inscribed grave stone (στήλη) the ὀστέα (i.e., cremation with the bones left for transport)
M, adult, married with 3 children	Wife, and 3 children	Death and cremation (λίπον ἐν φλόγμῳ σῶμα) abroad (ἐνὶ ξεινοῖς), the earth of the patris covers the ὀστέα (i.e., cremation with the bones left for transport)
M, 30 Athlete/dancer	Foster father (also his trainer)	"My foster father took with him the ὀστέα and put them in a stone container (λάβρακα ἐς λιθίνην) in the fatherland"
M, 24 Jurist	Father and brother	"I have to thank my brother and father" (sc. for burying me in the fatherland)
M, young adult; jurist; <i>synedros</i> (assessor) of the <i>conventus</i> of Bithynia	Father	"The father brought the ὀστέα to the fatherland and laid them inside (this grave here), where (also) the ancestors (rest)"
M, young adult with living parents; doctor and "servant of the Muses"	Parents	"Whom formerly covered foreign earth, but now the tomb in his fatherland Nikopolis": reburial
M, young adult; councillor in Ankyra and other cities	Two brothers	Transported and buried by two brothers "deemed worth of the heirship"; sarcophagus (λάβραξ)
F, 13, unmarried; probably adopted by uncle living abroad	Parents	Death in foreign land, but "the tomb (τύμβος) here helds" the deceased
M, one deceased son	Unknown	"The stone covers the ὀστέα of father and son"; it received the father after he had died in an unbecfitting way (οὐχ ὀσέως) on foreign soil
M, adult; jurist (study in Berytos); judge in Palaestina; <i>assessor</i> of a <i>praeses</i> of the Thebais	Father	Transport by father across "the vast Nile and the sea"

TABLE 16.2 *Catalogue of Greek inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains (cont.)*

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
Syria					
G36bis	SEG 20, 352	Kfeirhaya (Antiochene)	342 CE	Laodikeia (area)	Kfeirhaya
Arabia					
G37	M-S 22/21/02	Maximinio- polis	2–3 CE	Athens	Sakkaia – Maximianopolis
G38	M-S 22/37/01	Namara	2–3 CE	Two unknown places	Namara
G39	M-S 22/49/01	Hauran?	271 CE?	Egypt	Arabia (Hauran?)
G40	IGLS 13.2.9396; IGR 3, 1329	Bostra	320/321 CE	Mesopotamia	Bostra
G41	IGLS 16.2.611, forth- coming; LBW 2121; IGR 3, 1140	Eitha (Hauran)	2–3 CE	Unknown (probably Syria/Arabia)	Eitha (Hauran)
G41bis	Graf and MacAdam, forthcoming	Dafyana (Hauran)	312/313 CE	Diospontos	Dafyana
Egypt					
G42	GV 1827; Bernand, <i>Inscr. métriques</i> 62	Alexandria	3 BCE	Kaunos	Alexandria
Unknown provenance					
G43	GV 645	Unknown	1 CE	Unknown	Italy

M(ale)/F(emale), Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
2 × M, cousins; young adults, one with 3 living brothers	Three brothers/ cousins	Murdered at a rural inn; brought home (μετενέχθησαν) by their brothers/cousins who erected a “monument to give them courage” (εὐψυχία)
M Sophist/orator	Unknown	“This grave has received” the deceased, who died in Attica
M and F, couple	Nephew	The nephew collected the remains (λείψανα) of his uncle and aunt from different places to bury them in the family grave (“with the ancestors”)
M, adult, with living mother and uncle; possibly soldier	Mother and uncle	Death in Egypt of a soldier (?), possibly killed in the campaign of Zenobia (271 CE); report on corpses left unburied in Egypt, contrasted with the burial of the deceased (in Arabia)
M, adult Soldier of <i>legio III Cyrenaica</i>	Unknown	“Having died in Mesopotamia, whose ὅστ’α lie here”
M, adult; cavalry soldier in the <i>ala</i> <i>Agrippiana</i>	Unknown	Death during service in the <i>Ala Agrippiana</i> , with which he had “returned from Germany”; transferred from its new station to his birthplace
M, 22; <i>officialis</i> on the staff of a governor	His slave	Transported (κομισθεῖς) by his (house) slave (οἰκέτης)
M, young, with living parents; active in the gymnasium	Parents	The father transported the “pale bones” (ὀστέα πηγὰ) for interment “here” (in Alexandria), after cremation of the σάρκας in Kaunos
M, 32	Parents, brothers, wife, children	The grave (ἡρόν) is “not empty” (οὐ κενόν), since “brotherly care” sent the ὀστέα from Italy

TABLE 16.3 *Catalogue of Latin inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains*

	References ^a	Provenance stone	Date text ^b	Place of death	Place of burial
Rome					
L1	<i>CIL</i> 6, 1884; <i>ILS</i> 1792; Laubry no. 1	Rome	130 CE	Selinous (Cilicia)	Rome
L2	<i>CIL</i> 6, 2464; <i>ILS</i> 2089; Laubry no. 3	Rome	Severan	Britannia	Rome
L3	<i>CIL</i> 6, 2938; <i>CLE</i> 1099; Laubry no. 4	Rome	1–2 CE	Rome	Verona
L4	<i>CIL</i> 6, 8878; <i>ILS</i> 1685; Laubry no. 5	Rome	2 CE	Carnuntum	Rome
L5	<i>CIL</i> 6, 15493	Rome	2 CE	Rome	Amiens
L6	<i>CIL</i> 6, 20674; <i>CLE</i> 436	Rome	ca. 100 CE	Spain	Rome
L7	<i>CIL</i> 6, 24792 = 34154; <i>CLE</i> 1062	Rome	1 CE	Unknown	Rome
Italy					
L8	<i>CIL</i> 14, 3777; Laubry no. 7	Tibur	1–2 CE	Sardinia	Tibur
L9	<i>AE</i> 1972, 74; Laubry no. 8	Aquinum	1 CE	Aquinum	Placentia
L10	<i>CIL</i> 9, 4881; <i>ILS</i> 8390; Laubry no. 9	Trebula Mutuesca	1 CE?	unknown (Italy)	Trebula Mutuesca

a Laubry no. = Laubry (2007) 181–188 (nos. of catalogue).

b 3 BCE = 3rd cent. BCE, etc.

M(ale)/F(emale); Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, 28; Imperial <i>libertus</i> of high rank, close to Trajan	Imperial <i>libertus</i> , <i>vicarius</i> of the deceased?	<i>reliquiae traiectae</i> ; Death in 117 CE; Transport permitted by the pontiffs
M Soldier (<i>centurio</i>)	His <i>libertus</i> and heir	Possibly killed in the Britannic expedition of Septimius Severus (209 CE); transport by slave; sarcophagus
M; soldier (<i>signifer</i> <i>cohortis XIII</i>)	His heirs	Cenotaph; double commemoration: <i>ossa relata</i> <i>domum, cinis hic adoperta quiescit</i> ; epigram composed by colleague and friend
M, 42 <i>Libertus</i> of Antoninus Pius, high rank in the imperial administration	Wife	<i>reliquias...ipsa pertulit consecravitque</i> ; possibly killed in the expedition of M. Aurelius against the Marcomanni (170–172 CE); transport permitted by the emperor; urn
F	Two sons	<i>hic matris cineres sola sacravimus ara, quae genuit</i> <i>tellus, osta teget tumulo</i> : double commemoration: ashes in Rome (altar); bones sent to Amiens (<i>tumulus</i>)
2 × F, mother and daughter	Husband/father	<i>quas habet hoc...sepulcrum</i> ; death by shipwreck on a voyage to Spain; large double urn
M, with living father	Father	<i>cineres alius locus, hic habet ossa</i> : double com- memoration: ashes in an unknown place, bones sent to Rome
F, <i>concubina</i>	'Husband'	<i>ossa translata</i>
M, 35 <i>libertus</i> , purple merchant	<i>conlibertus et</i> <i>socius</i>	cenotaph; <i>ossa transtulit</i>
M	Unknown	<i>in hoc (sc. monumento) corpus tralatam est</i> ; the deceased is probably not from Trebula Mutuesca in view of his <i>tribus</i> (see Laubry no. 9); Permission of the pontiffs

TABLE 16.3 *Catalogue of Latin inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains (cont.)*

	References	Provenance	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
		stone			
L11	<i>AE</i> 1900, 2	Isola del Gran Sasso (area)	3 CE	Falerii	Isola del Gran Sasso (area)
L12	<i>CIL</i> 9, 5860; <i>ILS</i> 8234; Laubry no. 10	Auximum	2–3 CE	Nikomedea (Bithynia)	Auximum
L13	<i>CIL</i> 11, 5836; <i>ILS</i> 7794; <i>CLE</i> 1252	Iguvium	? [1–3 CE]	Clusinum	Iguvium
L14	<i>AE</i> 1992, 813; <i>Suppl. It.</i> 9, 293/4 no. 51; Laubry no. 11	Ticinum (area)	3–4 CE	Trier	Ticinum
Lusitania					
L15	<i>CIL</i> 2, 6271	Scallabis Praesidium Iulium	?[1–3 CE]	Rome	Scallabis Praesidium Iulium
Alpes Poeninae					
L16	<i>CIL</i> 12, 118; Laubry no. 12	Aime en Tarentaise	2–3 CE	Pennine Valley (=Valois)	Brigantio (unidentified)
L17	<i>CIL</i> 12, 155; Laubry no. 13	St. Moritz	2–3 CE	Rome	St. Moritz
Gaul					
L18	<i>CIL</i> 12, 916; <i>CLE</i> 138	Arelate	?[1–3 CE]	Unknown	Arelate
L19	<i>CIL</i> 13, 2181; <i>ILS</i> 8098; Laubry no. 14	Lyon	2 CE	Rome	Lyon
Dalmatia					
L20	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2083; <i>CLE</i> 1060	Salona	2–3 CE	Rome (brother) Sipuntum (sister)	Salona
L21	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9518; <i>ILS</i> 9045	Salona	437 CE	Ravenna	Salona

M(ale)/F(emale); Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, with living father; Soldier (<i>speculator</i>)	Father	<i>cuius cineres...rettulit pater</i> : ashes sent to Isola del Gran Sasso (area)
F, 28	Husband, imperial <i>libertus</i>	<i>hic translata</i> ; born in Rome, travelled “in Italy and [the provinces]”; sarcophagus
M, adult <i>libertus</i> , physician	Patron	<i>cineres flammae cessere sepulchro, patronus patrio condidit ossa solo</i> : ashes buried in Clusinum bones sent to Iguvium
F, 27	Husband	<i>corpus ob merita eius...ad maiorum sepulcra...perduxit</i> ; sarcophagus
M, 25	Father	<i>reliquiae hic sitae sunt</i>
M, 16; student	Mother	<i>reliquis eius huc delatis</i> ; sarcophagus
M, 25	Father	<i>pater...corpus eius deportatum hic condidit</i>
Unknown	Unknown	<i>in hoc sepulcro sunt ossa...alibi sunt cineres</i> ; fragment
F, 25; priestess of the imperial cult	Two sisters	<i>corpus...adferri curaverunt</i> ; member of leading freedman family in Lyon; sarcophagus in a mausoleum
M and F, brother and sister, with living mother	Mother	<i>ossa non iustis intulit exsequiis</i>
M; subordinate in the office of the praetorian prefect	Unknown	Death in Ravenna on August 19, 437 CE; burial in Salona on October 15 of the same year; Christian

TABLE 16.3 *Catalogue of Latin inscriptions recording (or implying) the repatriation of mortal remains (cont.)*

	References	Provenance stone	Date text	Place of death	Place of burial
L22	<i>CIL</i> 3, 6414; <i>CLE</i> 588	Scardona (Dalmatia)	4 CE	Rome	Scardona (Dalmatia)
	Dacia				
L23	<i>CIL</i> 3, 1312; <i>ILS</i> 1593; Laubry no. 15	Ampelum	120–140 CE	Ampelum	Rome
	Pannonia inferior				
L24	<i>CIL</i> 3, 4487	Carnuntum	2–3 CE?	Rome	Carnuntum
L25	<i>CIL</i> 3, 13374	Aquincum	3–4 CE?	Perinthos	Aquincum
L26	<i>AE</i> 2004, 1143; Mároti (2003) no. 54	Aquincum	214–220 CE	Lauriacum (Noricum)	Aquincum
	Africa Proconsularis				
L27	<i>CIL</i> 8, 12128; <i>ILS</i> 2380; <i>CLE</i> 522; <i>ILTun</i> 582; Laubry no. 16	Chusira	3 CE?	Gaul	Chusira
L28	<i>CIL</i> 8, 152; <i>CLE</i> 516; <i>ILTun</i> 297; Laubry no. 17	Sommet el Amra	2–3 CE?	Carthage	Sommet el Amra
L29	<i>ILS</i> 7742 a; <i>ILAlg</i> 1, 1363; Laubry no. 18	Thubursicum Numidarum	2–3 CE	Carthage	Thubursicum Numidarum
L30	<i>CIL</i> 8, 2772; Laubry no. 19	Lambaesis	Severan	Dacia	Lambaesis
L31	<i>CIL</i> 8, 27532	Henchir el-Kouskiss	2–3 CE?	Rome	Henchir el-Kouskiss
L32	<i>AE</i> 1957, 249; <i>ILAlg</i> 2 ³ , 9109; Laubry no. 20	Castellum Arsacalitanum	2 CE	Britannia	Castellum Arsacalitanum

M(ale)/F(emale); Age or Age class; status/occupation	Commemorator	Specific information on death, transport, remains (terminology)
M, 22; student	Father	<i>cuiusque reversum crudeli funere corpus exequitur genitor</i>
M, 55; <i>libertus</i> of Trajan, procurator of the gold mines	Wife and <i>libertus</i>	Cenotaph; <i>reliquiae... Romam latae</i> ; transport by permission of the emperor
M, 28; soldier of the <i>cohors I praetoria</i>	Sister	Death at the <i>praetorium</i> ; an epigram states that the <i>ossa</i> of the soldier and those of his mother lie in the grave
M, 36; soldier	Wife and two daughters	<i>qui defunctus est Perento et ossua eiūs in unc locu sunt</i> (sic); born in Mursa; apparently stationed in Aquincum, where he lived with his family
M, with grandson Soldier	Wife and son	<i>relicias corporis sibi allatas</i> ; transport by grandson. participated in Caracalla's campaign against the Alamani; sarcophagus
M; soldier (<i>cornicularius</i> and <i>speculator legionis</i> in Germania, <i>centurio</i> in Gaul)	Wife	<i>coniux patriae gremio mandat...corpus</i>
F Merchant (associate of husband)	Husband	Death in Carthage on the couple's way home from Rome
M, 18 Student (<i>utraque</i>) <i>lingua eruditus</i>	Father, equestrian	<i>relatis reliquiis</i> ; transport by permission of the governor
F, 27	Husband, <i>a militiis</i>	<i>per maria et terras retulit reliquias.</i>
M, 21	Unknown	<i>Romae defunctus...hic situs est</i>
M, 38, soldier (<i>centurio</i>)	Unknown	<i>hic situs est</i>

Movers and Stayers*

Greg Woolf

A Mobile World?

The importance of mobility in early societies now no longer needs demonstration. Recent work over the last decades has rendered obsolete the image of populations that are for the most part immobile that demographers have sought to purvey. Within the Mediterranean area, throughout a very long period lasting from Antiquity down to modern times, the circulation of human beings constitutes a fact that is both structural and structuring, an element of continuity that forms the very basis of the Mediterranean network.¹

Claudia Moatti, whose research has done so much to illuminate human mobility across Mediterraneans ancient and early modern,² succinctly sums up the current consensus.³ As historians and archaeologists of the classical world we now repeatedly emphasise movement and communication, mobility and connectivity, hybridity and cosmopolitanism. Our fascination with movement and exchange is evident in revisionist accounts of the Roman economy, in studies of the ancient novel between east and west, in projects that track diasporas through haplotype distribution and stable isotope analysis, and in multiple appropriations of post-colonial criticism and globalisation theory. A little of this is simply the latest round in a familiar old game of asserting the modernity of the ancients, but the evidence for movement is undeniable. The issue now is to assess the scale, nature and significance of all this, and to avoid an exaggerated reaction that underplays the equally undeniable differences between globalised modernity and the ancient world.

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1 Moatti 2013: 77.

2 Moatti 2004 and 2006, Moatti and Kaiser 2007.

3 Compare for example Purcell 1990 and 2005; Osborne 2009: 123.

It must be correct that classical worlds were never remote, isolated or autarkic communities. Indeed it is so difficult to see how anyone could reasonably disagree with Moatti's assessment, that the most contentious part of it is the claim that an earlier generation of demographers tried to persuade us that populations were mostly immobile. Yet asserting the mobility of ancient societies raises new questions. For mobility is now being claimed as important in virtually every period of human history. A good case is being made that the capacity for mobility is one of the distinguishing features of our species, when we are compared to our nearest living and deceased relatives: that traces of our selection for mobility can be found in our digestion and cognition, our sociality and our use of language.⁴ It is not enough to declare ancient populations mobile: we need to consider in what ways people moved and how different kinds of mobility varied within our long historical period, and between antiquity and other ages, earlier and later. That inevitably entails some attempt at quantification, however approximate.⁵ And we need to ask who moved? how often? and how far? And finally it also means asking about stability, about the stayers as well as the movers. This paper will have less to say about the stabiles than about the mobiles. Yet the presence in the background of those who rarely moved, or moved only very short distances, has to be taken into account if we are to understand the significance of those who did move. Who were the relatively less mobile? How did they differ in age, sex, occupation, skills, wealth and other respects from the more mobile? And how did movers and stayers get along?

The Case for Mobility

Perhaps it would be useful to recall, briefly, why it is that we do now all believe in mobility.

The first reason is that many ancient texts narrate the movements of peoples and of individuals.⁶ These range from *nostoi* narratives and *ktiseis* (foundation legends) to accounts of sacred springs (*ver sacrum*), of barbarian invasions and of historical narratives of colonisations and deportations, of settlement programmes and of immigration to great cities. For the Roman period we also possess some accounts of private journeys made for trade and official errands,

4 See recently Earle, Gamble and Poinar 2011; Wells and Stock 2012. For a comprehensive overview Ness 2013.

5 Cf. De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume.

6 Bickerman 1952; Woolf 2011.

even for tourism and pilgrimage.⁷ Naturally there are interpretative problems of the usual kinds – how should we evaluate accounts of archaic migrations? How do we reconstruct typical patterns of movement when historical records often take the typical for granted and focus attention on unusual events? Can we trust the numbers we are given, when we are given any at all? But these are not insurmountable problems, indeed they are ones that ancient historians are trained to deal with.

A second reason to believe in mobility is the evidence provided by material diasporas, the scattering of objects left behind by human vectors. These distributions are far better understood now thanks to advances in archaeological provenancing, whether by traditional methods or through the excavation of kiln sites, petrological analysis of fine-sectioned ceramic, isotopic analysis of metals and a battery of other methods. Biofacts – seeds, desiccated fruit, wood samples – are also becoming easier to provenance, while stable isotope analysis applied to human skeletal material is beginning to do the same for individual humans. A great deal of this has already been carried out for the Bronze Age, although the total quantities of material are often very small compared to later periods.⁸ Once the expansion of the early Iron Age got underway the number of material diasporas, and their potential scale multiplies. Pendant semi-circle *skyphoi* from Euboea, Lyre player seals from Syria, faience scarabs from Egypt, and then the various finewares and container amphorae have all been used to produce distribution maps. It is not always easy to track the circulation of these objects between the sites of their production and their final resting spots but we can infer a good deal. And we can also see some limitations of circulation. The almost complete absence of Aegean material in Egypt or the Black Sea region before 700 BCE is one example, marking the geographical and chronological limit of one kind of mobility. A little earlier in time there is the apparent rupture of exchanges between the east and west Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age. From the middle of the last millennium BCE coins and inscriptions appear – in many respect artefact categories like any other – but carrying texts that give further information on their makers and users. And behind all these material diasporas lie movements of people.

A third reason to believe in mobility derives from ecology. As we have become more and more aware of the difficulties of agriculture in Mediterranean environments, the idea that communities of any size were genuinely autarkic,

⁷ Adams and Laurence 2001; Adams and Roy 2007; Elsner and Rutherford 2005; Casson 1974.

⁸ Manning and Hulin 2005; van Dommelen and Knapp 2010. For the issue of scale see Blake 2008.

self-sufficient in resources that is, seems harder to believe.⁹ It has long been appreciated that some Neolithic populations needed to travel to find obsidian.¹⁰ The ecological precariousness of many of the environments exploited by the first farmers has also suggested that to survive bad years they relied on a web of connections and obligations with their neighbours.¹¹ And bad years were common, at least at a local level. The geological and climatic fragmentation of Mediterranean landscapes suggests that in any given year one microregion might experience plenty while its neighbours experienced scarcity, and this has been seen as a motivation for both state building and commerce. The growth in settlement size over the last millennium BCE can only have exacerbated the problem.¹² Larger cities came to rely for food on regular supplies from richer and more reliable sources outside the Mediterranean region, such as the Nile Valley and South Russia. Urbanisation concentrated demand in just a few locations, and generated connections with areas from which textiles and metals, fuel and stone, water and animals, and many luxury goods could be supplied. People too, were a resource that needed to be moved about, or to move themselves, in order to make this world work.

Enumerating these reasons makes it clear that we dealing with many varieties of mobility.¹³ Lane Fox's 'Travelling heroes'¹⁴ of Homeric times inhabited a different world from Broodbank's heroic Neolithic canoists paddling to the uninhabited island of Melos in search of obsidian. The great convoys of grain ships that made their regular way from the Crimea to Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries or from Alexandria and Carthage to Rome in the early Empire represent a different level of mobility. Nor is this just a question of variations in scale, although that is inevitably part of the story. It seems strange to use a single term – mobility – to cover both traders on their regular round trips, and the masses that topped up the sickly populations of Mediterranean metropolises. Many of the one-way migrants to Rome and Alexandria probably came in chains.¹⁵ Traders and colonists were, we may presume, mostly of above average wealth and fitness. The forced mobility of soldiers and slaves had a different

9 Sallares 1991 and most recently Harris 2013.

10 Torrence 1986; Broodbank 2010.

11 Halstead and O'Shea 1982.

12 Garnsey 1988.

13 A key argument of Erdkamp 2008 to which much of the following discussion is indebted.

14 Lane Fox 2008.

15 Scheidel 1997. Adams' paper identifies Alexandria as an attractive destination for migrants but focuses on voluntary movements.

character, and different consequences, to the seasonal movements of those seeking work on the vintage in wine-growing areas, or those who moved into cities in the summer for work on the docks during the peak of the sailing season, or to labour on building projects.¹⁶ Then there are the long-term flows of freeborn individuals hoping to get rich but often perishing in cities and mines.¹⁷ Present-day political debates over immigration illustrate the huge failures of understanding that result from not differentiating between varieties of human mobility. Ancient mobility may have been almost as various. And, like the more measurable episodes of mass migration of the last five hundred years, ancient mobility will also have varied considerably from one period to another.

As a starting point I suggest any adequate account of human mobility in antiquity needs to include at least three features. First, it should differentiate between different kinds of mobility (long distance/short distance, permanent/temporary, etc.) and also between different kinds of migrants (individual/group, male/female, voluntary/compelled etc.).¹⁸ Second, it should track change over time, and focus on variable mobility as a structuring force more than as a structural fact of Mediterranean history. Mobility – put simply – needs to be given a history.¹⁹ Third, it should make some quantitative claims, for all the same reasons that it is not sufficient to write about trade or production simply as ‘active’, ‘important’ or ‘significant’.²⁰ However approximate the numbers, we need some sense of how many moved how far how often, and how many did not. This paper sets out to offer some preliminary propositions along these lines.

The Limits of Corruption

All discussions of mobility in antiquity now begin from Horden and Purcell’s spectacular and original *The Corrupting Sea*, a work that still sets the agenda for research on the social and economic nature of the ancient Mediterranean a decade and a half after its publication. *The Corrupting Sea* takes a line very

16 In this volume Roselaar and Ivleva discuss state-organised movements of military personnel. Erdkamp argues that seasonal migrants accounted for a large proportion of the workforce needed for building projects in Rome or to unload the grain ships arriving during the sailing season.

17 For migration to the mining districts of Roman Portugal and Spain see Holleran, in this volume.

18 Cf. De Ligt and Tacoma, in this volume.

19 For this point Bresson 2005: 104.

20 Finley 1973: 32–34.

similar to that of Moatti in repeatedly asserting that human mobility was systematically underrepresented by ancient sources and has been underestimated by modern scholars.

Horde and Purcell's view of mobility is not argued in linear form, but is dispersed throughout *The Corrupting Sea* – especially in Chapters V, VII and IX – with frequent cross and back references. Although the book is structured thematically at the large scale, much of it consists of dense descriptions of particular locations and case studies. The design is evidently deliberate, the thematic order allowing the authors to explore continuities without the distraction of plotting an historical narrative, and the particular cases emphasising the diversity and difference which they see as characteristic of the region. Fractal-like, this structure is replicated within each chapter and even within each subsection, as arguments drawing on a dazzling range of (mostly written) evidence drawn from across a vast geographical and chronological range: their Mediterranean World lasts (at least) three millennia, and includes generous portions of the continental hinterlands of the inland sea.²¹ Their chosen method is to persuade by offering an exemplification of the power of their starting assumptions to make sense of a vast body of evidence, rather than by opposing those assumptions to actual or potential counter-arguments, or by testing them as hypotheses against one or more data-sets. These features of the book make it difficult to condense their argument into one or more central propositions. Fortunately, each author has subsequently clarified their intentions. From these later articles a clearer sense of how they conceptualise mobility may be reconstructed.

Horde, for instance, wrote in 2005 that *The Corrupting Sea*

offered a partial definition of the integrity and distinctiveness of the Mediterranean in terms of the region's fluid communications and the concomitant mobility of its peoples.²²

Horde's essay does not recapitulate the book; instead it sets out to discuss ancient perceptions of mobility, with the aim of understanding migration, "the most neglected aspect of pre-modern demography", through the evidence of ancient medical texts. He begins with the Hippocratic *Regimen* (Ch. 68) the author of which (according to Horde) claims "to be writing for the majority of men: those who use ordinary, accessible, food and drink, who exert themselves

21 On the boundaries of the study see Harris 2005a.

22 Horde 2005: 179.

as much as is essential, who undertake land journeys and sea voyages to collect their livelihood". Even if this claim is disingenuous, argues Horden,

the image of the small producer who of necessity sometimes has to travel long distances to gather sustenance, and who benefits from the maritime 'connectivity' of the Mediterranean, seems like a condensation of the *Corrupting Sea*. It is exactly the form and degree of mobility that Purcell and I postulated.²³

Purcell's 2004 summary of the book²⁴ states that its argument rests on a four-fold description of primary production in terms of a distinctive regime of risk; a distinctive logic of production organised around coping with this risk; a recognition of the extreme topographical fragmentation of the region; and finally a distinctive regime of communications. On the basis of this they had argued that "the key variable in assessing the social and economic character of any Mediterranean microregion at a given historical moment was *connectivity*". There is no contradiction with Horden's account but Purcell's formulation highlights the importance in their conceptualisation of specific historical circumstances. Despite the authors' frequent appeals to continuities, often made implicitly by juxtaposing incidents or texts from very different periods, the *Corrupting Sea* is unfairly accused of neglecting history. Occasionally a decision not to deal explicitly with change is justified by the paucity of the available evidence: variations in mobility levels is one of the topics they decline to deal with on those grounds.

The ethnic diversity of the population is the most obvious correlate of mobility, but from it also arise the cultural homogeneities which help make possible the Mediterranean social anthropology that we particularly deploy in the next three chapters. Clearly we cannot unpick the weave of this tangled mass of ethnic origins; nor can we quantify the mobility from period to period and place to place. It is extremely likely that it has been less in remote corners and at certain unfavourable periods. Our contention, though, is that it has never ceased.²⁵

The authors of *The Corrupting Sea* have made a deliberate choice of synchronic over diachronic modes of analysis and presentation. By seeking to join up

²³ Horden 2005: 182.

²⁴ Purcell 2004: 10.

²⁵ Horden and Purcell 2000: 400.

subjects previously divided by conventional periodisations, they 'take the road less travelled' by other historians of ancient and medieval history whose interests in political narrative and change have often led to a corresponding neglect of the physical stage on which the history of events unfolded. The costs of adopting an antithetical approach of this kind are perhaps obvious, and many of the reviews and responses have drawn attention to the consequences of not giving more weight to major changes in technology for example in shipbuilding or in the range of cultigens available; or to variables such as the proportion of the population not engaged in agriculture.²⁶ Perhaps. But it is easy to understand how they arrived at this starting point. Their opening paragraph reads

The subject of this work is the human history of the Mediterranean Sea and its coastlands over some three millennia. Its immediate contention is that this history can profitably be treated as material for a unified and distinct discipline. Its purpose is to discover, first, how far the region so treated has displayed over this long period any unity and distinctiveness of its own, and second, what kinds of continuity could have been involved: these two questions form the backbone of our work.²⁷

It is presumably in pursuit of the unity and distinctiveness of the Mediterranean World and of its long-term Braudelian (or pre-Braudelian) continuities that *The Corrupting Sea* returns again and again to the language of connectivity and mobility, the two terms that have as a result become central to the current debate.

Connectivity, conceived of as a property of a microregion or of the Mediterranean as a whole, forms a dyad in their analysis with mobility, a property of peoples and individuals. Although based on some of the same ecological and geographical considerations highlighted by Halstead, Garnsey and others, Horden and Purcell's analysis repeatedly rejects environmental determinism: it seems that they prefer to think of connectivity as a potential, and mobility as one means of realising it. Their Mediterranean is imagined like a set of interconnected low-friction surfaces across which mobility of all kinds is relatively easy. Those surfaces are fringed and framed by territories of higher-friction, mountains and forests, deserts and continental interiors, regions of

²⁶ Horden and Purcell 2000. This is not the place to offer a(nother) detailed assessment of the work, but it has inspired two volumes of responses – Malkin 2005a, Harris 2005b – and a number of review articles, notably Shaw 2001 and Fentress and Fentress 2001.

²⁷ Horden and Purcell 2000: 9.

relatively lower connectivity about which they have less to say.²⁸ This is not a contentious argument – indeed the counter-proposition, that movement was equally easy and frequent in all directions irrespective of terrain would be ridiculous. The originality of the analysis is the implications that Horden and Purcell draw from it, that the risks and opportunities facing agricultural communities in such a region gave rise to strategies based on connection, to economies predicated on the mobility of persons not on the self-sufficiency of isolated communities.

The issue is not whether or not these effects were real – they clearly were – but how powerful they were. We might compare the problem with that posed by Keith Hopkins' various arguments connecting taxation, economic growth, trade and urbanisation.²⁹ No one seriously claims taxation did not stimulate production, nor that some economic forces were generated by the fact that emperors spent in fewer areas than they raised taxes. The difficult question is how much of the economic activity of the empire these relationships explain. Likewise for Horden and Purcell's arguments the question is not whether or not the Mediterranean world was ecologically fragmented, or even whether or not its microregions were connected: both propositions are uncontroversial. But rather we must ask how much difference this made, how essential connectivity was, how far fragmentation was the precondition of survival and prosperity, how to calibrate these factors against others. As for mobility we need to ask how much mobility could be engineered to take advantage of these conditions, or conversely how much inertial drag populations had. Because just as no real markets are perfectly integrated to the point where they fix prices in a wholly rational manner, so no real landscapes can ever be so well connected that mobility is always optimised. Some Mediterranean spaces may have been low friction surfaces but none were friction free. Only quantitative studies or parametric modelling – neither of which feature prominently in *The Corrupting Sea* – could help answer this question.

Alongside their emphasis on connectivity and mobility, Horden and Purcell claim that population densities across the Mediterranean region were generally low. Humans can therefore be treated as yet another scarce resource, and one that often needed to be moved in order for its value to be realised.³⁰ Individuals either move themselves in order to gather sustenance or else form a resource moved by imperial states or slavers in order to further the broader aims of others. As a result, humans accumulated on the nodes of the networks,

²⁸ Purcell 2004.

²⁹ Hopkins 1978b, 1980, 1995/6 and 2000.

³⁰ Horden and Purcell 2000: 266–268, 377–391.

for example on islands with high population densities or at sites of economic intensification – mines, cities, villa estates – and dispersed rapidly when connections shifted or local economic production abated. The claim that ancient Mediterranean populations were rarely caught in Malthusian traps seems plausible, and their critique of explanations of mobility in terms of land hunger or overpopulation is a powerful one. Yet the elasticity of population – how easily people might be moved – remains a contentious issue. How feasible was it for an ancient population to relocate in the wake of economic abatement? What were the costs involved in leaving a contracting node to relocate to a growing one? Were people never left behind, stranded in suboptimal locations? And were there never enterprises that grew more slowly simply because it took too long for labour to concentrate where it was needed? We are very familiar today with the long-term sequels of the collapse of an industry in a given location: when coal mines are worked out, or fish stocks depleted, or the world price of copper plummets, entire communities can be plunged into generations of poverty. Dispersal remains an option in some cases, as the depopulation of Detroit in the wake of the collapse of the US motor industry shows. But new homes and new jobs cannot be taken for granted. And if population location is rarely optimised today, why should we imagine it was more easily optimised in antiquity? Given how much more difficult mass transport was in antiquity, and what a small proportion of the population worked in occupations that were movable rather than on the land, how long did it take ancient populations to respond to shifts in connectivity? Soldiers might be redeployed, and slaves simply moved by their owners, but most occupational groups would not have been able to relocate easily in response to localised economic booms and busts. How serious – in chronological, economic and human terms – were the lags between changes in other resources and human responses to them through mobility?

The contribution made by *The Corrupting Sea* to current discussions of human mobility in antiquity is mixed. On the positive side, it offers a powerful set of arguments about how mobility and connectivity are to be related. The ecology and landscape of the Mediterranean basin did not drive mobility, but did constrain it in certain ways, and mobility became an important option for individuals and states. By treating human labour (or human beings – their usage varies) as one scarce resource like any other, an economic logic is offered for the location and movement of some people, on some occasions. On the negative side, the connections sketched out are essentially logical rather than empirical, and their significance – the scale of their influence – cannot easily be assessed. Still to be established are the gradients of connectivity, the numbers of individuals moving, the micro-regions most or least

often affected by these forces, and so on. The authors' concern to emphasise mobility of all kinds means that only in rare passages (such as their important discussions of *cabotage*) do they systematically differentiate diverse kinds of movement; and in their passionate advocacy of the enduring structures of Mediterranean life 'before Braudel', they have left to others the task of analysing change across the long period they treat, and of establishing the limits of mobility and connectivity.

This is not the place to attempt a history of mobility levels in the long term. But there are some good practical reasons to approach the general issue from the early Roman period. The quantity of objects in early imperial material diasporas, the number of shipwrecks, the mean size of vessels, the number of cities and the peak size of the largest metropoleis, all establish the expectation that levels of mobility peaked in the last centuries BCE and the first CE. Levels of mobility were as high as in the preceding and following periods, and perhaps mobility was more differentiated too, if only because social roles were more differentiated.³¹ It follows that whatever limits we may establish for the great imperial age of Rome apply even more stringently to earlier and later periods. But before approaching the difficult issue of quantification it is worth trying to get a more precise idea of the kinds of mobility we might expect.

Mobility and Migration

Mobility is a relatively recent focus of research in antiquity, but we can benefit from a longer tradition of research into migration. Migration and mobility are not exact synonyms. 'Migration' in common usage often connotes mobility over long distances, and perhaps permanent relocation. Migration theorists, on the other hand, use the term much more widely to encompass temporary as well as permanent movements of individuals and groups, and examine how it works at a range of scales.³² Archaeologists have been particularly preoccupied with the subject because migration was an early (and easy) explanation for cultural change, then largely rejected in favour of endogenous processes of social evolution, and has in the last decades been gradually rehabilitated as a social phenomenon worth investigating in its own right.³³ Early medievalists

31 For recent attempts to describe this more precisely see Bowman and Wilson 2009 and 2011.

32 Ness 2013 gives a sense of the range of phenomena covered by the term.

33 For accounts of this see Adams, van Gerven and Levy 1978; Rouse 1986; Collett 1987; Anthony 1990 and 1992; Chapman and Hamerow 1997; Burmeister 2000; Tsuda 2011; Champion 2013. For the state of the question see Van Dommelen 2014.

have made use of some of the same theory to help relate changes in material culture after the fall of Rome to historical claims about movements of peoples.³⁴ Prehistorians have found inspiration in animal colonisations of new niches.³⁵

Perhaps the most useful insights to emerge from these applications of migration theory are a set of common features that characterise long-distance movements of many kinds. Individual motives are various and usually unknowable, but the kind of circumstances which make migration possible, and the way it subsequently develops, are quite regular. David Anthony, in an influential paper which focuses on voluntary migration, summarises this approach as follows.

From a constructivist perspective, viewing the actions of individuals within specific historical contexts, migration can be understood as a behavior that is typically performed by defined subgroups (often kin-recruited) with specific goals, targeted on known destinations and likely to use familiar routes. Kinship linkages and access to information limit many of these behaviors. From a processual perspective, examining constraints and regularities in longer-term patterns of behavior, migration can be viewed as a process that tends to develop in a broadly predictable manner once it begins. Social organization, trade relationships, and transportation technology constrain some of these processes.³⁶

Migration is rarely, if ever, the movement of an entire society. Certain kinds of societies allow groups within them to take advantage of the possibility of movement. Those movements are rarely one-directional, in fact it is news passed back by returnees that shapes the decisions of future migrants, positively and negatively. Migration in the ethnographic and historical record is the product of activities undertaken by groups, often united by kinship; it is generally targeted on a known place; and once begun tends to develop into a regular set of exchanges of population. These exchanges set up migration streams. People move not in waves, but along channels that often leapfrog intermediate locations to reach a known goal. Really long distance movements depend not only on good communications technology but also on the flow of reliable

34 Hamerow 1994; Scull 1995; Trafford 2000; Halsall 2007 and 2014.

35 For a more ecologically orientated approach to generalising models of human mobility see Diamond 1977.

36 Anthony 1990: 895–896.

information, so that those who move know what possibilities exist for them at the other end of the journey.³⁷ But most migratory activity “consists of short-distance movements within a local area” and most moves “take place within an information field that represents habitually interacting social groups.”

Anthony’s discussion of the structure of migrations also has much to say about the identity of migrants.³⁸ A key variable is the economic roles played by would be migrants and the likelihood of their skills being in demand or usable in the chosen destination. Migrants are likely to be more skilled than many of those who stay behind. Because migration is an investment in the future they either need some capital to travel, or else the support of backers. And those most likely to migrate are those who have already done so, with the result that migrant communities provide pools of future migrants. The sex ratio of voluntary migrants has (until very recently) been biased strongly in favour of males.

Not all of this discussion is immediately relevant to mobility in the ancient Mediterranean, and some of it is more useful in helping interpret the movements of the archaic period than those of the Roman Empire. All the same, it does allow us to formulate some broad expectations about human mobility in our period.

First we should replace our notion of generalised mobility with a recognition that making long distance journeys was likely a specialised activity open to relatively few within each society. Those few were likely male and young, with valuable skills (masons, miners and potters rather than peasant farmers).³⁹

Second we should look for the establishment and growth of particular migration streams, rather than imagine connectivity in terms of a general propensity for any one micro-region to be connected – briefly and opportunistically – with any other. Saltation and the movement of individuals back and forth along particular routes should provide the best clues here.

Third we should expect most movement to be local or regional, that is circulation within an information field formed by habitually interacting groups.

37 For the importance of information flows in structuring migration flows see Holleran’s contribution to this volume. As Bernard points out, perceptions of opportunities existing in the city or area of destination might have been as important as reliable information transmitted by previous migrants.

38 Anthony 1990: 899–905.

39 Burmeister 2000. In this volume Holleran and Tacoma and Tybout call attention to the high proportion of traders and skilled workers among migrants referred to in the epigraphic records of Roman Portugal, Spain and Asia Minor. Of course, some men who travelled or migrated to distant destinations must have been accompanied by wives and sometimes also by children. See the papers by Bruun, Holleran and Hin for examples. Foubert discusses travelling women.

Local movement we might consider as mobility between neighbouring villages or villages and towns, presumably ubiquitous and almost never recorded.⁴⁰ Regional mobility is more difficult to define. Social networks certainly formed within geographically circumscribed areas – up and down the Nile Valley, between the cities and small settlements of Campania, up and down the coast of Asia Minor and so on.⁴¹ Every so often these connections can be mapped, as for example in the countermarking of local coins by neighbouring cities in Asia Minor.⁴² Since many provinces had also formed within geographical frames of this kind we can sometimes treat movement within a province as effectively movement within a region. But some provinces were so vast or so small that this cannot be a general rule. Perhaps it would be better to reckon in journey times, counting as long distance or interregional travel any journey that took five days or more.

The question of exactly how these empirical questions are resolved is perhaps of less importance than moving away from describing the ancient Mediterranean world in terms of a generalised connectivity. Migration theory, or rather the ethnographic and historical cases it synthesises, suggest instead that we imagine a mosaic of locally caged societies. Movement within those local small worlds must have been very frequent, but consisted of journeys of a few days at most. These worlds were mostly joined up into regions within which some movement took place. But the connections between regions were formed by migration flows – long distance streams along which rather specialised groups moved, carrying information and goods as well as their own skills and labour. The remainder of this paper seeks to substantiate these propositions, and exemplify them.

Was most Mobility Short-Distance?

Short-range mobility comprises both relocations of individuals or families within a locality – from one village to the next for example – and also the less

40 Some instances of marital mobility discussed in Zerbini's paper involved movements over relatively short distances.

41 For applications of network theory to the classical Mediterranean see Malkin 2005b; Graham 2006; Collar 2007; Constantakopoulou 2007; Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009; Malkin 2011; Collar 2011; Eidinow 2011; Maas and Ruths 2012; Collar 2013. In this volume Adams calls attention to the role of letters in maintaining social networks and transmitting information in the Nile Valley.

42 Howgego 1985.

permanent mobility of those in search of work. How permanent any given move will be is not always evident at the time. Historical analogy strongly suggests that in premodern societies there may be considerable circulation of residence. Robin Osborne in a survey of rural mobility recorded in medieval and early modern documentation found huge variations in levels of mobility from one society to another, but also some rural societies in which as much as 50% of a village population was replaced each generation.⁴³ Family and neighbourly disputes, the search for employment and land, movements for marriage and responses to local disasters and new economic opportunities all result in local relocations. The papyrological evidence from Roman Egypt produces many instances of movements of residence and also the circulation of traders and craftsmen within a nome or between neighbouring nomes.⁴⁴ The political unification of the Roman world almost certainly made such movements easier, and we might reasonably assume a background of short-range mobility in most parts of the empire. Classical literary texts include much rich anecdotal evidence of travel, actual and imagined, and this has often been surveyed.⁴⁵ But the two most important data sets for actually measuring movement are epigraphy and skeletal material.

Major advances in the use of skeletal material have made in recent years through the use of stable isotope analysis by Kristina Killgrove, Tracy Prowse, Hella Eckardt and others.⁴⁶ But the total sample sizes remain quite small. Although it seems that almost anywhere a group of burials are examined carefully a significant proportion seems to be of individuals who were not born and brought up in the immediate locality, it is difficult to establish the statistical significance for any single cemetery. Another complication is that Killgrove's analysis of strontium isotopes in ancient skeletal material dealt with 105 individuals from the environs of Rome, while Prowse's analysis based on oxygen isotopes used dental material from 61 individuals buried in Isola Sacra, the necropolis of Portus. Both are locations where we should, on other grounds – not least epigraphic⁴⁷ – expect immigration to be particularly high. How far their results can be generalised to the Roman world as a whole is unclear. In this volume Christer Bruun calls attention to another difficulty: while isotopic analysis is a good technique for identifying individuals who have spent particular

43 Osborne 1991.

44 Braunert 1964; Gibbs 2012: especially 45–47; Adams, in this volume.

45 Casson 1974 is difficult to better in this respect. For a dramatisation Morley 2003.

46 Killgrove 2010a; 2010b; Leach et al. 2009; Prowse et al. 2007; Eckardt 2010; Eckardt et al. 2010; Prowse, in this volume.

47 Bruun 2010.

portions of their life in places other than those where they were buried, it is at present not capable of identifying precisely those points of origin. The ratio of oxygen isotopes in drinking water varies from place to place, but within a relatively narrow range so a non-typical local value may reflect either short-range or long-range migration and perhaps also even the use of water from higher altitude brought by aqueducts. The techniques are evolving fast, but at present seem unable to differentiate very short-distance migration from the kind of long-distance migration documented by epigraphic data from the same sites.

For epigraphic data does frequently record the origin of individuals and since a very large proportion of epigraphic mentions are funerary in nature, they provide pretty good indications of individual cases of human mobility.⁴⁸ The figures are not entirely easy to use. First the origins of aliens are likely to be *overrepresented* as a proportion of funerary epitaphs simply because the *origines* and municipal citizenships of locals are less likely to be noted when they died close to home.⁴⁹ On the other hand the scale of mobility is likely to be *underrepresented* by funerary epigraphy simply because many individuals did return home after journeys abroad, or else were commemorated where they had lived rather than where they died. Those we know about are the unlucky proportion who died 'on foreign shores'.⁵⁰ Finally, many will have died within their native *civitates* but in different communities from those in which they were raised. It follows that we should expect that there was more mobility than is recorded on epitaphs, but that more of it was local than appears.

With these caveats we can turn to the various provincial surveys that have looked at the question. One of the earliest was Krier's study of the Treveri, a relatively well travelled people.⁵¹ Of the 62 Treveri recorded outside their home territory only 3 individuals are attested in the Mediterranean world, all from the city of Rome. 43 were from the Germanies or Comatan Gaul with the Rhineland prominent. The remainder were scattered thinly across the Danube provinces and Britain. The great majority of these displacements are regional rather than long-distance in terms of the criteria suggested above. Incidentally the vast majority were soldiers or traders, and they were overwhelmingly male.

48 This discussion draws in part on Woolf 2013a.

49 In this volume Zerbini, Ivleva, Hin and Tacoma and Tybout use epigraphic references to *origines* to trace migrants.

50 Handley 2011. Most of the mobile individuals discussed by Tacoma and Tybout (in this volume) seem to have been temporary migrants or travellers, and the efforts undertaken to repatriate the remains of relatives who had died abroad, which are the central theme of Tybout's paper, bear witness to the expectation that the individuals in question would return to their places of birth.

51 Krier 1981.

Wierschowski's studies of regional mobility across the totality of the Gallic provinces show that these patterns are in fact fairly general.⁵² Excluding soldiers and veterans he documented 649 cases of mobility of which 500 were within the Gallic provinces. These represented some 5% of the total number of individuals recorded in the epigraphy of the provinces. Most of the other cases of mobility were of Gauls commemorated in Spain or Italy. Haley's study of migrants within the Spanish provinces found they represented less than 5% of the population commemorated.⁵³ Even so he identified 715 migrants, but more than 80% were migrants from other Spanish communities. Most were soldiers, traders or miners. Figures from other western provinces, although less systematically gathered, do not suggest that either the Gallic or Spanish provinces were atypical.

These figures do not support the idea that long distance mobility was common in the provinces considered. Admittedly the data sets refer largely to continental regions where cities were typically small and economic relations conducted over relatively short distances. Yet the epigraphic data overwhelming seems to document forms of mobility that were relatively short range and occasionally regional, just as David Anthony suggested. People did move, from villages to towns, between villages and occasionally between neighbouring *civitates*. Most migrants were male, and those with specific skills are easier to see than agricultural labourers (although these are underrepresented in epigraphic documentation). Long distance movement seems to have been rare.

Migration Streams

What about migration streams leapfrogging to distant but well-known destinations, streams that evolved over time through reverse migration and the branching off of new migratory routes? A range of migration streams can be indeed documented for the Roman world but they relate to rather specialised groups, not to Horden's "small producer who of necessity sometimes has to travel long distances to gather sustenance". And for the most part – like so many mass movements in history – they were organised by others.

Army recruitment extracted individuals from particular societies and despatched them to particular destinations according to the needs of the state. It is clear that certain legions relied on particular recruiting grounds and some were, at least to begin with, quite distant. Flows of individuals seem to have

⁵² Wierschowski 1995 and 2001.

⁵³ Haley 1991.

become established between particular frontiers and their more urbanised hinterlands, so from Gallia Narbonensis to the Rhineland and from Africa Proconsularis to Numidia. Rare redeployments of units, and the settlement of veterans formed the counterpart to these flows, but there was clearly some return migration as well.⁵⁴ Auxiliaries also came to be drawn from some societies more than others – the Batavians and the Syrians are well documented examples – and some at least returned to their home societies after long periods of service.⁵⁵ Military migrants – legionaries and auxiliaries alike – were drawn from specific sectors of society, defined by gender, age and on occasion by their skills.

Slave trading too established migration flows to predetermined locations, and slave traders were also selective in whom they moved, with young adult males almost certainly predominating.⁵⁶ The importance of particular sources of slaves varied over time. And as the urban network evolved and new tetrarchic metropoleis emerged within it, we might expect destinations to have changed as well. If we could observe it more precisely, then, we would see the same gradually shifting flows of slaves that characterised the Atlantic Slave trade.

Some other migration streams are less well documented but seem to be required by the standard current models of Roman demography.⁵⁷ Most obvious of all are the demands imposed by the so called ‘urban graveyard effect’, the thesis that in most preindustrial cities of any size mortality significantly exceeds fertility and that cities as large as ancient Rome therefore depended on immigration of one kind or another to sustain their population levels.⁵⁸ That view – at least in its simplest and more generalising form – has recently been subjected to sustained critique. Saskia Hin has shown how much it relies on analogy with better documented places and periods, and although she concludes that the city of Rome probably did require some level of immigration, she queries the scale of phenomenon.⁵⁹ Elio Lo Cascio has pointed out how variable the demography of early modern cities was, and raised doubts about some of the traditional and more recent arguments for Rome being a particularly unhealthy place.⁶⁰ The debate continues. But there is broad agreement

54 Forni 1953; Keppie 1983; Roselaar, in this volume.

55 Haynes 2013; Ivleva, in this volume.

56 Harris 1980; Scheidel 1997; Harris 1999 and 2011; Garnsey and de Ligt, in this volume.

57 Parkin 1992; Scheidel 2001a, 2001b and 2007.

58 Among others Hopkins 1978a and 1978b; Morley 1996; Scheidel 1997 and 2004; Paine and Storey 2006; de Ligt and Northwood 2008; Erdkamp 2008.

59 Hin 2013.

60 Lo Cascio 2006 and id., in this volume.

that Rome and other large cities in classical antiquity were densely populated, that large sections of their population lived in conditions of poverty and insecurity, that they had as a result poor diets and high levels of endemic disease, and were therefore susceptible to epidemics.⁶¹ All of this makes it overwhelmingly likely that the literary testimony for immigration reflects a genuine dependence on migrants. Even if some were seasonal, many may have had higher mortality than long-term residents. A proportion were involuntary migrants, that is to say slaves, but the remainder were most likely drawn from the small towns and villages of Italy and nearby provinces, just as in the traditional picture.⁶²

Most discussions end here, having established a relationship between urbanisation and the rural hinterland, or between bigger and smaller cities. But it is also possible as a thought experiment to consider the population of the Mediterranean world as a whole. If it is correct that there was no significant regular immigration from beyond the imperial frontiers, and that demographic growth within the empire was perhaps around 0.1% annually, we can then begin to envisage the internal dynamics of that system in terms of migration streams from areas where fertility exceeded mortality towards those where the reverse was the case. Slavery no doubt accounted for some of this movement, but there is no reason to believe that all areas of relatively high fertility were subjected to slaving on a large scale: upland Italy, for example, populated entirely by Roman citizens from the early last century BCE, is an unlikely slaving ground. Some migration streams were almost certainly seasonal because of the variable demands of both labour-intensive agriculture (including viticulture and olive production) and of some urban industries (building for example, and also work on the docks which were much busier in the sailing season than in the winter months).⁶³ Analogous migration streams – some permanent and some seasonal – must have been generated by other large cities such as Carthage, Alexandria, Syrian Antioch and Constantinople.⁶⁴ The same centres also attracted traders of course, some plying regular annual routes like the grain routes from Alexandria and Carthage to Rome.

It is also likely, if difficult to document, that the ecological fragmentation of the Mediterranean world and local alternations of glut and dearth (in Horden and Purcell's terminology) also generated traffic to major centres. The notion

61 Sallares 2002; Scheidel 2003; Garnsey and de Ligt, in this volume.

62 Brunt 1971; Hopkins 1978a; Morley 1996. For a broader Italian context Morley 1997; Patterson 2006.

63 Erdkamp 2008: 424–433 and *id.*, in this volume.

64 For migration to Alexandria see Adams' contribution to this volume.

of generalised connectivity might lead us to imagine that farmers with unexpected surpluses would attempt to make direct contact with localities experiencing unusual shortages. But consideration of the information regime of the ancient Mediterranean makes it clear that this would be a time-consuming and risky strategy. Vessels carrying surplus food might take some while to locate an area experiencing dearth, or might arrive too late to make a sale. It would be more rational for those with a surplus to transplant it to a major port, and for those in need of additional supplies to go to those same ports. And because some places produced surpluses rather often, some of these routes as well as the hubs would become routinised. This kind of mobility too resembles a migration stream in Anthony's terminology.

Military recruitment and settlement, the slave trade, the labour demands of ancient metropoleis and villa owners, imbalances of fertility and mortality across the Mediterranean world, and the trade in staples generated by other imbalances all combined to establish a slowly changing network of migration streams. These flows of population were essential for sustaining certain economic and political structures to which ancient elites were committed – among them villa agriculture, urban residence and the maintenance of the imperial state. For these reasons ancient elites compelled some movements, and incentivised and facilitated others. These varieties of long-distance mobility connected up populations most of whose members moved only very short distances during their lifetimes, even if they did not inhabit isolated or autarkic communities. Rather than a generalised mobility, I suggest the ancient world was characterised by a minority of movers – travelling back and forth along well defined migration streams – and a majority of stayers inhabiting small worlds even if they were aware of the larger one to which their visitors connected them and into which some of their members might occasionally depart, for a while or for ever.

Quantifying Long-distance Mobility

So how many moved? The epigraphic surveys collected above produced very low figures for those commemorated outside their own communities – in the order of 5%. That figure is hardly dependable for the reasons stated already, but it is not really compatible with very high levels of long-distance mobility. Almost all the epigraphic testimony can be accounted for by short-range journeys within a region, by stayers rather than movers.

A different approach to the question of long-distance mobility is to ask about the carrying capacity of ancient communication systems. A good deal of

important recent work touches on this question.⁶⁵ All I intend to do in this final section is to sketch out some broad parameters, the limits that is of what was feasible. To do this I will make a few gross assumptions.

Most important I shall concentrate on maritime journeys. I assume that road travel was important, but mostly for local communications (from town to country and between neighbouring towns that is). This conforms to the importance given to land transport in the agronomists, and to the logical demands that centres of consumption be connected to rural hinterlands.⁶⁶ Colin Adams is certainly right that we need to move beyond contrasting the costs of maritime, riverine and land transport systems and ask instead how different modes of transport were integrated.⁶⁷ Whenever we can track a long journey in detail – Pliny's journey to his province for example, or the journey of Theophanes from Egypt to Antioch – it is common to find different transport methods used for different stages.⁶⁸ To the evidence Adams has gathered from the Egyptian papyri may be added recent studies of transport systems in Roman Europe. Specialised groups like *utricularii* worked alongside *nautae* and *navicularii* to distribute goods arriving by maritime and riverine transport to locations in the interior, and regular commerce across trans-Alpine routes was in some sense that is not entirely clear organised by *corpora* of merchants.⁶⁹ The high cost of land transport has certainly been exaggerated, and often there were no alternatives available.⁷⁰ But it remains true that the few accounts of long journeys by land that we have – the most detailed of which are the journeys of the first Holy Land pilgrims and of the Egyptian landowner Theophanes, all from the fourth century CE – suggest journeys by land were expensive, difficult and slow even for those who did have *diplomata* that entitled them to use imperial *vehiculatio* and *mansiones*.⁷¹ Apart from the special important case of troop

65 Adams and Laurence 2001; Adams 2007; Adams and Roy 2007; Malkin, Constantakopoulou and Panagopoulou 2009; Talbert 2010; Alcock, Bodet and Talbert 2012.

66 Laurence 1999.

67 Adams 2007.

68 Plin. *Ep.* 10.15–17 by sea to Ephesos, by road to Pergamon, then by coastal boat to Cyzicus and road again to Apollonia and Prusa. Theophanes by boat down the Nile, then by road to Antioch mostly by cart (*raeda*) but possibly the last stage on horseback (Matthews 2006).

69 For *utricularii* see Liu 2009: 136–138, building on Kneißl 1981 and Deman 2002. For the *splendidissimum corpus mercatorum Cisalpinorum et Transalpinorum* see Hitchner 2012 citing Walser 1989 and 1991.

70 Laurence 1999.

71 Casson 1974; Wilkinson 1982; Hunt 1982; Matthews 2006. On the so-called *cursus publicus* Mitchell 1976 and 1982; Kolb 2000 and 2001. For an overview of the system Talbert 2012.

movements I shall assume, therefore, that most long distance travel was undertaken by sea. I shall also assume that *cabotage* served primarily local needs, even if it was occasionally integrated into wider commercial networks as means of distributing small quantities of manufactures and perhaps bringing small quantities of produce to larger markets. Sea travel, I suggest, was the bottleneck in the system, the point in integrated transport systems where additional capacity was obtained with the most difficulty.

What of sea travel then? A number of calculations have been made of the number of journeys made annually by vessels of different size, and Dominic Rathbone has recently reviewed the most important.⁷² He cites Tchernia's estimate of around 800 vessels of 150–350 metric tonnes each making 2 or 3 round trips each year, and argues that most vessels were smaller and that we might imagine as many as 1500 vessels between 60 and 330 tonnes. Three round trips within a sailing season sounds implausible for all but the shortest of routes. Rathbone's aim is to emphasise the large cumulative scale of maritime commerce, but he argues this reflects the net effect of many voyages in mostly small vessels.⁷³ Harris and Lara's recent conference volume on maritime technology also emphasises the predominance of small vessels, arguing that large ones of around 300 tonnes are overrepresented in wreck evidence and would have been prohibitively expensive for many shippers.⁷⁴

So far this might seem to argue for high levels of traffic, especially within the core sailing season of May to September. Yet this might not translate into a high capacity for passenger travel. The largest vessels attested in literary sources seem to have been those designed for mass transportation of food-stuffs, such as the grain boats crossing from Alexandria or Carthage to Portus. A few – such as the short lived *dolia* vessels of the Augustan period – definitely had little spare capacity. A small number of very large vessels were needed to transport stone,⁷⁵ and presumably specialised vessels carried live animals. But we lack much evidence for specialised passenger vessels of the kind used for the voluntary and involuntary settlement of the New World. Most accounts of travel describe passengers riding on commercial vessels.⁷⁶ It seems very unlikely that most vessels on long distance routes could have managed more than a few dozen passengers, and some presumably travelled with none.

⁷² Rathbone 2003.

⁷³ Rathbone 2009a.

⁷⁴ Harris and Lara 2011.

⁷⁵ Tchernia 2011.

⁷⁶ Pomey 1997.

A small number of accounts of shipwrecks survive. Josephus in his *Life* describes how on his way to Rome the ship he was travelling in sank in the Adriatic with about 600 passengers aboard, of which only 80 survived to be rescued by a Cyrenenaic vessel.⁷⁷ More famous is the account in *Acts* of the wreck of one of the enormous grain vessels that travelled each year from Alexandria to Rome, apparently usually by way of southern Asia Minor, then across the Aegean before rounding Malea and making the journey through the straits of Messina. In this case 276 passengers were allegedly aboard.⁷⁸ These vessels were, according to Philo, the preferred means of transport between Rome and Alexandria no doubt because their greater size allowed more comfort.⁷⁹ The final account is Synesius' 4th letter describing the wreck of a ship bound from Alexandria to Cyrene. Aside from the cargo there was a crew of a dozen and around 50 passengers. Calculations from anecdotes like these are fantastically difficult but they perhaps give a sense of the range of possibilities.

If a thousand vessels each made two round trips annually, each carrying on average thirty passengers, then the total number of long-distance journeys per annum would be in the region of 60,000. If so that would mean that only one in a thousand out of the population of 60 million made a long distance journey in any one year.

There is no way of getting away from the provisional and speculative nature of these calculations, but they do at least provide some parameters for assessing claims of high mobility, and they are not very different from what epigraphic evidence suggests.

Movers and Stayers

The subjects of the Roman emperors did not spend all their lives at home, nor in isolation, nor were they self-sufficient in the way the ideology of autarky suggests. Human mobility and connectivity are key concepts if we are to understand the evolution of the Mediterranean as a populated environment, and as one that at times could support a few large cities and some very large states. But it is important to retain a sense of perspective. Those who have worked on mobility in prehistory have been careful to stress the huge limitations on travel and its small scale alongside its enormous importance.⁸⁰ From

⁷⁷ Jos. *Vit.* 3.

⁷⁸ *Acts* 27.37.

⁷⁹ Philo, in *Flaccum* 25–27 has Gaius recommend this route to Herod.

⁸⁰ Broodbank 2013.

the middle of the third millennium strenuous efforts were made to improve maritime technology and navigational techniques, and this continued through the Roman period.⁸¹ These efforts imply that connectivity was certainly not taken for granted in antiquity.

For the Roman period most mobility was over rather short distances. Most people were stayers (meaning those who stayed at or near home) rather than movers (meaning those who moved over long distances). Long distance mobility was uncommon, and it involved a tiny proportion of the population. Movers were not a random selection of the general population. Women, in particular, as I have argued elsewhere, almost never moved except in the company of their male relatives or owners, and often their relatives and owners moved without taking them along. Many men too moved long-distances only rarely, or perhaps only once or twice in their lives when others moved them. Most lives had narrow horizons.

It is worth pointing out, however, that even if only a small proportion of the population engaged in long distance migration or travel, this might have had quite important effects. Many of the literary testimonia refer to the movements of high status individuals – embassies and governors, princes and sophists and the like – and much of the epigraphy relates to traders and craftsmen. Even quite small numbers of individuals of this sort would have been able to generate considerable connectivity across the empire, and beyond it as well.⁸² One of the founders of Social Network Analysis, Mark Granovetter, pointed out that the weak ties that connect two or more densely bound local networks have a special importance since it is precisely those weak ties that bring information not already shared within the locality.⁸³ This insight has already been applied to the explanation of religious change in the Roman world.⁸⁴ From quite a different starting point Bruce Frier, in one of the best short discussions of Roman demography, argues the balance between mortality and fertility rates in ancient societies was so fine that even very modest migration might have had major effects.⁸⁵ Mobility does not need to be high or ubiquitous in order to have major effects. Put otherwise, a high degree of connectivity does not depend on high levels of mobility.

81 Broodbank 2006 and 2010; Harris and Iara 2011.

82 Matthews 1989.

83 Granovetter 1973.

84 Collar 2007, 2011 and 2013; Price 2012.

85 Frier 2000: 808–811.

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